ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD CULTURES

SUPPLEMENT



Encyclopedia of World Cultures

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Encyclopedia of World Cultures Supplement

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Encyclopedia of World Cultures Supplement was prepared under the auspices and with the support of the Human Relations Area Files, Inc. (HRAF) at Yale University. The foremost international research organization in the field of cultural anthropology, HRAF is a not-for-profit consortium of 19 Sponsoring Member institutions and more than 400 active and inactive Associate Member institutions in nearly 40 countries. The mission of HRAF is to provide information that facilitates the cross-cultural study of human behavior, society, and culture. The HRAF Collection of Ethnography, which has been building since 1949, contains nearly one million pages of information, indexed according to more than 700 subject categories, on the cultures of the world. An increasing portion of the Collection of Ethnography, which now covers more than 365 cultures, is accessible via the World Wide Web to member institutions. The HRAF Collection of Archaeology, the first installment of which appeared in 1999, is also accessible on the Web to those member institutions opting to receive it.

Encyclopedia of World Cultures

SUPPLEMENT

Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember,
and Ian Skoggard, *Editors*

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THOMSON LEARNING

New York · Detroit · San Diego · San Francisco
Boston · New Haven, Conn. · Waterville, Maine
London · Munich

Encyclopedia of World Cultures Supplement

ISBN 0-02-865671-7

Macmillan Reference USA
300 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Macmillan Reference USA
27500 Drake Rd.
Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535

Printed in the United States of America
Printing number
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

This paper meets the requirements of ANSI-NISO Z.3948-1992 (Permanence of Paper)

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Preface

This volume, with one hundred new articles, supplements the award-winning 10-volume *Encyclopedia of World Cultures,* which was also organized and prepared by the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) at Yale University, and published by G. K. Hall/Macmillan Library Reference between 1991 and 1996. The volume includes three kinds of entries. One kind is an important culture that was not included, for one reason or another, in the original encyclopedia. These new cultures are located in most regions of the world, but especially in Africa and North America. For example, Rwandans and Barundi are now included. New or updated articles on cultures that have been strongly affected by recent political events are a second kind of entry here. For example, the wars in the former Yugoslavia required expansions and updates of the articles on the Bosnian Muslims, Albanians, and Serbs, and the Afghanistan war called for revisions of the articles on the Tajiks and Uzbeks. Finally, there originally were only short entries on some important cultures, including some that are of classic interest in anthropology (for example, Crow, Zulu). These have now been expanded and updated.

In preparing this supplement, we have asked for advice from many scholars and contributors. We particularly thank our advisory editors, Norma Diamond (China), Terence E. Hays (Oceania), Paul Hockings (South Asia, East and Southeast Asia), M. Marlene Martin (North America), and Johannes Wilbert (South America) for suggestions about which cultures to add, enlarge, and update, and possible authors. The cultures described here are listed alphabetically. The cultural summaries generally provide a mix of information—demographic, historical, social, economic, political, and religious. But the emphasis is on the culture, on the ways of life of the people, past and present. This is an anthropological reference work, designed for comparing the ways of life of cultures around the world. Usually the authors of the entries are anthropologists who have first-hand experience with the cultures they describe. The entries follow a standardized outline; each summary usually provides information on a core list of topics, including the following:

CULTURE NAME The name used most often in the anthropological and social science literatures to refer to the culture.

ETHNONYMS Alternative names for the culture including names used by outsiders, the self-name, and alternate spellings.

ORIENTATION
Identification and Location· Derivation of the names and ethnonyms, location of the culture, and a brief description of the physical environment.
Demography. Population history and the most recent reliable population figures or estimates, with dates.
Linguistic Affiliation. The name of the language spoken and/or written by the culture, its place in an international language classification system, and internal variation in language use.

HISTORY AND CULTURAL RELATIONS
Origins and history of the culture and the past and current nature of relationships with other groups.

SETTLEMENTS The location of settlements, types of settlements, types of structures, housing design, and materials.

ECONOMY
Subsistence. The primary methods of obtaining and distributing food and other necessities; if food and other necessities are primarily bought and sold, that is mentioned here but commercial activities are discussed more fully below.
Commercial Activities. Activities primarily involving monetary exchange.
Industrial Arts. Implements and objects produced by the culture either for its own use or for sale or trade.
Trade. Products traded and patterns of trade with other groups.
Division of Labor. How basic economic tasks are assigned by age, sex, ability, occupational specialization, or status.
Land Tenure. Rules and practices concerning the allocation of land and land-use rights to members of the culture and outsiders.

KINSHIP
Kin Groups and Descent. Rules and practices concerning kin-based features of social organization such as lineages and clans and alliances between these groups.
Kinship Terminology. Classification of the kinship terminological system on the basis of either cousin terms or generation, and information about any unique aspects of kinship terminology.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY
Marriage. Rules and practices concerning reasons for marriage, types of marriage, economic aspects of marriage, postmarital residence, divorce, and remarriage.

Domestic Unit. Description of the basic household unit including type, size, and composition.
Inheritance. Rules and practices concerning the inheritance of property.
Socialization. Rules and practices concerning child rearing, including caretakers, values inculcated, child-rearing methods, initiation rites, and education.

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION
Social Organization. Rules and practices concerning the internal organization of the culture, including social status, primary and secondary groups, and social stratification.
Political Organization. Rules and practices concerning leadership, politics, governmental organizations, and decision making.
Social Control. The sources of conflict within the culture and informal and formal social control mechanisms.
Conflict. The sources of conflict with other groups and informal and formal means of resolving conflicts.

RELIGION AND EXPRESSIVE CULTURE
Religious Beliefs. The nature of religious beliefs including beliefs in supernatural entities, traditional beliefs, and the effects of major religions.
Religious Practitioners. The types, sources of power, and activities of religious specialists such as shamans and priests.
Ceremonies. The nature, type, and frequency of religious and other ceremonies and rites.
Arts. The nature, types, and characteristics of artistic activities including literature, music, dance, carving, and so on.
Medicine. The nature of traditional medical beliefs and practices and the influence of scientific medicine.
Death and Afterlife. The nature of beliefs and practices concerning death, the deceased, funerals, and the afterlife.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
A selected list of the five-to-ten most important sources for readers, including usually at least some references in English.

AUTHOR'S NAME

Maps

There is a set of maps for each region of the world that will help the reader find the country or countries in which the culture is located.

Glossary

There is a glossary of technical and scientific terms found in the summaries. Both general social science terms and region-specific terms are included.

Country Index

Cultures are not clearly separated by country, so the country index lists the cultures in this volume under the countries in which they are located. Where a culture straddles a political border, it is listed in the various countries in which a substantial population resides.

Ethnonym Index

There is an ethnonym index for the cultures covered in the supplement. As mentioned above, ethnonyms are alternative names for the culture—that is, names different from those used here as the summary headings. Ethnonyms may be alternative spellings of the culture name, a totally different name used by outsiders, a name used in the past but no longer used, or the name in another language. It is not unusual that some ethnonyms are considered degrading and insulting by the people to whom they refer. These names may be included here because they do identify the group and may help some users locate the summary or additional information on the culture in other sources. Authors usually explain whether a particular ethnonym is considered acceptable or unacceptable to the people being described in the identification and location section. The ethnonyms index contains pointers to the main culture name under which the entry can be found.

Population Figures

We have tried to be as up-to-date and as accurate as possible in reporting population figures. This is no easy task, as some groups are not counted in official government censuses, some groups are very likely undercounted, and in some cases the definition of a cultural group used by the census takers differs from the definition we have used. In general, we have relied on population figures supplied by the summary authors. If the reported figure is from an earlier date—say, the 1980s—it is usually because it is the most up-to-date figure that could be found.

Acknowledgments

In addition to our advisors, who suggested cultures to be included and possible authors, we thank Monica Hubbard for managing the project with her usual efficiency and good humor. Most of all, of course, we thank the contributors for describing the cultures so well.

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HUMAN RELATIONS AREA FILES AT YALE UNIVERSITY


AFRICA
0 400 800 Miles
0 400 800 Kilometers
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
WESTERN SAHARA (Occupied by Morocco)
MAURITANIA
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
CAPE VERDE
SENEGAL
THE GAMBIA
GUINEA-BISSAU
GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
GHANA
TOGO
BENIN
BURKINA FASO
NIGERIA
ERITREA
DJIBOUTI
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
CAMEROON
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
SÃO TOMÉ & PRÍNCIPE
GABON
REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
UGANDA
KENYA
RWANDA
BURUNDI
TANZANIA
ANGOLA (Cabinda)
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
MALAWI
MOZAMBIQUE
ZIMBABWE
NAMIBIA
BOTSWANA
SWAZILAND
LESOTHO
SOUTH AFRICA
COMOROS
MADAGASCAR
SEYCHELLES
MAURITIUS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Gulf of Aden
Red Sea
Mozambique Channel
Algiers
Tunis
Tripoli
Rabat
Cairo
Khartoum
Addis Ababa
Mogadishu
Nairobi
Dar es Salaam
Kinshasa
Luanda
Lusaka
Harare
Windhoek
Gaborone
Pretoria
Maputo
Cape Town
Dakar
Bamako
Niamey
N'Djamena
Abuja
Accra
Lomé
Monrovia
Malabo
Yaoundé
Bangui
Kampala
Kigali
Lilongwe
Antananarivo
Moroni
Victoria
Port Louis

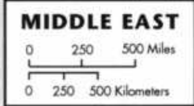
EAST & SOUTH ASIA

0 250 500 750 1,000 Miles

0 250 500 750 1000 Kilometers

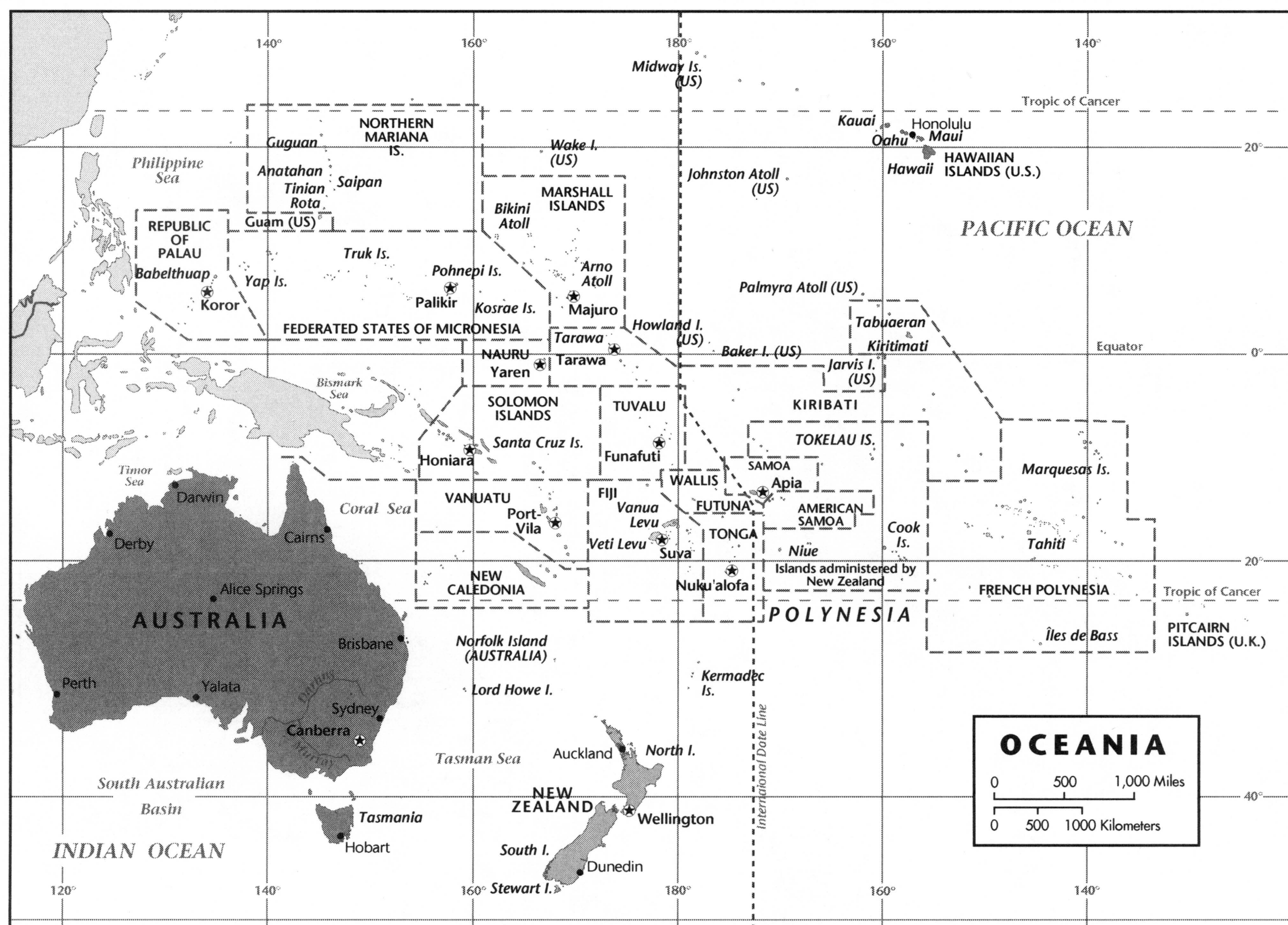
KAZAKHSTAN
Furmanovo
Köshetau
Astana
Zaysan
Almaty (Alma-Ata)
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Lake Balkash
UZBEKISTAN
TURKMENISTAN
Ashkhabad
Tejen
Tashkent
KYRGYZSTAN
Dushanbe
TAJIKISTAN
Kashi
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
Zaranj
Islāmābād
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
Saindak
PAKISTAN
Pasni
Gulf of Oman
Lakhpat
Delhi
New Delhi
NEPAL
Kāthmāndu
BHUTAN
Thimphu
Dibrugarh
BANGLADESH
Dhaka
Calcutta
INDIA
Surat
Chandrapur
Bangalore
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Kokkilai
Colombo
SRI LANKA
MALDIVES
Male
INDIAN OCEAN
Lake Baikal
MONGOLIA
Ulaanbaatar
Dalandzadgad
Hami
Golmud
CHINA
Xi'an
Lhasa
Wuhan
Fuzhou
Gengma
Macau (PORT.)
Hong Kong (CHINA)
Haikou
Hainan
Beijing
Yichun
NORTH KOREA
P'yŏngyang
Seoul
SOUTH KOREA
Sea of Japan
JAPAN
Sapporo
Tokyo
Kyoto
Osaka
Hiroshima
East China Sea
T'aipai
TAIWAN
Philippine Sea
South China Sea

MIDDLE EAST
Black Sea
Sinop
AZERBAIJAN
Baku
Ankara
TURKEY
Gaziantep
Caspian Sea
Mashdad
Mediterranean Sea
Nicosia
CYPRUS
SYRIA
LEBANON
Beirut
Damascus
Tehrān
IRAQ
IRAN
Jerusalem
Ammān
Baghdād
ISRAEL
JORDAN
Khorramshahr
Kuwait
KUWAIT
Al A'sad
BAHRAIN
Manama
Persian Gulf
SAUDI ARABIA
Riyadh
Doha
QATAR
Abu Dhabi
U.A.E.
Muscat
OMAN
Ash Sharawrah
Dawkah
Şan'ā
YEMEN
Arabian Sea

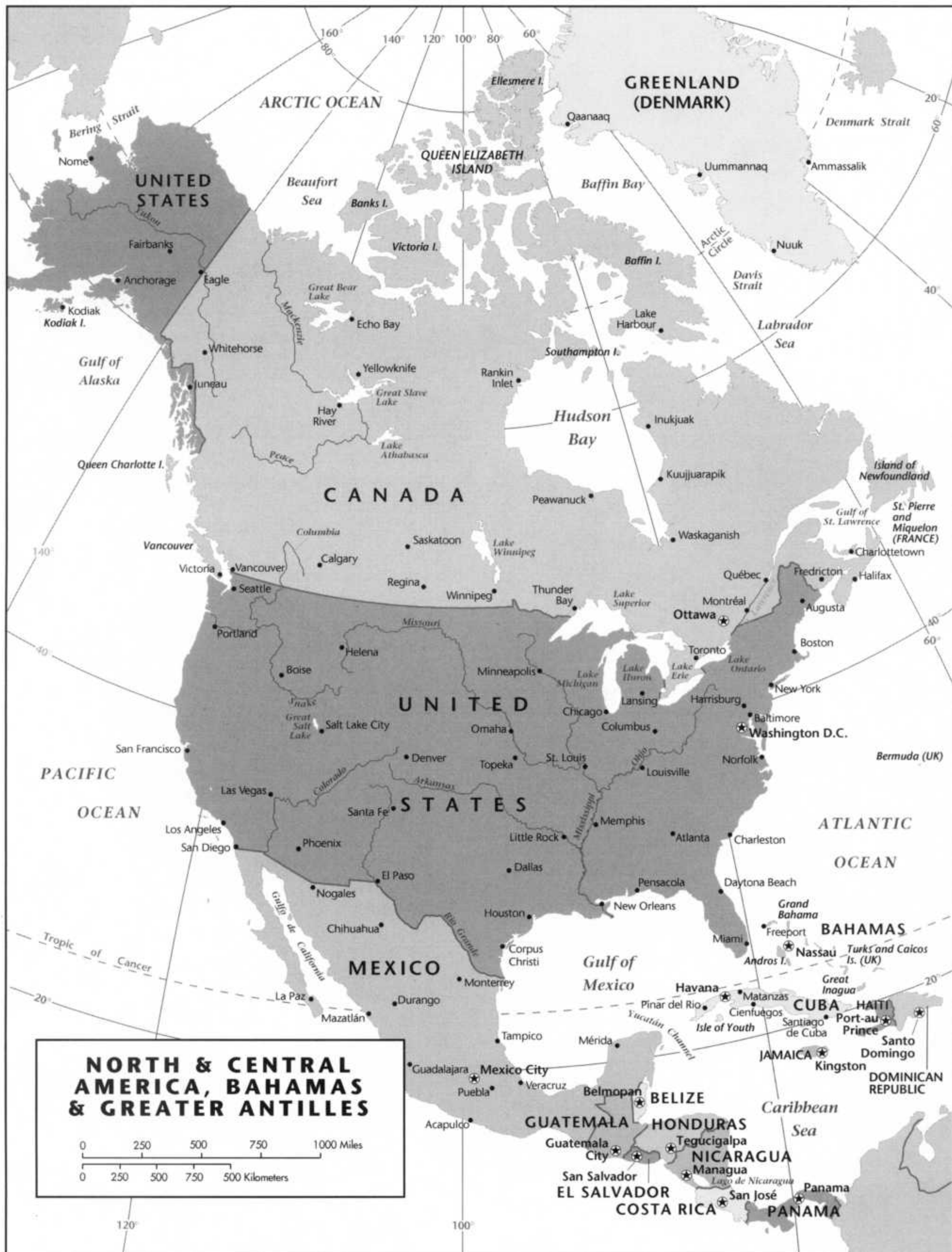



SOUTHEAST ASIA
0 250 500 750 1,000 Miles
0 250 500 750 1000 Kilometers
BURMA
LAOS
THAILAND
CAMBODIA
VIETNAM
PHILIPPINES
MALAYSIA
BRUNEI
SINGAPORE
INDONESIA
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Hanoi
Haiphong
Vientiane
Yangon
Pathein
Chiang Mai
Muang Xépôn
Bangkok
Dawei
Phnom Penh
Kawthaumg
Ho Chi Minh City
Phuket
Kota Baharu
Kuala Lumpur
Medan
Singapore
Padang
Palembang
Jakarta
Bandung
Semarang
Pontianak
Samarinda
Sibu
Tarakan
Bandar Seri Begawan
Laoag
LUZON
Manila
Naga
Puerto Princesa
MINDINAO
General Santos
Manado
Sorong
Ambon
Jayapura
Kupang
Port Moresby
South China Sea
Gulf of Thailand
Strait of Malacca
Celebes Sea
Philippine Sea
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Arafura Sea
Timor Sea
Makassar Strait
SUMATRA
BORNEO
CELEBES
MOLUCCAS
NEW GUINEA
JAVA
Bali
Sumba
Timor
Buru
Bangka
Billiton
Nlar
Greater Sunda Islands
Lesser Sunda Islands
Equator


EUROPE
0 200 400 Miles
0 200 400 Kilometers
ICELAND
Reykjavik
Greenland Sea
Norwegian Sea
North Sea
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
RUSSIA
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
BELARUS
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IRELAND
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GREECE
FRANCE
ITALY
SAN MARINO
VATICAN CITY
MONACO
ANDORRA
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
MALTA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
English Channel
Bay of Biscay
Mediterranean Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ionian Sea
Aegean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Oslo
Stockholm
Helsinki
Tallinn
Riga
Vilnius
Minsk
Moscow
Kiev
Warsaw
Berlin
Amsterdam
London
Brussels
Paris
Prague
Vienna
Bratislava
Budapest
Bern
Ljubljana
Zagreb
Sarajevo
Belgrade
Bucharest
Sofia
Skopje
Podgorica
Tirana
Athens
Rome
Madrid
Lisbon
Dublin
Chişinău
ARCTIC OCEAN
Murmansk
Arkhangel'sk
Vorkuta
Noril'sk
Tiksi
Verkhoyansk
Magadan
Yakutsk
Mirnyy
Kirov
Khanty Mansiysk
Yekaterinburg
Tomsk
Bratsk
Krasnoyarsk
Novokuznetsk
Chita
Komsomol'sk
Khabarovsk
Nakhodka
Anadyr
Tuapse
Smolensk
RUSSIA
0 250 500 Miles
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OCEANIA
0 500 1,000 Miles
0 500 1000 Kilometers
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
POLYNESIA
Philippine Sea
Coral Sea
Tasman Sea
Bismark Sea
Timor Sea
South Australian Basin
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
International Date Line
NORTHERN MARIANA IS.
Guguan
Anatahan
Tinian
Rota
Saipan
Guam (US)
REPUBLIC OF PALAU
Babelthuap
Koror
Yap Is.
Truk Is.
Pohnepi Is.
Palikir
Kosrae Is.
FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA
Wake I. (US)
MARSHALL ISLANDS
Bikini Atoll
Arno Atoll
Majuro
Midway Is. (US)
Johnston Atoll (US)
Kauai
Oahu
Honolulu
Maui
Hawaii
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS (U.S.)
Palmyra Atoll (US)
Tabuaeran
Kiritimati
Howland I. (US)
Baker I. (US)
Jarvis I. (US)
KIRIBATI
Tarawa
NAURU
Yaren
SOLOMON ISLANDS
Santa Cruz Is.
Honiara
TUVALU
Funafuti
TOKELAU IS.
SAMOA
Apia
WALLIS
FUTUNA
AMERICAN SAMOA
Marquesas Is.
VANUATU
Port-Vila
FIJI
Vanua Levu
Veti Levu
Suva
TONGA
Nuku'alofa
Cook Is.
Niue
Islands administered by New Zealand
Tahiti
FRENCH POLYNESIA
NEW CALEDONIA
Îles de Bass
PITCAIRN ISLANDS (U.K.)
Darwin
Derby
Cairns
Alice Springs
Brisbane
Perth
Yalata
Sydney
Canberra
Darling
Murray
Tasmania
Hobart
Norfolk Island (AUSTRALIA)
Lord Howe I.
Kermadec Is.
Auckland
North I.
Wellington
South I.
Dunedin
Stewart I.
120°
140°
160°
180°
20°
0°
40°


NORTH & CENTRAL AMERICA, BAHAMAS & GREATER ANTILLES
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND (DENMARK)
UNITED STATES
CANADA
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
Hudson Bay
Baffin Bay
Beaufort Sea
Gulf of Alaska
Labrador Sea
Denmark Strait
Davis Strait
Bering Strait
Ellesmere I.
QUEEN ELIZABETH ISLAND
Banks I.
Victoria I.
Baffin I.
Southampton I.
Kodiak I.
Queen Charlotte I.
Vancouver
Island of Newfoundland
St. Pierre and Miquelon (FRANCE)
Bermuda (UK)
BAHAMAS
CUBA
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
JAMAICA
BELIZE
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
EL SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
Ottawa
Washington D.C.
Mexico City
Havana
Nassau
Port-au-Prince
Santo Domingo
Kingston
Belmopan
Guatemala City
San Salvador
Tegucigalpa
Managua
San José
Panama
Tropic of Cancer
Arctic Circle
0 250 500 750 1000 Miles
0 250 500 750 500 Kilometers


SOUTH AMERICA
0 250 500 Miles
0 250 500 Kilometers
Caribbean Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ST. LUCIA
BARBADOS
ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES
GRENADA
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
Barranquilla
Maracaibo
Caracas
Orinoco
Ciudad Guayana
San Cristóbal
VENEZUELA
Georgetown
GUYANA
Paramaribo
Cayenne
SURINAME
French Guiana (FRANCE)
Medellín
Bogotá
Cali
Malpelo I. (COLOMBIA)
COLOMBIA
Mitú
Quito
Equator
ECUADOR
Guayaquil
Macapá
Negro
Amazon
Manaus
Santarém
Belém
São Luís
Iquitos
Teresina
Fortaleza
Tocantins
Marañón
Ucayali
BRAZIL
Natal
Pôrto Velho
Trujillo
Rio Branco
Recife
Juàzeiro
PERU
Aracajú
Lima
Cusco
BOLIVIA
Xingu
São Francisco
Salvador
Ica
Lago Titicaca
Trinidad
Cuiabá
Brasília
Arequipa
La Paz
Cochabamba
Goiânia
Santa Cruz
Sucre
Arica
Belo Horizonte
Vitória
PARAGUAY
Paraná
Antofagasta
Asunción
São Paulo
Rio de Janeiro
Tropic of Capricorn
San Miguel de Tucumán
Curitiba
Resistencia
Isla San Félix (CHILE)
Isla San Ambrosio (CHILE)
Florianópolis
CHILE
Paraná
Córdoba
Pôrto Alegre
Salto
Rosario
URUGUAY
Valparaíso
Mendoza
Santiago
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
Isla Juan Fernández (CHILE)
ARGENTINA
Concepción
Bahía Blanca
Mar del Plata
Puerto Montt
Rawson
Comodoro Rivadavia
Stanley
Estrecho de Magallanes
Falkland Islands (UK)
Punta Arenas
Ushuaia
South Georgia (UK)
PUERTO RICO & LESSER ANTILLES
0 50 100 Miles
0 50 100 Kilometers
Anguilla (UK)
British Virgin Is. (UK)
St. Martin (FR and NETH)
St. Barthélemy
San Juan
Puerto Rico (US)
Virgin Is. (US)
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA
Netherlands Antilles (NETH)
St. John's
Montserrat (UK)
Guadeloupe (FR)
Basse-Terre
ST. KITTS AND NEVIS
Basseterre
DOMINICA
Roseau
Martinique (FR)
Fort-de-France
Castries
ST. LUCIA
Bridgetown
Caribbean Sea
Kingston
BARBADOS
ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES
GRENADA
St. George's
Port-of-Spain
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Abau

ETHNONYM: Green River

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Abau are the westernmost people living on the Sepik River. The name was applied by linguists; it is not used by the Abau people. It might have derived from the kinship term for grandparents, *abau.* "Green River" is inappropriate as an ethnonym because it is the name of a river flowing mainly through non-Abau territory and of a government patrol post near the boundaries of three unrelated language groups.

Abau territory falls within Sandaun (West Sepik) Province of Papua New Guinea and extends mainly along the south bank of the Sepik from the vicinity of the Yellow River, a northern tributary of the upper Sepik, to the international border of the Indonesian province of Irian Jay a; that is between 141°00" and 141°00" E. by 4° S. It also includes the area south of the Green River patrol post and the floodplains of the Idam and August rivers, southern tributaries of the upper Sepik. The West Range to the south is sparsely inhabited by peoples who speak unrelated languages and whose cultures are more related to those of the Sepik foothills than to that of the riverine Abau. On the north side of the Sepik, in an area of swamps grading through forest to patchy grass country, peoples of unrelated language groups share a culture not unlike that of the Abau.

Demography. The names of 1990 and 2000 village-based census units are difficult to correlate with Abau villages. The linguist Laycock estimated 4,545 people based on information in 1970. The census figures for 1980 suggest no significant change. It is estimated that the Abau number between 4,500 and 5,000 people and inhabit 1,700 square miles (4,350 square kilometers).

Linguistic Affiliation. Abau belongs to the Sepik-Ramu phylum of Non-Austronesian ("Papuan") languages and is characterized by tonemes. The language most closely related to Abau is Iwam, which is spoken by people living along the Sepik and the lower May River, downstream from the Abau. Iwam and Abau have 30 percent cognate vocabulary.

History and Cultural Relations

Abau speakers separate Biaka and Pyu speakers, whose languages appear to be related at the phylum level, to the north and west, respectively. Several Abau groups tell how they originated from locations farther downstream from where they currently live; some say from the May River. Despite traditions of a common origin, there appears to have been little sense of loyalty among these groups. Each settlement was autonomous, and enmity between settlements was common. Even intermarriage between groups did not guarantee friendship. It seems that enmity was strongest and most enduring between speakers of different languages, but was ameliorated for purposes of trade. Enmity between the Abau of the Idam valley and the Amto (an unrelated speech community in the Simaiya valley and West Range immediately to the east) seems to have been particularly intense until warfare was banned by the colonial administration.

Almost nothing is known of the prehistory of the area. A small stone head unearthed in a village near the Green River patrol post was not recognized as an Abau artifact.

The first Europeans to contact the Abau were members of the German-Dutch border-marking expedition of 1910, followed by the 1912–1913 Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss expedition. A small ethnographic collection from among the Abau is in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. In 1914 Richard Thurnwald explored widely throughout the upper basin of the Sepik, following that river almost to its source near Telefomin. The Eve-Hodgekiss oil search expedition of 1938 constructed an airstrip at Green River and the first plane landed in 1938, but it was not until 1949 that a patrol post was established there.

A small airstrip was built in the Idam valley in the 1960s but was soon abandoned because of drainage problems. Another airstrip was built on the August River in the early 1970s to service a small police post there. The Christian Mission to Many Lands has had a small station based at Green River since 1953. A few men have been employed as plantation workers and have brought back an awareness of the outside world, a knowledge of Pidgin English, and a desire to acquire some of the material wealth of Europeans. However, there appear to be no major resources in the area to realize that desire.

Settlements

The Abau once lived in large community houses close to the banks of rivers and surrounded by food gardens. Administra-

tion officers pressured the people to abandon these houses in favor of single-family dwellings set out in a village pattern, but communal dwellings were still seen in the 1970s. The community houses were rectangular structures supported at least six feet off the ground by many flimsy posts. The gable roof utilized prefabricated sections of sago leaf thatch. The walls were midribs of sago palm frond cut to the required length and lashed with cane. The flooring was made of tough blackpalm bark. There were usually small verandas at each end of the house. Hearths were lined up on either side of the house, one side for men and the other for women and children, though children moved freely in the men's space. Firewood was dried and meat and fish were preserved in racks above the hearth. It is estimated that a community house would not have lasted more than four years.

More recent single-family dwellings are similar in construction to community houses, though smaller and with a large open veranda to facilitate socializing and communication between the occupants of neighboring dwellings.

A special kind of house was constructed for dancing. It was similar to a community house, but hearths were arranged around the perimeter of a lower dance floor supported only at the edges. A large center post passed through a hole in the floor and supported the ridge pole but not the floor. The slow, knee-bending action of the dancers caused the floor to spring slowly up and down in rhythm with the dancing.

Economy

Subsistence. The Abau are swidden horticulturalists, hunters, and gatherers but rely primarily on sago for their staple starch. Food crops include taro, sweet potato, yams, and bananas as well as recently introduced crops such as pineapples, pawpaws, beans, and corn. Gardens are fenced to prevent feral pigs from destroying crops. The Abau cultivate coconut palms, areca palm (betel nut), and breadfruit, roasting the whole fruit in the fire but eating only the cooked seeds. They hunt feral pigs and domesticate a few but slaughter domestic pigs only on special occasions. Woman and children gather frogs and tadpoles and dam small creeks so that they can use crushed derris root in the water to stun the fish. The men catch fish and hunt various animals, including flying foxes, bandicoots, possums, cuscus and rats, birds and cassowaries, and wallabies.

Commercial Activities. There appear to no opportunities for commercial development at the present time. During the 1960s there was a brief revival of shield making to supply the artifact industry.

Industrial Arts. Before the introduction by Europeans of knives, steel axes, and machetes, tools were made of stone and bone. Stone adze blades were roughly shaped by percussion flaking of river pebbles and then ground and polished. These blades were bound onto a haft shaped like the number "7" but could be rotated so that the tools functioned as axes or adzes. These adjustable tools were particularly apt for the hollowing out of logs for canoe hulls. Cylindrical stones ground to a point at each end were similarly hafted and used to fell sago palms. The pith of the sago palm is shredded by pounding with a stone core that is hafted in the same way as the palm cutter and axe or adze. Chisels and pandanus fruit splitters are made from the tibia of the cassowary, and pig bones are used as spoons. Rat incisors are used as chisels for fine carving.

Bow staves are made from black palm, and bowstrings from split rattan. Arrows for hunting large game and for warfare are elaborately ornamented. Most arrows have a reed shaft and a barbed point; bamboo blades are joined to the shaft by an elaborately carved and painted foreshaft. Shields were carved from the large flat buttress roots of trees and suspended from the bow shoulder by a horizontal bast strap. Designs were carved in relief bands painted black, with the curvilinear figures usually in an ocher color against a white ground. Hourglass-shaped hand drums without carved handles are fitted with a lizard skin tympanum; designs related to those on shields are carved and painted at the distal end. Wooden trumpets with a slightly tapering cone shape also bear carved and painted designs at the distal end. Bamboo jaw's harps are played for amusement. Log slit drums figure in legends, but only a few, small, crudely carved examples could be found in the 1960s.

Women make looped string bags of various sizes that are used to carry everything from small personal items to food, firewood, and babies. Women also make and wear reed or sago-string skirts. Men make and wear gourd penis sheaths, either egg-shaped or tapering. Curvilinear designs representing insects and other small creatures are burned onto the surface of the gourds. This type of ornamentation also is applied to gourds used for smoking or as containers for the lime chewed with betel nuts. Bamboo smoking tubes are provided with etched designs that often are similar to those on the arrow foreshafts.

A variety of head, neck, chest, arm, and leg ornaments were made from shells, bone, teeth, seeds, fur, and feathers.

Trade. The major items of trade were stone tools, for which dogs'-teeth necklaces and pigs were exchanged. A type of triangular cross-section adze was traded from the same source in the Star Mountains to the west from which the Telefolmin obtained their adzes; these adzes have been found as far down the Sepik River as Angoram. Some axe and adze blades were made locally from large river pebbles, and some were obtained by trade from the upper reaches of streams east and west of the Abau. Shell ornaments of nassa, cowrie, pearl shell, and conus also were obtained by trade.

Division of Labor. Men clear forest for gardens, erect fences, build houses, and carve canoes. They hunt with bows and arrows, assisted by dogs. Both sexes plant, weed, and harvest. Men fell sago palms. Women extract the sago starch from the palm and cook sago by mixing water boiled in bamboo tubes with the sago starch to make gelatinous ``sausages." A container made by folding and stitching sago spathe (the large sheathing leaf enveloping the flowering head of the palm) is used in this process. Women are the primary carers for children, but men carry children and play with them. Women make the looped string bags used by both sexes.

Land Tenure. Land belonging to each settlement appears to have relatively clearly defined boundaries that were contested by warfare. It appears that an individual's rights to use land are inherited primarily from the father, secondarily from the mother, and occasionally from affines.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. There do not appear to be any named kin groups; each group is known by the name of its settlement. There are two ``lines" of Abau: one that moved up the Sepik mainstream to Hufi on the international border and one that moved up the lower reaches of the Simaiya to the Idam and across to the middle August River. Relationships within each of these ``lines" tend to be friendly, but relationships between the lines tend to be unfriendly, exacerbated by accusations of sorcery.

Kinship Terminology. Abau kin terminology is difficult to classify but it is Omaha-like in so far as all parallel relatives are called (male speaking) by the generationally appropriate nuclear family terms, there is a terminological differentiation of the sister's descendants, and there is a generational shift upwards of the mother's brother's daughter and her descendants. However, the mother's brother's son and the father's sister's son are terminologically equated by a word that is translatable as ``pig-exchange relative." In the standard Omaha system, these terms should be different, and so it appears that the term for "pig-exchange relative" has "overwritten" the Omaha terms. Little is known of the female kinship terminology but it appears similar in structure to that of the male terminology while using many different terms.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. It is said that a man, usually the father, gives a woman to another man to marry. The ideal is sister exchange. There is often considerable pressure on a woman to marry a man not of her choice. However, at least as often a woman insists on having her own feelings considered. Most marriages are within the village group, but marriages to outsiders are arranged with a sense of reciprocity—a woman of group A is given to a man of group B because previously a woman of group B was given to a man of group A. This is a generalized form of sister exchange. A bride can be bought with dogs' teeth, bows, arrows, and string bags.

A man is not supposed to marry his sister's daughter or his first cousin, but the latter is now permissible. In the past this would have created problems with the rules of pork distribution.

Sex before marriage causes considerable trouble because it disrupts plans for sister exchange, but adultery among married men and women is common. Women say that prostitution—getting paid for sex—would be silly: "It is just fun."

Domestic Unit. The basic domestic unit is the nuclear family, sometimes extended to include a sibling or another close relative of the husband or wife. Infanticide may be practiced if a child is born too soon after another child. Ideally, a child should have left the breast before another requires it. Women may resort to magic to prevent pregnancy, but abortion is not practiced. Men prefer male children because they see them as their replacements.

Inheritance. Men tend to inherit their fathers' most valuable possessions, such as stone tools, fight arrows, and hand drums. Inheritance of land, or of the right to use land, is cognatic—that is, through the father or mother—although there appears to be a preference for patrilineal inheritance.

Socialization. Perhaps the most important attitude inculcated during childhood is the necessity for sharing food. When a boy shoots his first birds, neither he nor his parents may eat them; he must give them to someone else "or he will never grow up." A man is bound by the same rules when he shoots his first pigs. He cannot eat the first crop of coconuts or betel nut from the palms he has planted because "his blood has gone into it." For the same reason he must not eat the pigs he has reared or the sago or pandanus from the palms he has planted.

It was said that in pre-European times parents dealt harshly with naughty children, sometimes beating them so badly that they died. Children were frightened into obedience by warnings of "bogeymen" and enemy scouts. There appear to have been no formal rites of initiation or coming of age for boys or girls.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The community house group (today the village group) is the basic social unit that integrates nuclear families. Previously, men sat, ate, and slept in an area of the community house nominally separate from the women and children. The change to individual houses for the nuclear family, gathered together into villages, has broken down this separation of the sexes.

Political Organization. Traditionally, there were no formal political offices. An energetic young warrior may have been able to mobilize one or two settlements against an enemy, but larger alliances were unknown.

After the Green River patrol post was established, government officers appointed a *luluai* (village representative) and a *tultul* (assistant) in each settlement to mediate between themselves and the villagers. This system was replaced by local government councils with elected councilors in the late 1970s. Today candidates for office at the local, provincial, and national levels are elected on the basis of local loyalties but readily replaced if they are perceived not to have materially assisted their constituents.

Social Control. Antisocial behavior is generally tolerated and dealt with by avoidance. However, if a person is accused of sorcery and enough men feel aggrieved by the sorcerer's activities, they may kill the accused even if that person is a member of their community. If a person goes crazy and threatens extreme violence, a number of men may physically restrain that person until he or she calms down. Serious crimes are reported to government officials who have the power to take the accused into custody and, if found guilty, jail him at the provincial center. Monetary fines are ineffective as few people have money. A typical activity for prisoners is to cut the grass on airstrips and clear out drainage ditches at the roadside.

Conflict. Conflict within the village may be sparked by accusations of theft, adultery, or unfair distribution of food. Conflict is managed by avoidance or physical restraint. Conflict between communities may involve a number of men and quickly escalate to warfare, with the aim being to destroy the community, its settlement, and its gardens. If someone is killed, that person's death must be avenged.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditionally, there were no initiatory rituals, and although the skeletal relics of some ancestors were retained as heirlooms, there do not appear to have been any rituals involving them. There is, however, strong adherence to animism and belief in humanlike spirits with shape-shifting powers that inhabit large trees, deep pools, and rivers. The spirit world is regarded as having a geographic location at the boundaries of human settlement, gardening, and hunting activities. The spirits of dead persons may be encountered in the bush and may choose to return to human settlements, sometimes with a spouse and with children who have been born to them in the spirit world. A characteristic of spirits is that they vomit when first attempting to eat cooked food or decompose or vanish if they are reminded of their death.

Religious Practitioners. Every community has a few men who use magic to cure illnesses. After chewing betel nut and cinnamon bark and engaging in periodic tobacco smoking, they examine patients and suck out splinters, nails, bones, stones, teeth, and other objects that are believed to be making the patient sick. These objects are thought to have been shot into the victim by sorcery. After the objects have been removed, they must chase off the malignant spirits that have been extracted along with the objects or the community's dogs will be driven crazy and they will not be able to hunt wild pigs successfully.

Ceremonies. Abau religious ceremonies seem to be concerned primarily with curing illness. *Yafi* is the name of a sickness-curing ceremony. A tall conical sago spathe headdress *(bufiyaf)* with a design painted on it like those on shields is worn by a man who also wears a large gourd penis sheath *(yafsiau)* and a belt of large bones and seeds. The masked man beats his drum and dances so that the sheath swings up and clacks on the belt. His function is to decoy and dispose of the malevolent spirits that have made people sick. The sick people sit on the ground, and the rest of the community dances around them. After the ceremony the participants must avoid sexual intercourse for a month so that the ginger they have used does not injure or kill their partners.

Arts. Designs are etched on bamboo smoking tubes and reed arrow shafts; singed on gourd penis sheaths, lime containers, and smoking apparatus; painted on sago palm spathe; and carved and painted on wood shields, hand drums, and trumpets. Arrow foreshafts are elaborately carved and painted and may be inherited from generation to generation. The designs are generally curvilinear and symmetrical around the vertical and horizontal axes.

There is a rich tradition of songs with texts evoking nostalgia and melancholy by means of allusion to phenomena in the natural world. Oral traditions are in linear, narrative form, with frequent reference to the spirit world and interactions between protagonists and spirits. A common motif is the man who gains a boon from a spirit woman and loses it through negligence. Another is the outcast who, through heroic experiences during an epic journey, becomes an admired superman.

Medicine. The most common herb used as medicine is nettle, which is thought to prevent the blood from coagulating in the veins, which the Abau recognize as a sign of death. Another method of curing certain illnesses is to sit on a platform above or lean over a bark container of medicinal leaves and water that is brought to boiling by dropping in hot stones. This method is believed to remove the vindictive powers of spirits who have taken the form of human beings (especially females). Chewing ginger, cinnamon, and betel nut and smoking tobacco are believed to be curative or necessary for healers to mobilize their curative powers. Chewing the extremely bitter wild taro leaf is mentioned as a means of abruptly shifting men into a warlike temperament. It is "heat" that is said to be the significant characteristic of these plant materials.

Death and Afterlife. If a person dies prematurely, even through an accident, it is believed that sorcery has been committed. A divination is conducted that involves a bamboo pole set up with rattling objects suspended from one end over the grave of the dead person; the other end is held by the diviner. The assembled men of the community call out the names of suspected sorcerers. If the pole rattles, they believe they are on the right track. Eventually, when the right name has been called and the motive has been established, the pole leaps out of its position over the grave and several young men hang on to it and rush up and down the village until they are exhausted. This disperses the power of the evil spirit. The pole is then attacked with axes and machetes, and the evil spirit is eliminated. The identified sorcerer may be attacked by sorcery or physically attacked and killed.

Dead people traditionally were put on a bark platform in the house that was left to deteriorate; now they are buried. Some bones—especially of successful hunters or warriors—were selected and worn as decorations around the neck or put in a string bag painted red.

The spirit of a dead person is called *bop.* This is also the word for ``shadow." Spirits go to *kisau* (the ground) and are called *kisauru.* The end of mourning is marked by the closest relatives washing in the river and sponsoring a lavish feast of sago, pandanus sauce, and smoked pork.

For other cultures in Papua New Guinea, *see* List of Cultures in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 2, Oceania.

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BARRY CRAIG

Albanians

ETHNONYMS: Albanoi, Arbër, Arbëresh, Arnauts, Arvanites, Shqiptars

Orientation

Identification and Location. Albania is nearly two-thirds mountainous, covering 10,710 square miles (28,748 square kilometers) of southeastern Europe. It is bordered by Montenegro, Kosovo, the Republic of Macedonia, Greece, and Italy, which lies 70 miles (112 kilometers) across the Adriatic Sea at the Strait of Otranto. The national borders were first recognized in 1921 but had been wider and more ethnically inclusive after the 1913 Balkan Wars and during the period of fascist occupation (1941-1944). In the early 2000s, nearly as many Albanians (more than three million) lived in adjacent neighboring states as lived in their homeland and even more were part of a worldwide diaspora.

Greeks call historically assimilated Christian Albanians *Arvanites* or *Arbër* and refer to recent Albanian immigrant workers as *Arvanoi (Albanoi)*. Ptolemy described the Albanoi, which produced the modern ethnonym Albanians, in the second century B.C.E. as an Illyrian tribe whose town was Albanopolis. In early Byzantine times Arvanites or Arvanoi were mentioned by Michael Attaliates and Anna Komnene; a principality of Arbanon developed in today's central Albania in the period 1190-1230, and in 1272 the Neapolitan Charles of Anjou proclaimed himself Rex *Albaniae.* In southern Italy Albanians are known as *Arbëresh.* The term *Arnauts* designates Albanians in the service of the Ottoman Empire. *Shqiptar,* the Albanian self-designation, in popular etymology relates to *shqiponjë* (the eagle) as the symbol of the mountains, the emblem of the medieval national hero Gjergji Kastrioti (Skanderbeg), and the national flag. In Slavic languages, *Šiptari* has a derogatory connotation while *Albanski* is a neutral term. Albanians is the internationally used name.

Demography. After the postcommunist political transition the birth rate decreased from 2.5 percent in 1990 to 1.8 percent in 1998, although it is still high by European standards. In 1996, life expectancy reached 71.4 years and 75 percent of the population was younger than age thirty-five. The crude mortality rate ranged between 5.4 and 5.7 per thousand. These figures suggest a large population increase, but the population decreased slightly from nearly 3,286,000 in 1990 to an estimated 3,284,000 in 1998 because of emigration. After the mobility restrictions of the communist regime ended, approximately 15.6 percent of the population, mostly young and middle-aged men (70.7 percent of all immigrants) and also young families, emigrated primarily for economic reasons. Emigrants' remittances constitute an estimated one-fifth of the nation's gross domestic product. In 1999 there were approximately 500,000 Albanian migrant workers in Greece, 200,000 in Italy, 12,000 in Germany, 12,000 in the United States, 5,000 in Canada, 2,500 in Belgium, 2,000 in France, and 2,000 in Turkey. Internal migration has depopulated poverty-stricken rural areas, while urban areas such as the Tirana district have nearly doubled in size (from 374,500 in 1990 to 618,200 in 1999).

Linguistic Affiliation. Albanian belongs to its own branch of Indo-European, with influences from Latin, Greek, Slavic languages, and Turkish. Dialect differences—roughly categorized as *Gheg* (north) and *Tosk* (south of the Shkumbin River)—were first nationally standardized on the basis of the central Albanian northern Tosk dialect during communist times. The Latin alphabet has officially been used since 1908. For patriotic reasons, Kosovar Albanian Gheg speakers adopted the standardized variant in 1968. The dialects differ at every level from phonetics to grammar to vocabulary.

History and Cultural Relations

Archaeological evidence of Illyrian settlement dates from the second millennium B.C.E. Illyria was in the orbit of the ancient Greek civilization and after 158 B.C.E. was controlled by the Roman Empire. Whether there was pre-Slavic settlement by Albanians in Kosovo is a matter of controversy. After Hun, Gothic, and Slavic invasions, by 750 the area was under Byzantine rule. It was under Bulgarian rule from 851 to 1014, under Norman rule from 1081 to 1185 and then areas came under the Neapolitan control of Charles of Anjou, under Serbian rule from 1334 to 1347, and under Venetian control until 1393. In the mid-fifteenth century Prince Gjergji Kastrioti (Skanderbeg) reconverted to Christianity and led the ethnically mixed allies of the 1444 League of Lezha in resisting Ottoman control. At the beginning of the sixteenth century all Albanian territories were under Turkish rule. Under the Ottomans—governing indirectly—various customary rules of self-regulation called *kanun* flourished. Islamization of nearly two-thirds of the population resulted from tax pressures on the Christians *(raya),* the recruitment of Christian children for the janissary corps *(devşirme),* the flight of many Christians to Greece and southern Italy, and the disintegration of church structures. There were opportunities for social and professional improvement in the Ottoman army and administration, and Albanians gained high feudal and military positions under the sultans. Modern Albanian historiography locates the national "rennaissance" *(rilindja)* in the nineteenth century, when the first uprisings against the disintegrating empire occurred. Schooling became a disputed question. Muslim and Greek Orthodox schools existed alongside Italian-supported schools and the Austro-Hungarian *Kultusprotektorat* Catholic schools, of which only the latter eventually promoted the use of Albanian after 1880.

In 1912 Albania was declared an independent nation. However, only after the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913 and a

half-year interlude of rule by the foreign Prince Wilhelm zu Wied in 1914 was Albanian independence recognized internationally in 1920. A semidemocratic government under Bishop Fan Noli was overthrown in 1924 by troops of Ahmet Bej Zogu, a northern tribal leader who was proclaimed King Zog in 1928. He fled the country as a vassal of Mussolini's fascist Italy in 1939. During occupation by the Germans during World War II, southern Albanians cooperated as partisans with the English on the eventual victorious side while many northern monarchists sided with the Germans.

These antagonisms caused postwar show trials until 1950, and many of the northern Albanian men were executed as collaborators. Under the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha (1946-1985) Albanian political ``isolationism" was expressed in the building of 250,000 concrete bunkers throughout the country. Yugoslavia was its patron state until the 1948 Cominform conflict. The Stalinist Soviet Union served as a patron from 1948 to 1961, and the People's Republic of China was the patron state until 1978. In a period of increasing budget deficits, starvation, and protests, Hoxha's successor, Ramiz Alia, began democratization reforms within the communist system in the late 1980s. In 1990, at a time of mass flight and student demonstrations, religious freedom, party pluralism, free elections, minority rights, the right of free expression, and the right to have a passport were granted.

The postcommunist transition period was characterized by a major international development presence ("international patronage"), mass migration, political polarization, and destabilization. Northern rural communities faced a vacuum of the previously omnipresent state power. After fraudulent elections in 1996 and the overnight loss of the population's savings in ``pyramid schemes" in 1997, state institutional structures disintegrated, and the population armed itself from communist-built army depots. An international military presence and strict monitoring of elections led to political and economic stabilization. Albania successfully coped with the influx of nearly half a million refugees from Kosovo in 1999 and remained neutral during Albanian guerrilla warfare in Macedonia in 2001.

Settlements

During the communist period approximately two-thirds of the population lived in rural, agriculturally dominated areas. During the 1990s the urbanization rate increased radically, and it is expected that early in the twenty-first century there will be equal rural and urban populations. Historical urban centers had developed at major trading routes connecting mountains with lowlands and hinterlands with the coast (Berat, Elbasan, Shkodër), at major ports (Durrës, Sarandë, Vlorë), and at centers on the highland plains (Gjirokastër, Korçë, Kukës, Peshkopi) or coastal plains (Kavaje, Lezhë). Tirana gained national significance only when it became the capital in 1920. Under communism cities with specific administrative, economic, or industrial functions (for example, mining and agricultural cities) developed out of previously rural settlements. Brick buildings lacking plastering, apartment blocks called *palati*, and central community buildings for each settlement ("house of culture") are reminders of communist housing policies. In the early 1990s, 95 percent of houses were privatized.

Village settlements in the northern mountains are characterized by the coresidence of agnatic groups and patrilineages so that territorial and kinship principles of social organization—despite communist attacks on "patriarchal traditions"—overlap. Hardly any traditional *kullë* remain from Ottoman times: These were traditional fortified tower houses of stone with slits for light in the lower floor and closable windows above, adapted to the threat of brigandage, foreign invasion, and blood feuds. Precommunist houses were built of stone and timber with a central fireplace for the extended family and a formal reception room. Within walking distance of the village, wattle and daub constructions on summer pastures *(bjeshkë)* offered shelter during the period of dairy production in the summer months. In Muslim-dominated rural regions stone wall enclosures were built for socioreligious and defensive purposes. Houses in areas with a Mediterranean climate have a porch that serves in the summer as a place for cooking, sleeping, and living. In these areas the influence of modern Greek architecture can be observed. There are a few remaining manor houses of former latifundia holders (the *çiftlik* system) and some castles of aristocratic families.

Economy

Subsistence. The extended household was based on a semiautonomous subsistence economy of horticulture, agriculture, and shepherding (sheep, goats, and cattle). *Kurbet,* labor migration prompted by poverty, in which one adult male family member works abroad and sends home remittances, was common both in precommunist times and afterward. Historically, many Albanians became wandering craftsmen with skills in areas such as house construction throughout what was known as the "European Turkey" of Ottoman times. One son in an extended family might have had to serve in the Ottoman army, which provided additional income.

The communist command economy fostered industrialization and the expropriation and nationalization of the means of private production. Farming was integrated in cooperatives and state collective farms. These policies led to the mass slaughter of animals and periods of starvation in the 1980s. There was widespread unemployment despite a "full-occupation" policy. In the postcommunist 1990s the official unemployment rate exceeded 18 percent. In 1999, 70 percent of employed persons worked in agriculture to meet subsistence needs. Foreign aid, migrants' remittances, and the informal sector became the pillars of the economy.

Industrial Arts. Traditional crafts include fine silver and gold filigree work; felt hats, vests, and trousers; wood carvings for interior decoration; soapstone carvings; wicker work decorations on small storage boxes; woodwork on traditional cradles, bridal chests, and spoons; musical instruments such as the two-stringed *çifteli,* the one-stringed *lahuta,* and shepherds' flutes; and embroidery and other needlework produced by women. Since the late communist period these products have been sold as souvenirs to tourists.

Trade. Famous for trading roads such as the Roman Via Egnatia and the port of Durrachium (Durrës) in classical times, trade was severely restricted in the communist era by principles of internal autonomy ("no import without ex-

port"). Exports included iron ore, chromites, electricity from plants in the north, gas, agricultural products, and a few finished goods such as textiles, timber, chemical products, plastics, cigarettes, and tobacco. Imports consisted of grain, luxury goods, machinery, vehicles, and chemical and electromechanical products. In postcommunist times small and medium-scale enterprises quickly developed but suffered considerably from the collapse of the pyramid schemes. Textiles, food, furniture, and electrical domestic products were imported from neighboring countries and Turkey. In the informal sector, border contraband of tobacco, coffee, dairy products, and cannabis sativa from home production constituted private subsistence activities in the late 1990s; trafficking in narcotics, cars, oil, refugees, and women (for prostitution) was engaged in by internationally organized criminal networks and enriched only a few Albanians.

Division of Labor. In traditional Albanian society labor was allocated by the ``lord of the house" among the men and by the ``mistress of the house" among the women, with authority held according to seniority. Men generally took responsibility for all work outside the immediate neighborhood, and women for work within those bounds. Under communism many women were employed outside the home in industry and cooperative agriculture. This led to a double burden rather than female empowerment. In 2000 the official female unemployment rate was 21 percent, in comparison to 15 percent for men.

Land Tenure. Traditionally, the agnatic corporate group jointly held farmland. Pastures were owned as ``communal land" by the village, and sales to outsiders were not permitted. In the plains the çiftlik system of land ownership integrated previously independent villages under the rule of feudal lords called *bejlerët* (plural of *bej*, or ``landowner"). Mixed systems developed north of Tirana. In 1947 land reforms divided large estates into agricultural cooperatives and small-scale farmland for former tenants. Soon persecuted as "kulaks," these tenants also suffered expropriation. Full socialist state collectivization was achieved in 1967. In 1991 a new law ordered the division, registration, and distribution of collectivized farmland. Half a million hectares of agricultural land were to be allocated to former cooperative workers, creating small parcels. However, collision with reemerging customary inheritance laws based on kinship frequently led to conflicts with neighbors and the law.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. In the traditional highland regions territorial and patrilineal kinship principles overlapped. Genealogical knowledge of patrilineal descent from a common fictitious ancestor, facilitated by mnemonically efficient naming practices, justified claims to territory. Postmarital rules of virilocal residence assured the reproduction of corporate residence clusters of agnatic groups. Concentrically organized, segments included the extended house *(shpi)*, the brotherhood *(vëllazeri)* or neighborhood *(mehallë)*, and the patrilineage or tribe *(fis)*. The patrilineage was called "the tree of blood" (lisi *i gjakut)*, and the matrilateral kin "the tree of milk" (fai i *temblit)*. Kinship in the southern and central regions tended to have more bilateral orientations shaped by Greek Orthodox or Islamic rules. Communist modernization practices promoted nuclear families. Crises, poverty, and the migrations of the postcommunist era have resulted in further nuclearization of family ties while temporarily strengthening traditional bonds in Kosovo and Macedonia.

Kinship Terminology. Traditional kinship terminology is classificatory with bifurcate and merging features and is governed by the principles of age seniority, fratristic (brotherly) coresidence, and gender differentiation. Patrilateral cousins are referred to as brother *(vëlla)* and sister *(motër)*, siblings' descendants as grandchildren *(nip/mbesë)*, the mother's brother as daj*ë*, and the father's brother as *mixhë*. *Bacë* is used to refer to the oldest brother or uncle or sometimes the father (whoever has the highest authority in the shpi); *dadë* is the female equivalent. Originally, the *zot i ships*, the "lord of the house," called all young men of the shpi "my son," the girls "my daughter," and every married woman "my wife." *Nusë* was originally the name given to a young bride who had not yet given birth, but it later was used to designate all inmarried women.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Northern traditions included ideals of seven- to fifteen-generation exogamy that were subverted by the forgetting of matrilateral relations. Marriages are still arranged in the rural regions of Kosovo and Macedonia and in northern Albania. Postmarital virilocal patterns of residence determine power relations within families. Traditional customs of bride-price payment, ritual lamenting during separation, the bridal procession, and the symbolic subordination of the bride at the ritual stage of integration into the husband's family's house have been reestablished in the north. Rare relics of precommunist practices include swearing eternal virginity and becoming a classificatory male to escape unwanted marriage ("sworn virgins"), the levirate, the rejection of infertile women, infant betrothal, and bridal kidnapping. In the 1990s the regional reemergence of traditional practices may have facilitated trafficking in women. Turkish, Greek, and West European marriage styles have influenced most Albanian weddings. Divorce, which formerly was almost unthinkable, is increasing.

Domestic Unit. The traditional rural domestic unit was shaped by fratristic, patrifocal, and virilocal principles subsumed under the originally Slavic-derived term *zadruga*. In the late 1990s the average family had two rooms, with two people sharing each room. Restricted space and deficits in the social security system explain the presence of three-generational domestic units, although young people express a preference for neolocal postmarital residence. Remittances from migrant labor are preferably put toward home improvement, particularly sanitary improvements.

Inheritance. Traditionally, inheritance of land was corporate and patrilineal. Pressures involving land resulted in the expansion of territory, the splitting of a family, or migration. Women were materially compensated only through a dowry. Both communist and precommunist reforms introduced equal rights but had little sustainable success in rural areas.

Socialization. Traditionally, children seldom addressed adults and owed respect and servitude to their elders. During adolescence boys were given a weapon; girls were expected

to produce needlework as a contribution to the dowry. Baptism, the first haircut, and in Muslim areas circumcision were important rites of passage. In early communist times an 80 percent illiteracy rate was fought (and ideological control established) by providing daycare and kindergarten, and primary, middle, and high school education to every child. Schooling was based on the ideological "triangle of education, productive work, and physical and military training." Postcommunist schooling has suffered from teacher shortages in rural areas and overcrowded classrooms in urban areas, high rates of dropping out, and the survival of authoritative or nationalistic teaching methods. Nevertheless, education is highly valued.

Sociopolitical Organization

Political Organization. Traditionally, every "lord of the house" and the village elders of the patrilineages had a voice in the village or tribal assembly *(kuvënd).* Ottoman military rankings regionally coexisted with or substituted for the kinship-based sociopolitical representation system. The "standard-bearer" *(bajraktar),* regionally a *vojvod* or bey, had administrative and juridical functions in peacetime and exerted leadership during war. The Communist Party replaced traditional authorities with functionaries at all levels and maintained control through totalitarian methods, including an omnipresent secret police *(sigurimi).* Party pluralism, which was introduced in 1990, inaugurated a highly polarized political landscape dominated by the Socialist and Democratic parties. With the exception of 1997, elections were internationally considered relatively free and fair, although crises provoked widespread political fatigue. Nongovernmental organizations such as cultural, labor, sports, and other associations are gaining influence, although they rely heavily on foreign sponsors.

Social Control. Village gossip, slander, and ignoring were used to sanction improper actions and words. "Honor" *(ndera)* was a social status assigned to someone who conformed to the collective values of kin and friendship solidarity. This was also expressed in distinctions between the "faithful" and "traitors." The concept of *besa* covers social relations that extend kin ties to former strangers who have become friends (mik, plural *miqe).* The meanings of besa include word of honor, security guarantees, hospitality (and protection of a guest), alliance guarantees, friendship ties (including to a former blood enemy), and responsibilities to one's wife's agnates. Ndera described not only qualities such as personal strength, masculinity, dignity, family integrity, hospitality, and the capacity for defense but also a person generously sharing the profits from the sheep trade. Maintaining a facade of "honor" was as significant as displaying readiness to kill in retaliation for transgressions. The option of feuding was understood to deter transgressions in the highly competitive and resource-poor northern highlands.

Communist ideological practices differentiated people into those "faithful" to the regime and "traitors." Individual liability was introduced with postcommunist legal and police reforms aimed at implementing the rule of law and providing internal security.

Conflict. Local feuding and revenge killings emerged after 1991 over private land conflicts, irrigation rights, injustices suffered under communism, and conflicts of interest and power in the informal sector. Although in the north these events were explained through revitalized kanun customs of feuding, urban hot spots such as Shkodër, Vlorë and Tropojë, situated on international trafficking roads, suggest more modern causes.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Apart from the Muslim Sunni Islam majority, there exists the historically influential Islamic Sufi community of the Bektashi, a Dervish order (previously 15 to 20 percent of the population). The nation is 8 to 10 percent Catholic in the north and 15 to 25 percent Orthodox in the south. During the national renaissance in the nineteenth century (the rilindja) the notion that "the faith of the Albanians is Albanianism" was established. Meant to integrate national religious divisions, this idea recalled syncretistic pagan and crypto-Christian beliefs. In 1967 the communist state imposed the doctrine of "scientific atheism." Religious freedom was relegalized in December 1990. Numerous adult baptisms, conversions, and strategies of shifting identities and names were prompted by Islamic scholarship, Greek working permits for the Orthodox, and international missionary work.

Magico-religious beliefs were shared across the religious denominations. They find expression in practices that protect against evil, such as the worshiping of patron saints, pilgrimages (a prominent destination is *Baba Tomor,* a personified mountain), the wearing of amulets, soothsaying, euphemistic naming, and the placement of dolls in the eaves of new houses to distract the evil eye. In the 1990s, such practices became more common and fertility magic prospered. Historical practices such as couvade (the father acting as if he had borne the child) survive only in sayings.

Religious Practitioners. When in need of advice, comfort, or education, people historically consulted priests, wandering monks, or Muslim clerics, depending on local availability. After 1948 religious practitioners suffered persecution. After 1991 Albania became a major destination for missionaries from the United States, the Vatican, and Saudi Arabia. Informal practitioners such as magical healers found new niches.

Ceremonies. With regional variations, life-cycle rituals on the occasions of giving birth, the first haircut (and nail cut), baptism, weddings, and funerals have syncretistic features in terms of Albanian modernity or tradition and Western or Eastern influences. In the 1990s old church festivals, processions, and pilgrimages were revived, as were local oath-giving ceremonies, reconciliation rituals, and purification rites for new land or harvests. Nevertheless, there are still communist-introduced secular rituals such as the International Women's Day, May Day, and particularly the New Year, which compete in significance with religious holidays.

Arts. Polyphonic and epic traditions of singing and folk dances were nationalized through changing texts and framed in competitive performances on the stages of national folklore festivals (every five years in Gjirokastër) during the communist period. Literature, prominently represented by Ismail Kadare, offered novels in which metaphors of history and cul-

ture served as subtle criticism. Theater, film, sculpture, and painting were vehicles for ideology. With the postcommunist crises, theaters were transformed into bingo halls while interregional cooperation profited from the flourishing oppositional activities of Macedonian and Kosovar Albanians. Tirana's National Art Gallery featured a critical exhibition of socialist realist paintings at the turn of the millennium.

Medicine. Diseases were attributed to evil spirits (vile) that often symbolized the illness and had to be ritually distracted, predicted, diverted, or exorcised by ritual specialists such as folk doctors *(hekim),* dervishes, and "wise old women" with inherited herbal knowledge. Communist health policies replaced such traditions with a network of hospitals, research institutions, care centers, and maternity stations and by providing free medical treatment. However, in postcommunist times many underpaid medical personnel emigrated, particularly from rural areas; new diseases and drug abuse spread; and pharmaceutical and medical supplies were lacking, all of which opened niches for informal or traditional ways of practicing medicine.

Death and Afterlife. Across religions, female ritual specialists guided the chorus of wailing women in repeating poetic antiphonal two-verse death chants. Regionally, face scratching, the cutting or tearing of one's hair, and other mourning rites were practiced. Northern collective male rituals included vocalizations and gestures in unison that might have indicated the loss of means of communicating (hearing, talking, seeing) with the deceased. The deceased person was presented in his or her best clothes, sometimes with items attached, such as an apple, cigarettes, a rifle, or money, which were meant to ease the journey. The deceased was always buried in a grave that faced the sunset (to the west). Old graves featured wooden crosses decorated with pre-Christian symbols. Cemeteries were usually situated at elevated sites at the periphery of villages or cities. Mountain sites associated with murder were indicated with stone piles *{muraria).* In the communist era private ritual mourning was done without religious references. National remembrance days honored the "heroes of the liberation war" (prominently partisans) at monumental "martyrs' cemeteries" at elevated parts of cities.

For the original article on Albanians, *see* Volume 4, Europe.

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STEPHANIE SCHWANDNER-SIEVERS

Alsatians

ETHNONYMS: die Elsassiche (Alsatian), les Alsacien (French), die Elsässer (German), Alsatians (English); place names: Elsass (Alsatian), Alsace (French), Elsass (German), Alsace (English)

Orientation

Identification and Location. There are several theories about the origin of the name of the province (Alsace) that is home to the Alsatians. The French name Alsace is derived from the earlier German name *Elsass,* believed to mean "seat of the I11," the I11 River being Alsace's major inland waterway. The I11 River arises in the High Vosges in the southwest of the province and flows northeast to the Plain of Alsace, passing through the provincial capital Strasbourg and emptying into the Rhine River north of that city. The historic province of Alsace is bounded on the north by the forests of Hagenau and Wissembourg, on the east by the Rhine River, on the south by the Alsatian Jura and the Alps, and on the west by the heavily wooded Vosges Mountains. This area lies between 7 and 8° E longitude and between latitudes 49 and 47° N latitude.

The Vosges Mountains fall rather precipitously to the foothills below. The foothills in turn give way in the east to the *Plaine d'Alsace,* which ranges from 10 to 20 miles (16 to 32 kilometers) in width (east-west) and is 80 miles (130 kilometers) in length (north from the River Lauter, south to the Alsatian Jura). Underground water tables provide water supplies of great depth and reliability, making the province virtually impervious to drought. In the many river valleys of the foothills and along the eastern face of the foothills, the grapes are grown for the production of the five varieties of Alsatian wine.

Historically, Alsace stood at the crossroads of the east to west route over the Rhine. With the opening of the St. Gothard Pass in Switzerland, the area became the axis for north-south trade and travel in continental Europe. Because of its east-west and north-south routes, the city of Strasbourg

for centuries has been called the "the crossroad of Europe." In the last years of the twentieth century, its designation has changed due to the location of a number of premier European Community institutions including the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. It is now known as the "capital of Europe."

Demography. Alsace as a whole has a land area of 3,210 square miles (8,310 square kilometers), which represents 1.5 percent of the total land area of France. In 1999 the province's population was 1,734,145, and the population density was 540 inhabitants per square mile (209 per square kilometer). In 2000, some 75 percent of Alsatians lived in cities, 44.5 percent in its three largest cities: Strasbourg, Mulhouse, and Colmar. Twenty six percent of the provincial population lives in Strasbourg, the eleventh largest city in France, with 264,115 inhabitants in the city proper and a total of 427,245 in its Unité Urbaine (UU). Mulhouse has 110,359 inhabitants and 234,445 residents in its UU, and represents 13.5 percent of the provincial population. Five percent live in Colmar, which has 65,136 inhabitants and 86,832 in its UU.

Linguistic Affiliation. Aside from the small pocket of Flemish-speakers in northern France, Alsatian is the only Germanic language spoken in France. Dialects of West Germanic and thus Indo-European languages, the two Alsatian dialects are closely related to Swiss German and to the trans-Rhine dialects of Baden (Baden-Wurtemburg) and Bavaria. They have been spoken in the province in various forms since about 600 C.E. In 1963, 80 percent of the inhabitants of Alsace spoke one of the dialects. Most Alsatians also speak French and/or German. By 2000, the great decline in Alsatian speakers was notable.

History and Cultural Relations

A common assumption is that the province of Alsace is intimately related to that of Lorraine, hence the common reference to "Alsace-Lorraine." However, while the prehistory of the two areas has much in common, the early history of these provinces shows sharp divergences that have had an enduring impact. Lorraine (from the Latin, *Lotharii Regnum;* Greek Lotharingia), named after Lothair, its Carolingian ruler from 840-855, came under French influence and control much earlier than did Alsace. From 1279 until 1776, when France gained official possession of Lorraine, the eastern province had been dominated by French influence and the presence of French citizens. The major dialect of Lorraine is *Langue d'Oïl,* or Northern French, primarily spoken in the southern part of the province around Metz.

Religion is another difference between the regions. Since the time of Clovis, the Carolingian ruler, the people of Lorraine have been Roman Catholic. Alsatians followed Rome in the beginning, but most of them turned to Protestantism during the Reformation. Alsace and Strasbourg were, in fact, the centers of the Reformation in the Rhineland.

Economic differences also separate the two provinces. Alsace developed early on a commercial and industrial economy and an urban (and Protestant) bourgeoisie, whereas Lorraine's economy focused on mining and agriculture and much less on commerce and industrial production. When the two historic provinces were annexed by Germany in 1870, Alsace's economic dominance led to the submergence of Lorraine's interests under those of Alsace during the annexation.

On the eve of the Franco-Prussian War (1870), Alsace and Strasbourg were governed by a still largely indigenous Protestant upper class. The lower classes were predominantly Catholic, both French and Alsatian. The most important Alsatian industry, *imprimerie indienne,* the Protestant-owned textile industry, employed no Catholics (a condition which lasted as late as 1949). The exclusion of one group from an entire industry is indicative of the problematic relations between the two major religious groups in the area at that time.

As events began to lead to war between Germany and France, some Protestant elites openly favored the German annexation of Alsace for economic and religious reasons. The German annexation, in 1871, lasted until the end of World War I, when Alsace was returned to France.

World War II once again saw the annexation of Alsace by Germany in 1939. The Third Reich did not wait to gauge the "Germanness" of the Alsatians, but immediately deported them to Poland and Russia, and replaced them with "good" Germans, both military and civilian. German rule during World War II was much more severe than that exercised after the Franco-Prussian War, for the Germans had learned that, although the Alsatians were a Germanic people, they were not Germans. Several prison camps in occupied Russia held Alsatian prisoners exclusively.

With the return of Alsace to France at the conclusion of World War II, Alsace entered a "new" phase. The French government eliminated German language instruction in the primary schools. This stricture still stands today. It manifests a still persistent fear of the French that Alsatians are too involved with what the French regard as "German" culture. However, through all the changes wrought by history, much in Alsace has remained the same. An Alsatian Protestant elite still maintains control of economic and political life in the province.

An autonomist party developed at the end of the war and was still functioning in the 1970s. The membership of the party was secret. It was widely believed that its membership leaned toward Nazism. Hence, while some Alsatians voiced autonomist sentiments in the 1970s and 1980s, many preferred to do so outside of the autonomist party.

The history of the area shows the imprint of both Latin and Germanic cultures in a fundamental way in terms of ethnic identity. The determination of ethnicity in Alsace differs for Germans and French; Alsatian ethnics must be able to show a lineal tie to an Alsatian ancestor. No other elements of performance (such as residence or language proficiency) are necessary to claim the identity. French identity, on the other hand, is entirely performance based; one's origins are not important if one manifests central elements of the identity, which for the French is language ability.

Settlements

Traditional Alsatian buildings and homes are half-timbered structures, some dating to the 1300s. These are made *of* rough masonry (made from a mixture of clay, animal furs, and straw) and wood, with all exterior and interior structural members being of the latter. The wealth of the province is shown in the major houses of the cities of Alsace. These are

notable for their elegance and, in particular, for their Oriel windows (overhanging bay windows) and stair-step gables. These structures dating from the fifteenth century are in stone rather than half-timbered as in earlier times. Subsequent construction is largely in stone and follows the development of French architecture for the last four centuries. The exceptions are the buildings in German Second Reich styles that were built during the annexation by Germany (1870-1917), and which include parts of the University of Strasbourg.

Religious architecture in Alsace includes examples of Romanesque, Gothic (with the Cathedral being one of Europe's best examples), Flamboyant Gothic, and Classical architecture, with only some examples of the Baroque style.

Economy

Subsistence. The Alsatian economy is a fully developed industrial economy complemented by major viticultural, pomocultural, and agricultural activities. Preeminent are the chemical, electronic, and automobile industries. The province also produces electricity for export to Germany and Switzerland from its many hydroelectric plants along the Rhine, which produce seventeen billion kilowatts per year.

Commercial Activities. The area has a strong and diversified agricultural industry and a broad-based industrial sector. One of the prime ingredients of the economy of Alsace is its port, which is important not only to Strasbourg and to Alsace, but to all of France. Strasbourg City has some seventeen kilometers of territory that borders directly on the Rhine. The Autonomous Port of Strasbourg is the second largest port in France, though it is an inland port. The three principal countries to which it ships goods and material and from which it receives cargo are Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. A major export, petroleum, some of which is produced locally and most of which is refined locally (the two refineries just north of Strasbourg were producing 8.1 million metric tons of refined oil annually in the 1970s), is sent to other countries such as Switzerland. Some oil is transshipped south to North Africa via the *Sud European* pipeline, which has terminals in Strasbourg and on the Mediterranean Sea. Canals also link the Port to the Rhone and Marne Rivers.

Other products of the region include meats (one of the most common meats in France is *Saucisse de Strasbourg),* dairy products (which include Muenster cheeses—there are several villages named Muenster in Alsace), and its fine ceramic tradition. The city of Strasbourg is top-most of all French cities in banking and insurance; it is second only to Paris in the proportion of the population engaged in research (scholarly, medical, etc.), and first in the proportion engaged in private research, especially in industry.

The University of Strasbourg includes schools of Law, Medicine, Letters, and Science; and colleges or institutes for pharmacy, nursing, political science, agriculture and chemistry as well as European studies, and its various technical institutes that serve industry. The university has some 25,000 students and is second only to the University of Paris in stature and in the number of foreign students in attendance (primarily Swiss, German, American, and Scandinavian).

The French state's tendency toward centralized control over the economic affairs of its constituent regions has caused problems for Alsace as well as for other provinces. Some writers argue that the Alsatian economy's integration with the national economy is weak. It is also suggested that Alsace allows "too much" foreign industrial implantation and investment (German, Swiss, Japanese, and Dutch). Germany and Japan have major investments in the province, German investments being preeminent. The economy of Alsace is often discussed in the context of the "Upper Rhine" (French, *Le Rhin Superior)* economy, which includes neighboring areas in Germany.

Industrial Arts. Textiles are of great importance to the area's industry and include 5,300 different establishments, 48 of which employ more than 500 people and 14 of which employ more than 1,000 workers. The three largest industrial enterprises in Alsace are Automobiles Peugeot in Sausheim, General Motors Powertrain in Strasbourg and INA Roulements of Haguenau. Its agricultural industry also includes a vigorous and world-renowned wine sector which specializes in white wines.

Trade. Forty percent of Alsatian industrial production is exported. Most trade is with nearby countries, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, but a significant portion is also with the United Kingdom and Italy. Automobiles, chemicals, rubber, potash, and electrical and electronic equipment are the most traded items from Alsace that find their way most often to international markets.

The agricultural and consumable *(alimentaire)* industries of Alsace are notable for candies, especially chocolate, and beer, such as Kronenbourg and Mutzig. The Alsatian wine industry is also of note, producing for export white wines (Pinot Gris, Tokay, Gewurztraminer, Sylvaner, a Crémant [sparkling wine], Muscat, and Reisling), which have a characteristic floral nose without the typically sweet taste of (German) Rhine wines.

Division of Labor. Alsace's economy is an industrial one with a large agricultural component. Generally, work is done by adults, except on farms and in family vineyards where younger family members may contribute. Adolescents may also join in at harvest time *(la vendange).*

Land Tenure. Farms and vineyards are often family owned. Single heirs, who may be of either gender, are chosen to carry on the tradition rather then split apart the holding.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Alsatians practice the typically Western European form of bilateral kinship with a patrilateral emphasis.

Kinship Terminology. As in the rest of Western Europe, kinship terminology is Inuit with cousins distinguished by gendered terms. Ascending and descending generations are distinguished by generation and gender.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is normally among people of the same religious group. If not, it is referred to as a *marriage mixte* (mixed marriage). Cases exist where individuals were excluded from their family of origin for religious exogamy. Marriages may be civil or religious or both. Postmarital residence of cou-

ples has differed among the Protestants and Catholics. Protestants (specifically Lutherans and Reformed) are neolocal after marriage. Among Catholics, daughters tend to take up postmarital residence near their mothers. Sons tend to live near their mothers-in-law postmaritally. In the last half of the twentieth century, serial monogamy has become increasingly common, as divorce laws have been relaxed.

Domestic Unit. Both Protestant and Catholic groups tend to have nuclear family-based domestic units for part of the domestic cycle. As the family ages, senior members no longer able to live on their own may join a nuclear family, making it an extended family. The area has a relatively high number of co-resident extended families in comparison to the rest of France.

Inheritance. Inheritance is generally patrilineal for farms and firms. Among Protestants daughters are likely to inherit as well. Among the rural people, inheritance has been under a system of male primogeniture but augmented by selection of a single heir, male or female.

Socialization. Among the elites, childcare is often entrusted to a nanny or two. In general, children are regarded as a blessing. Childrearing has not been studied per se in the area, but the ethnography of urban areas suggests that key values are instilled at home and at school and include the importance and value of family and one's place in it. Physical punishment is meted out to correct the errant child, usually by swats on the rear, but not the face, unless the misbehavior is extremely severe. The emphasis on family cohesion is more pronounced among Catholics than among Protestants.

Schools follow the dictates of the French educational system. Only since 1994 in Alsace has education been permitted in the German (but not Alsatian) language at the primary level. Until 1990, instruction in German before the equivalent of high school was legally proscribed in France only in Alsace.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The social system of Alsace has historically been based upon three dimensions of stratification: wealth, prestige, and political power (not unlike other Western European societies). However, the upper classes, and to a certain extent, the lower classes, are also divided by religion. Thus, one speaks in Alsace of "high society" *(Haute Société)* as High Protestant Society and distinguish it from High Catholic Society. Religion thus serves as an organizational principle (in marriage, somewhat in residence, occupation, and employment) and as a structural principle in Alsace.

Political Organization. The province of Alsace is divided into two *départements,* Bas Rhin and Haut Rhin (Lower and Upper Rhine, respectively) and represents two of the ninety-nine such administrative and political units that compose France and *France d'outre mer* (Overseas France). The *préfet* (prefect) is the chief administrator of a department. The prefect is defined as a high functionary named by decree to administer a department and to represent that department to the central government. The Alsatian departments are subdivided into fourteen *arrondissements* (administrative districts) , under a *sous-préfet's* control. The arrondissements are further divided into *cantons,* of which there are sixty-nine in Alsace. Within cantons are found *communes.* In Alsace there are some 945 communes.

Alsace is administered by a central government comprised of legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The legislative branch consists of a bicameral *Parlement* (Parliament) that includes the *Senat* (Senate) with a total of 321 seats and the *Assemblée Nationale* (National Assembly) with 577 seats. The members of the Senate are indirectly elected by an electoral college and serve nine-year terms. One-third of the Senate is elected every three years. Members of the National Assembly are elected by popular vote and serve five-year terms. The executive branch is headed by the chief of state, or president, who is elected by popular vote for a seven-year term. The head of the government is the prime minister who is nominated by the National Assembly and appointed by the president. The president also appoints members of the Cabinet, or *Conseil de Ministres,* on the recommendation of the prime minister. The judicial branch is composed of the *Cour de Cassation* (Supreme Court of Appeals) whose judges are appointed by the president based upon nominations from the High Council of the Judiciary *(Conseil Constitutionnel).* Three members are appointed by the president, three by the president of the National Assembly, and three by the president of the Senate and Council of State.

Social Control. Prior to the Reformation, the inhabitants of the province were largely Catholic, with a small Jewish minority whose presence was most notable in the cities of Alsace. After the Reformation, the urban areas became largely Protestant. While the conflicts between the religious traditions could have become insurmountable, they have not, apparently due to the fact that the two countries that have vied for control of the province, France and Germany, represent different religious traditions. In times when Alsace is under the control of one or the other, the Alsatian religion out of favor is supported and defended by the religion in favor, i.e., Protestants defend Catholicism when under German Protestant domination and the reverse occurs when Alsace is under French Catholic domination.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Religious affiliation has changed much over the last five hundred years in Strasbourg and in Alsace. Before the Reformation, the provincial urban populace was largely Catholic with a strong minority of Jews who lived there in part because of the persecution they experienced elsewhere in France. This situation changed completely during the years of the Reformation. For some 150 years, Strasbourg and ten of the other major Alsatian cities (the Decapole) were almost exclusively Protestant, the largest group of Protestants being the Lutherans. With the acquisition of the province (and later Strasbourg itself) by the French crown, the balance began to shift. By the time of the French Revolution in 1789, the numbers of Protestants in Strasbourg had declined such that they represented little more than *50* percent of the total. In 2000, some 65 percent of Strasbourgeois were Roman Catholic. The next largest is the group of *Églises de la Confession d'Augsbourg,* the Lutherans, who represent about 25 percent of the municipal population. The *Église,* the Reformed Church (who do not refer to

themselves as "Calvinists"), represent some 4 percent of the urban population, and Jews represent approximately 2 percent.

The two World Wars of this century have seen a very large member of Alsatian Jews killed and displaced. After World War II, many Jews left (or were taken from) the area and did not return. Hence, many of the Jews of Alsace today are not Alsatian Jews, but post-war arrivals. However, there are a number of old established Jewish families in Alsace. One of these is the family of Pierre Mendes-France (né Mandelbaum), former Prime Minister of France. Mendes-France's change of name suggests that while pursuing a career in politics, one might maintain one's Alsatian ethnicity but perhaps not one's Jewish identity in Catholic France.

Islam was brought to Alsace by workers from North Africa. The number of adherents represents less than 5 percent of the urban community.

The people of Strasbourg and Alsace are a religious people. There has never been fervent anticlericalism in Alsace as has appeared elsewhere in France (except in the Vendée). The dominant Catholic tradition, as well as the Jewish, Lutheran, and the Reformed (Protestant) have a special legal status in the two départements of Alsace and in Lorraine. This status allows individuals to make donations to their respective churches or temples by having a designated sum of their income taxes allocated thereto.

In Lutheranism, there is a notion of divine omnipresence. This form of pantheism is said to be typically Germanic. Divinity is seen as infused throughout the natural and social environment and, as such, is not localized, or localizable, in any one place, person, object, or time. Hence, Luther's notion of consubstantiation was developed in opposition to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, or the power to call forth divinity in the Mass. This calling forth attributed magical powers to Catholic clergy which differentiated them from ordinary men and women. In the Protestant tradition, clerics have no special powers; they do not form an elevated clergy

Religious Practitioners. Religious specialists include priests and pastors, for the Catholic and Protestant traditions, respectively, and rabbis of the Jewish faith. While positions in the Catholic tradition are appointed from without, leaders of Protestant and Jewish traditions are chosen by their respective congregations.

Ceremonies. A variety of religious practices typical of Judaism, Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism animate Alsace's social life. The Catholics have a place of pilgrimage in Alsace, to the convent of the patron saint of Alsace, Sainte Odile. A statue of the saint stands, arms outstretched, on the mount where the convent is located in the Vosges Mountains, overlooking and protecting the Plain of Alsace. Saint Odile's feast day is 13 December, which is assumed to be the date of her death. Her remains are said to reside in a sarcophagus in the convent. She is a focal point for religious pilgrimages and is sought after for her intercessions, especially by those with eye problems or diseases, because of the myth concerning her development of sight after being born blind.

Catholic villages also have yearly festivals *(fetes patronales)* on the day of their respective patron saints. In the north of Alsace, such festivals are called *messti* but *kilwe* or *kilbe* in the south. Today, these festivals allow one to see the traditional costumes including the famous *schlumpfkeppe,* a bonnet made of black folded ribbon worn by women.

Historically, baptism was an important ceremony. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was presumed that the high infant mortality rates were due to malevolent forces. Babies were considered especially susceptible to evil influences until they were baptized. Thus, baptism was seen as an important event that should not be delayed lest an infant's life be placed at risk.

Arts. Alsace contains a number of monuments of Christian religious art. The *Musée de L'Œuvre Notre-Dame,* the museum of the Cathedral of Strasbourg, contains "Christ's Head," the oldest known example of representational stained glass. It comes from Wissembourg in the north of Alsace and dates to circa 1070 C.E. High art painting developed in the fifteenth century in Alsace and focused on religious work, especially Passion works often inspired by Flemish artists. Artists include Indemann, Schongaurer, and Mathias Grünwald. Later painters include Henner, who painted the famous "l'Alsacienne" and the lithographer and engraver, Gustave Doré.

Another product of the province's medieval florescence is the Strassburg Manuscript, which shows that painting-guild members in the city were using oil in their work a full century before the date generally given for oil painting in the Rhine region. This manuscript is the oldest surviving manual on painting techniques in the German language. (The manuscript in the library of the University is actually a copy, the original having been destroyed by a fire caused by German bombardment of the city in 1871.) As well, one of the oldest and most famous romances in the German language, *Tnstan und Isolde,* stems from this period, penned by Gottfried von Strassburg.

Decorative arts were important to the Alsatian economy and encompassed excellent, and very salable textiles with oriental designs, as well as the world renowned ceramics such as those manufactured by the Hannong family (1700s) and others. Both traditions remain active today.

The area has been widely know for centuries for its work in precious metals, as well as for its iron-, wood-, and tin-working, examples of which adorn the many manor houses and municipal buildings. One of Strasbourg's busiest (pedestrian) streets is the *rue des Orfèvres,* the street of the gold workers. Among its most famous sculptures, Alsace counts modernist Hans Arp (known in France and elsewhere as Jean Arp) and August Bertholde, who created the Lion of Belfort and the Statue of Liberty in New York.

In literature, an interest in local Germanic speech directly issuing from the interest of Charlemagne led to the appearance of the *Catechisme of Wissemburg* and later Otfried von Wissemburg's *The Christ.* The latter, published in 868, is the oldest known poem in a Germanic language by an author whose identity is known to us. It was in Strasbourg that Gutenberg created the art of printing, which he used to print the first book, the Bible, in Mainz. His work left a circle of artisans who quickly turned Strasbourg into a center for publication of Reformation and Humanist literature. Also of note is the fifteenth century masterpiece, *Das Narrenschiff (The Ship of Fools)* by Alsatian Sebastian Brandt.

Medicine. Since the reattachment of Strasbourg and Alsace in the seventeenth century, the medical arts have followed the French model. In addition to the justly famous medical school at the University of Strasbourg, the area developed in the last thirty years of the twentieth into a center of biotechnology and pharmaceutical research.

Death and Afterlife. In earlier centuries and continuing until the mid-twentieth century, death was seen as a consequence of malevolent forces. Beliefs about afterlife include common Christian notions of heaven and hell, and the typical, especially Catholic belief about sin and its effect on an afterlife. However, among members of the Reformed church, activities in this life have no bearing on salvation; the doctrine of Predestination teaches that one's fate has been determined even before one's birth.

For the original article on Alsatians, *see* Volume 4, Europe.

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ATWOOD D. GAINES

Arab Canadians

ETHNONYMS Lebanese Canadian, Syrian Canadian, Egyptian Canadian, Iraqi Canadian

Orientation

Identification and Location. Arab Canadians are first-generation Christian or Muslim Arabic-speaking immigrants and their descendants who originally came from the Arab world and have roots in the 1,400-year-old Arabic culture. The Arab world includes all the members of the League of Arab States: Algeria, Bahrain, Democratic Yemen, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Republic, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. There is no single common feature that distinguishes and identifies Arab Canadians. These people have different national origins, religions, and even languages, since second- and third-generation Arab Canadians may not speak Arabic. However, Arab Canadians share similar myths, folklore, music, art forms, food, customs, and ethos. Arab Canadians can be found throughout Canada, although the largest communities exist in major cities such as Montreal and Toronto. For historical, religious, and political reasons, some immigrants may identify themselves by their country of origin, such as Lebanese, Syrian, Egyptian, or Iraqi Canadians. However, to avoid confusion, the general term "Arab Canadian" is used here to refer to all Canadians of Arabic origin.

Demography. By 1901 approximately 2,000 people from Greater Syria had made Canada their home. By 1911 the Arab-Canadian population had grown to 7,000 people. Between 1921 and 1931, only 74 persons from the Arab world were allowed to immigrate. In 1951 the Arab Canadian population had grown to only 12,201. With subsequent changes in Canada's immigration policies, the Arab Canadian population increased by more than half to 19,374 in 1961. By 1975 there were an estimated total of 70,000 to 80,000 people of Arabic origin living in Canada. According to the 1996 census, there were 188,430 people of Arabic origin in Canada.

Linguistic Affiliation. Arab Canadians speak the various Arabic dialects of their home countries and regions. In Canada they have had to learn one of the country's official languages, either French or English. Second- and third-generation Arab Canadians may not speak Arabic, but only English or French.

History and Cultural Relations.

Arab immigration to Canada has been marked by two waves of migration: an early wave beginning in the 1880s of largely Lebanese and Syrian Christians and a second wave in the 1960s and 1970s from all over the Arab world, including Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, Tunisia, Algeria, and Iraq. In the late nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was in decline and numerous religious and civil wars forced some people to seek a safe haven abroad. Also, a general economic decline forced individuals to seek a better life elsewhere. Halifax, Nova Scotia, was the first stop on ship routes to North America and a point of departure for many immigrants. Familiarity with Western culture through Christian missionaries and missionary schools in Lebanon and Syria influenced Arab emigrants' choice to come to Canada. Quebec attracted the French-speaking Syrian and Lebanese. The Canadian government's land grant program provided another reason for immigrants to come.

The first Arab immigrant settled in Montreal in 1882. Others followed directly or indirectly, arriving via Africa, Brazil, Mexico, and the United States. These immigrants

were mostly young men who found work as laborers, shopkeepers, and peddlers. Venturesome peddlers traveled to remote parts of northern Ontario and Quebec such as Three Rivers, Sault Sainte Marie, North Bay, Cobalt, Cochrane, and Elk Lake, wherever their goods were in demand. Their success prompted relatives to join them. New brides were brought back from the homeland, and the itinerant peddlers began to settle down. In the first decade of the twentieth century communities were established in the western and maritime provinces. Arab immigration to Canada was highest between 1900 and 1914. After 1920, immigration was restricted, and the growth in the Arab-Canadian population up to 1951 was due mainly to natural increase. The 1950s saw a series of changes in Canada's immigration laws and regulations that again opened the door to Arab immigrants. In 1967 quotas based on country of origin were dropped entirely from the immigration code. The largest number of new immigrants came from Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Jordan, and Tunisia. Other Arab countries represented were Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Somalia, Mauritania, Yemen, and Oman. These newer immigrants tend to be Muslim, professional, and educated, quite different from the first-wave immigrants. Whereas the descendants of the earlier group have assimilated fully into Canadian society, newer Arab immigrants remain involved with their families and the politics of the home country; this is facilitated by the ease of communication between the home country and Canada and the significance of the Arab world in today's global political economy.

Settlements

Although people of Arabic origin can be found in towns and cities throughout Canada, the major cities, such as Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Halifax, and Edmonton, have the largest and oldest communities. Ninety percent of Arab Canadians live in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, followed by Alberta and Nova Scotia. Although Arab Canadians may not live in close physical proximity, they keep in close contact with each other through churches, mosques, and secular institutions.

Economy

Economic opportunity was the lure for many of Canada's early Arab immigrants. Their original objective was to make money and return to their homelands with enough savings to buy land and a house. Destitute upon their arrival, the earliest immigrants found work wherever they could in trading and the unskilled industrial labor market. Some went to Saskatchewan to farm. Others sold their wares in Quebec and Ontario's northern mining communities. By the turn of the century the early immigrants were making a mark as shopkeepers and peddlers. Within a few years of arriving, Arab Canadians were remitting money home, and this had the effect of luring others to the New World to seek their fortunes. Peddlers became shopkeepers and wholesalers, basing their operations in major cities such as Montreal and Toronto and provisioning traders and small shops throughout the region. The success of their businesses helped underwrite the second generation's entrance into professional careers. Later-generation Arab Canadians have entered into all spheres of Canada's economic life, including business, industry, real estate, insurance, the professions, the judiciary, politics, teaching, the ministry, government service, entertainment and media, fashion and design, and management. The postwar immigrants also have entered into all levels of the occupational hierarchy. Thirty percent of second-wave immigrants entered Canada with at least postsecondary degrees, 36 percent entered lower white-collar or service-sector occupations, and 29 percent became blue-collar workers.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. In the Arab kinship system, patrilineal descent determined membership in kin groups at various levels from the extended family and surname group *(bayt)* up to the tribe. However, matrilateral relationships were also important in forming social ties and networks. In rural Lebanon stem and nuclear families were the basic corporate unit, although members of a common surname group were involved in joint economic activities. The political and economic structure of Canadian society presented a different environment for kin groups to form and operate in and therefore did not guarantee the replication of traditional Arabic kin groups. Chain migration was based on kinship ties and wives were brought from home villages, but kin groups larger than the family never developed in Canada. Instead, immigrants took advantage of economic opportunities, resulting in a pattern of dispersed nuclear or stem families. The same is true for Canada's postwar Arab immigrants, especially those with professional careers, who have brought only their immediate families to Canada. Nevertheless, the sentiments of kinship remain strong and continue to form the basis of business networks and political associations. The sentiments of kinship also remain strong among newer, less-educated Arab immigrants, in part as protection against their disadvantageous class position and racial discrimination.

Kinship Terminology. Arabs and Arab Canadians use Sudanese kinship terminology, which distinguishes each parent's side of the family as well as relative age. Even when there is no equivalent English or French term, later-generation Arab Canadians may still distinguish relatives according to the Sudanese system, for example, referring to a father's brother as "my uncle on my father's side."

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally, Arab marriages are arranged and endogamous. The preferred match is one between parallel cousins. First-generation Arab immigrants usually followed traditional marriage customs and in many cases traveled back to their original villages to find an appropriate mate. However, as later-generation Arab Canadians became more assimilated, parents lost control of their children, who attended coeducational public schools and had more of an opportunity to meet and socialize with members of the opposite sex. Although later-generation Arab Canadian parents have less control over their children's choice of mate, they continue to exert indirect control in the choice of a spouse. Although marrying a parallel cousin from the same community is rare, if at all possible, Arab Canadians still prefer to marry within their ethnic group and religion; however, interethnic and in-

terfaith marriages are becoming more common, especially among later-generation Arab Canadians.

Domestic Unit. Male-female roles in the traditional farming household were considered complementary: "The man brings, the woman builds," says a Lebanese proverb. Among immigrant families that started out with meager resources, wives worked alongside their husbands in the family business and did domestic work. Although traditional Arabic society is considered patriarchal, women did hold some power in the household as managers, child rearers, owners of property, and representatives of important affinal and matrilateral ties. As the economic condition of immigrant households improved, so did the opportunity for women to work outside the home, although men were reluctant to let them do so. As later-generation Arab Canadian men joined the professional ranks and became the major breadwinners, women's status and authority in the home suffered. Women who did work outside the home and earned an income were respected by their male family members.

Socialization. A great deal of socialization takes place within the family. By Canadian standards, Arab Canadian children are indulged, whereas adolescents are treated more severely. Arab-Canadian parents do not hit their children, and relatives are permitted to reprimand children for bad behavior. In the public school system children learn a different set of values that emphasize individual rights and achievement; however, they continue to show respect to parents and family elders.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In Canada, volunteer associations based on religion and ethnicity serve the same role that larger kin groups did in the Arab world. These associations organize parties *(halfi)* and festivals *(mahrajanin)*, which are public expressions of a shared culture and identity as well as a forum for individuals and families to vie for prestige. Organizations such as the Canadian Lebanon Society in Halifax; the Cedars Club in Sydney, Nova Scotia; and the Syrian National Society of Canada in Montreal were established in the early part of the twentieth century. In the 1930s youth and women's organizations were formed, including the Syrian Canadian Society, the Syrian Young Men's Club, the Syrian Girl's Club, the Canadian Young Lebanese Club, and the Syrian Ladies Aid Society. The object of all these organizations was to promote the welfare of members of the immigrant community. The Canadian Arab Friendship League, founded in 1943, sought to counteract the negative publicity the Arab world received in the Canadian media. In 1967, in response to the Six Day War (Arab-Israeli War), an umbrella organization, the Canadian Arab Federation, was founded to promote Palestinian rights and interests, among other issues. More recently Arabic professional and folklore groups have been established. The Arab Community Centre of Toronto provides information for new immigrants as well as promoting Arabic culture and learning. Other associations include the Arab Canadian Association, the Canada Palestine Association, the Arab Students Association, the Lebanese Students Association, the Muslim Students Association, and the Saint Joseph Society.

Political Organization. Some of these social clubs are also centers of political groups that are involved in Canada's political system. Leadership roles in Arab-Canadian associations are proving grounds for the development of Arab-Canadian leaders and in some cases a route to political office. Politicians cultivate the Arab-Canadian vote by attending association functions and developing relationships with the leaders. Later-generation Arab Canadians have served at various levels *of* government and in executive, legislative, and administrative offices. Lebanese Canadians have supported the Liberal Party rather than the Conservatives because of the Liberals' more open immigration policies and favorable stance toward Arab countries. Newer immigrants from the post-Nasar Arab world have embraced a pan-Arabic identity, which is reflected in their associations' makeup and agenda. Regardless of political allegiances, Arab Canadians are eager to become Canadian citizens and enjoy the rights and privileges that such citizenship confers.

Social Control. Arabs put family above the individual and believe that one serves one's own interests by serving one's family. Since male elders make family decisions, female and younger male members of the family must accept their authority. This respect for male elders in the family is carried over into the immigrant and even later-generation Arab-Canadian families, whose younger members still seek their parents' advice regarding major life decisions and abide by them even if they are not in personal agreement. Because family honor is considered dependent on the sexual modesty of a family's women members, the control of women in the family is more strict than that of men. Traditionally, women were cloistered in the home and were not permitted to leave until they were married. Although Arab Canadian women have considerably more freedom than did their foremothers, men are still reluctant to let their wives work outside the home or their daughters attend postsecondary institutions.

From early on Arab Canadians' desire to get ahead in their newly adopted country and feeling of vulnerability as "foreigners" influenced a law-abiding behavior, as did their later desire to present a favorable image of their ethnic group. Success in business also helped produce a conservative law-abiding population.

Conflict. Conflict between the generations is typical of immigrant families, and Arab Canadians are no exception. The emphasis on the family and parental authority is contested by a younger generation that has adopted the Canadian and Western ethos of individualism through public education, peers, and the media. Another area of conflict in the home is the expression of female sexuality. Fathers try to control the dress and public behavior of their daughters to avoid contravening the codes of sexual modesty. For example, family arguments ensue over the wearing of sleeveless dresses or bathing suits and going out on unchaperoned dates. Although sons have more leeway than daughters, they are expected to help in the father's business and eventually take it over. The relatively smaller Arab-Canadian households lack the extended kin who traditionally help adjudicate disputes.

Outside the family conflicts ensue among the different subethnic groups. Arab Canadians are not a unified ethnic group but are divided by different religious and political affiliations. Factions fight for control of ethnic associations, such

as the Canadian Lebanon Society, or form their own associations. In the past, Lebanese Canadian associations debated whether to include Syrian Canadians or other Arab Canadians in their groups. Conflicts in the Middle East can affect Arab Canadians as well. For example, after Syria's intervention in the Lebanese civil war, Lebanese Canadian students left the Arab Students Association to form their own group, the Lebanese Students Association. Later-generation Arab Canadians may not go along with the political agenda of newer immigrants. The former are more assimilated and therefore are not inclined to identify with the Arab world and politics or involve themselves in local associations that attempt to influence public opinion and the Canadian government's foreign policy.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Arab Canadians belong to different religions and sects. The early immigrants were nearly all Christians; nine of ten were members of the Antiochian Orthodox, Melkite, or Maronite church. The Antiochian Orthodox Church is part of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which has some doctrinal disputes with the Catholic Church over the idea of immaculate conception, the primacy of the pope, and the nature of Jesus Christ. There are four Antiochian Orthodox churches in Canada—two in Montreal, one in Toronto, and one in Ottawa—with a total membership of around ten thousand people. Melkite and Maronite churches are Uniate churches and are part of the Catholic Church, although they have their own rites, liturgies, and patriarchs, who are beholden to the pope. There are Melkite churches in Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. At the turn of the millennium, the Montreal church had a membership of three thousand families, of which 60 percent were of Egyptian origin. The first Coptic Orthodox Church was founded in Toronto in 1965. The Coptic Orthodox followers are Monophysites who believe in the complete divinity of Jesus Christ. Some Arab Canadians have become Protestants, Catholics, or Russian Orthodox.

In 1931, only 645 Muslims lived in Canada. This number increased substantially during the second wave of immigration in the postwar period. The first mosque was built in Edmonton in 1938. By the end of the twentieth century, mosques and Islamic organizations could be found in almost all of Canada's provinces. Canada's Muslim sects include Sunnis, Shi'ites, and Druses. The Sunnis are the largest sect in the Arab world as well as in Canada. The Shi'ites, who split with the Sunnis in a dispute over Mohammed's successor, are from mostly Iraq and Lebanon. The Druse religion is based on the cult of al-Hakim, an eleventh-century religious leader who declared himself divine.

Folk beliefs in vows, the evil eye, magic, and omens are found among first-generation Arab Canadians but tend not to persist into the following generations.

Religious Practitioners. Priests carry out the rites in the Christian churches. Syrian priests arrived in Canada as early as 1892 to establish an institutional order in the new land. The Melkites and Maronites have their own patriarchs, who accept the authority of the pope. The Antiochian Orthodox Church in Canada comes under the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of New York and All North America. There is no priestly class in Islam; instead, holy men, or *iman*, function as religious authorities and instructors.

Ceremonies. The Christian sects are distinguished by their different rites and liturgies. The Maronite rites are close to the Latin rite of the Catholic Church, although the liturgy is in Syrian. The Antiochian Orthodox rites and liturgy are closest to those of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Melkites are Byzantine Rite Catholics and use the Greek language in their liturgy. As Arab Canadians became more assimilated, French or English was introduced into the service and in some cases replaced the original liturgical language. English and French are used in mosques as well, and the Qu'ran is published in English. Recently there has been a return to Arabic-language services to accommodate newer immigrants.

Arts. Dancing, singing, and poetry are art forms that have survived among immigrant and later-generation Arab Canadians. Although the lyrics are sung in Arabic, the music has changed, reflecting Western influences. Folk dances, including belly-dancing and group dancing called *dabki*, are performed by professionals at social gatherings, such as *halfi*, and are taught in Arabic cultural centers. Improvised folk poetry known as *zajal* is performed by professionals at public events.

Medicine. Folk cures are used by first-generation Arab Canadians and consist of herbal remedies, poultices, and the Aristotelian belief in the four humors. Such practices are seen as complementary to Western medicine, which Arab Canadians also use. Most Arab Canadians are integrated into the Canadian health system.

For other cultures in Canada, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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IAN SKOGGARD

Arapaho

ETHNONYMS: Arapahoe, Arrapahoe, Hiinono'ei, Nookhooseinenno', Boo'ooceinenno', Bee'eekuunenno', Noowunenno', Nenebiinenno', Noowo3ineheino'

Orientation

Identification and Location. According to accepted interpretations, the name ``Arapaho" is derived from the Pawnee word meaning "trader" or from the Crow term for "tattooed people." The Arapaho recognize themselves as *Hiinono'ei,* variously translated as "our people," "wrongrooters," or "cloud people." With the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie, the United States government officially recognized as sovereign nations two separate tribes by the names of Northern Arapaho and Southern Arapaho. Both tribes are federally recognized American Indian nations today.

Arapaho territory once extended from the Big Horn Mountains in the north, south to the Arkansas River, and east to west from the Black Hills to the Rocky Mountains, corresponding to present-day western Nebraska and Kansas, southeastern Wyoming, and eastern Colorado. By 1840, the northern and southern bands of the Arapaho had acquired separate identities as the Northern Arapaho and the Southern Arapaho. The approximate boundary between the two tribes was the South Platte River of Colorado. This area, encompassing modern-day Denver, was a common meeting place for the two tribes and for intertribal trade.

Today the principal communities of the Northern Arapaho in Wyoming are Arapahoe, St. Stephens, and Ethete. The central communities for the Southern Arapaho are Canton and Geary, Oklahoma with tribal administration centralized in Concho.

Demography. Estimates are rough and varied for Arapaho population before the reservation period. By the time an accurate census was taken, disease, deprivation, and warfare had reduced the population significantly. At the beginning of the reservation period there were about sixteen hundred Southern Arapahos in Oklahoma (in 1875) and nine hundred Northern Arapahos in Wyoming (in 1885). During the first decades of the early reservation period, both tribal populations continued to decrease as a consequence of poverty and disease. By the 1920s, both populations began to increase again with some improvements in health care, nutrition, and sanitation. Currently, there are approximately six thousand enrolled members of the Northern Arapaho Tribe and four thousand members of the Southern Arapaho Tribe.

Linguistic Affiliation. Arapaho is one of five languages of the Algonquian family in the Plains culture area. The others are Cheyenne, Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwa, and Blackfoot. Arapaho diverges markedly, especially in grammar, from these and other languages in the group, suggesting a long separation from the Great Lakes proto-Algonquian (or Algic) stock. Within the Arapaho language there were once at least five dialects, representing what were separate bands or subtribes, including *Hitouunenno',* or "Beggar Men," now known as the Gros Ventre. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Arapaho proper had separated from the Gros Ventre tribe, which then remained in the northern Plains in what is now Montana. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, approximately five hundred Northern Arapaho senior tribal members speak the "Arapaho proper" dialect.

History and Cultural Relations

Oral history holds that the Arapaho-Gros Ventre people once resided together to the east near the Great Lakes or farther north in Canada. There is no archeological or historical evidence to establish exactly when they entered the Plains. However, the linguistic distance between Arapaho and other Algonquian languages, and oral historical evidence such as stories about the use of dogs for transport, suggests that the Arapahos were on the Plains prior to the introduction of the horse and appearance of Euro-Americans.

By the middle of the eighteenth century it is clear that Arapahos were equestrian. Equestrian transport increased the distance and speed of travel, thereby contributing to expanded trade, greater hunting productivity, accumulation of more material culture, and intensified intertribal warfare. The horse also became the central object of wealth for internal exchange, raiding, and external trade.

Around 1800, the two Arapaho tribes shared a common territory with their allies, the Southern and Northern Cheyenne, while other allied groups, such as the Lakota, were allowed access to shared hunting territories. The Arapaho moved in and out of various mountain ranges, especially the Rocky Mountains, Big Horns, Black Hills, and the Medicine Bow Range. For trade, hunting, and ceremonies, Arapaho bands often traveled into allied tribes' lands, such as those the Lakota and Gros Ventre. War parties raided in neighboring territories of traditional enemies, such as the Eastern Shoshone and Utes to the west, the Crow to the north, the Pawnee to the east, and the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache south across the Arkansas River.

To ensure the safe movement of immigrants through the Plains, the United States government held a treaty council in 1851 with all central Plains tribes at Horse Creek near Fort Laramie in what is now eastern Wyoming. The resulting first Treaty of Fort Laramie recognized specific territories for the various Plains tribes including Arapaho-Cheyenne territory of 122,000 square miles extending north to the North Platte River, south to the Arkansas River, west to the Rocky Mountains, and east to the western parts of Kansas and Nebraska. The treaty also asked the tribes to allow roads and forts to be built, to cease hostilities among themselves, and to wage no depredations against non-Indians.

From that time on, recognized Arapaho chiefs officially maintained peace toward non-Indians, though at times some young men joined Cheyenne and Lakota war parties against Euro-Americans. In 1858 gold was discovered in Colorado, attracting thousands of settlers into Arapaho territory in a few years' time. Game disappeared rapidly and tensions intensified. After several Indian attacks on non-Indians, the territorial governor proclaimed that all peaceful bands must report to and remain at one of the forts, while total war would be waged against those who had not surrendered. In 1861, the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne signed the Treaty of Fort Wise, ceding claims to all their lands demarcated in the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty and setting aside a reservation in western Colorado. The Northern Arapaho chiefs and other

Cheyenne leaders did not sign, accept, or recognize the treaty.

In 1864, a Southern Arapaho band led by Chief Left Hand and a Southern Cheyenne band under Black Kettle complied with the governor's orders, surrendering at Fort Lyon and then camping on Sand Creek near the post. On 29 November, Colonel John Chivington ignored the flag of peace flying above the camp and ordered his Third Colorado Regiment to attack the camp. When what came to be called the Sand Creek Massacre was over, the soldiers had killed and mutilated over two hundred men, women, and children. In retaliation Lakota and Cheyenne warrior bands waged a war of resistance for the next twelve years, but, for the most part, Arapaho bands did not join the fight.

In 1867, the Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in which they again ceded claims to territory in the 1851 treaty and in return accepted a reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), along with promises of assistance in food, education, and farming equipment. By an 1869 presidential proclamation, the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation was established in the Canadian River area. In 1878, the Northern Arapaho bands were sent to the Shoshone Reservation in Wyoming to await a decision about their own reservation, which was never forthcoming. The Shoshone Reservation was later renamed the Wind River Indian Reservation.

Southern Arapaho leaders agreed to the General Allotment Act of 1887. By 1892 each Southern Arapaho head of household had been assigned 160 acres to improve and farm. The government then purchased the remaining 3.5 million acres of Cheyenne-Arapaho land for less than fifty cents an acre. On one day in 1892, thousands of Euro-Americans raced onto these lands to stake their claims in the famous Oklahoma Land Rush. Most families in both Arapaho tribes soon realized that the promise of successfully farming allotments as the sole source of income was impossible to achieve. Most allotments were non-irrigated, while others had poor soil and frequent pests. Many Northern and Southern Arapaho were forced to sell their allotments to non-Indians in order to pay outstanding bills or simply to feed their families.

From the 1920s until the late 1940s, Northern Arapaho tribal leaders worked aggressively to convince the federal government to disperse income to tribal members from reservation mineral and grazing leases. While major companies were extracting oil in the 1920s and 1930s, few if any profits from leases were shared with tribes. In the late 1940s, the Shoshone and Arapaho tribes began receiving occasional per capita payments distributed to tribal members and some financial support for tribal administration and social programs. In 1954, monthly per capita payments were institutionalized on a regular basis. Though the income brought modern housing, technology, and some improvement in the standard of living, the Northern Arapaho Tribe still faces many problems familiar on reservations reflected in a high unemployment rate between about 60 and 70 percent.

Though the Southern Arapaho government was dissolved upon allotment, a group of twelve chiefs continued to retain authority over religious and social life. In 1937, the Cheyenne-Arapaho tribal government was officially reestablished to administer the few remaining tribal trust and individual trust lands. The Southern Arapaho tribe and the Northern Arapaho in Wyoming have worked to return lost lands to tribal trust status. Currently, the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribal government administers about ten thousand acres of tribal trust land and seventy thousand acres of lands held in trust for individual Cheyenne and Arapaho tribal members. Based on a constitution formed in 1975, tribal government is now administered by a Business Committee of eight elected members, four from each tribe, which in turn elects the chair. The tribal government also administers various social services, educational, legal, and economic development programs.

In 1961, the Northern Arapaho, Southern Arapaho, Northern Cheyenne, and Southern Cheyenne won a claims settlement case from the U.S. Court of Claims for the government violation of the original Treaty of Fort Laramie. Altogether each of the four tribes received roughly a quarter share of the total $23.5 million settlement, calculated at about fifty cents per acre for their original territory, the value of the land the courts established for the time of the violation in 1858.

Settlements

The contemporary Southern Arapaho live in rural areas of west-central Oklahoma near the Canadian and North Canadian rivers. The main communities are Geary and Canton. The Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne share tribal administration and governance over much smaller and more dispersed trust lands.

The Northern Arapaho Tribe holds joint sovereignty with the Eastern Shoshone Tribe over the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming. Extending over two million acres from the Wind River Range of the Rocky Mountains east onto the Plains, it is the fourth largest reservation in the United States. The Arapaho residences and communities of St. Stephens, Arapahoe, and Ethete extend along the Little Wind River in the southeast section of the reservation. Tribal administration and governance is centralized in the town of Ethete, while Shoshone tribal offices and federal government agencies are located in Fort Washakie about five miles to the west.

Economy

Subsistence. Before the reservation period, Arapaho were nomadic hunters depending predominantly on the great bison (buffalo) herds of the Plains and mountain valleys. In the late spring to early summer when grass began to reemerge on the Plains, the buffalo herds congregated for the calving season. At the same time, Arapahos moved from their dispersed, small winter camps sheltered in the foothills of the mountains out to larger band and tribal camps on the Plains for communal hunts and collective ceremonies. In late summer to fall, the herds converged on the Plains again for the rutting season. Accordingly, Arapaho bands came together for the final collective hunts to acquire the food and hides needed for the approaching winter. Men hunted either individually or in small groups. In addition to buffalo, they hunted elk, deer, moose, antelope, and small game throughout the year. From the spring until the fall, women gathered roots, berries, and other vegetable plants.

By the 1850s, Northern and Southern Arapaho bands began to depend increasingly on trade goods and rations

available at settlements and the military posts, such as Fort Laramie and Bent's Fort. In the early reservation period both tribes continued to hunt buffalo, but by the 1880s, with herds nearly extinct, they became completely dependent on agency-issued rations, domestic gardens, seasonal labor, and some farming. The period from the 1880s to the 1920s was the most difficult in history for the survival of both tribes. Since World War II, farming and ranching declined significantly among individual allotment holders, who have become more dependent on a meager wage-labor economy, primarily based in the public sector of tribal administration, federal agencies, and education. Since the 1940s, the Northern Arapaho tribe has earned some income from the Arapaho Ranch operation and fluctuating royalties from oil leases on the reservation.

Industrial Arts. The bow and arrow made respectively from osage wood and a type of dogwood were used for hunting even after acquisition of guns in trade. The tipi was a highly mobile dwelling consisting of scraped buffalo hides sewn together for the cover and supported by lodgepole pine or cedar poles. The poles in turn became legs for the horse-drawn travois upon which belongings were transported. Other structures included the dome-shaped sweat lodge, various types of sunshades, the pole windbreak surrounding a tipi, the large circular lodge structures for ceremonies, toy tipis for children's play, and small huts for dogs. Women scraped, tanned, sewed, and decorated hides for robes, clothes, moccasins, and soft containers. Hides were prepared with a scraper made from an elk horn, a woman's most important tool, then sewn with an awl and animal sinew. Designs were applied with dyed porcupine quills, beads, and paint. Women made the tipi and all domestic goods in it, including tipi liners, pillows, parfleches, rawhide boxes, and utensils. Men produced and decorated the implements for hunting, horse care, ceremonies, and war.

Trade. By the mid-eighteenth century Arapaho peoples engaged in long-distance trade extending from the southwest to the Missouri River villages. Through raids and trade they acquired horses from Mexican settlements and other tribes to the west and southwest. In turn they traded buffalo hides, meat, and horses to Missouri River groups connected to English trade.

Division of Labor. Young unmarried women remained close to the household, where they helped their mothers with domestic work, such as fetching water and gathering firewood, while learning subsistence activities, child care roles, and the rich culture of women's artistic forms. Young unmarried men moved into activities beyond the tipi and outside the camp, such as horse care, hunting, and service to older men. For married adult women, roles included processing meat for cooking and storage; collecting and processing roots, berries, and other vegetable foods; hide preparation and artwork for clothing, containers, tipi covers, and household goods; and tipi construction and other preparations for moving camp. Married men's roles included horse care, hunting, scouting, warrior actions, camp security, and religious functions. The men's division of labor was in part defined by membership in the age grades. Junior grades were servants to senior men. In intermediate grades men were organized for roles as warriors and military police. In the senior grades they moved into positions of military-political leadership, followed in the old men's groups by initiation to sacred knowledge and ceremonial leadership. As husband and wife moved into senior status, they took on increasing roles for economic exchange, including gift giving, redistributive feasts, and ceremonial duties.

Land Tenure. Historically, lands and subsistence sites were not owned by individuals, families, or bands, though tribes recognized their own territories. Among allied tribes, territory was shared and mutually defended. On the reservations, there are tribal and individual trust lands, both of which are subject to tribal administration and protected by federal authority from local and state taxation, private claims, and excessive regulation, all of which contributed to loss of land in the past. There are also fee simple patent lands owned outright by individual tribal members and non-Indians. Some other lands are claimed by various federal agencies. Inheritance of individual trust lands by multiple heirs can fragment the family land base in just a few generations. Use, sale, or leasing of estate lands is subject to the unanimous consent of all heirs; in the absence of such consent, lands can remain out of production, generating no income for many years. Since 1978, the Indian Land Consolidation Act (ILCA) has allowed individuals to trade small fragments of inherited lands for contiguous parcels from tribal trust lands. The act also grants tribes first rights to bid on any non-Indian-owned fee lands put up for sale. As a result of the ILCA, both Arapaho tribes have been able to solve some problems of heirship.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Arapaho kinship is bilateral. The extended family remains at the core of Arapaho social life. Between same and opposite sex siblings-in-law relations were very open, even to the point of lewd teasing and joking. Opposite sex adult siblings maintained extreme respect, even to the point of avoidance. A similar respect-avoidance relationship held between son-in-law and mother-in-law and between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Communication in these respect relationships usually required a third party to mediate. Extreme respect was also accorded to grandparents, especially those with religious authority or possession of medicine.

Kinship Terminology. Arapaho kinship terminology classifies mother's sisters with mother and father's brothers with father. Separate terms equivalent to "aunt" and "uncle" were used for father's sister and mother's brother, respectively. Persons in these relations conversely used the terms "niece" and "nephew" for children of their opposite gender siblings. Both parallel and cross-cousins were merged with brother or sister, according to gender. Age was marked with separate terms to distinguish elder from younger sister and elder from younger brother. All males and females in the grand parental generation were generally called grandfather or grandmother respectively. Conversely, one term was used for grandchild regardless of gender.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage was *of* two types. One was arranged through the senior relatives of both the prospective spouses.

A reciprocal exchange of horses and goods took place between the two families. The second type was elopement, in which case the couple usually moved off together in secret, usually to reside with the husband's relatives. As time proved the marriage to be successful, normal relations and exchanges between the families could follow. Marriage was prohibited with anyone recognized as a relative. Polygyny was permitted but rare, usually taking the form of sororal polygyny. As a man proved to be a good husband, his wife's family could offer to arrange a marriage with her sister, though the man was not obliged to agree. Upon death, the levirate and sororate were also practiced.

Domestic Unit. It was typical for a newly married couple to reside with the wife's family while the husband offered a form of bride service to his parents-in-law. As they had children their tipi could become more independent, perhaps even moving away to another camp or to form their own. They in turn would also take on more and more support of grandparents' tipis in the camp and band. As boys reached about age ten they began to spend more and more time away from the tipi, while girls remained very close to their mothers until marriage. If a man had more than one wife, an individual tipi was constructed for each wife and her children. In each camp, all were obligated to assist and support grandparents.

Inheritance. At a funeral, personal belongings were destroyed or taken by brothers and sisters after the burial. The reservation period brought the problem of inheritance of estate property in land and assets, for which Euro-American probate laws apply.

Socialization. Mothers were primary providers of direct care in infancy and they continued to be responsible for the socialization of daughters in childhood and youth, while fathers were mainly responsible for their sons' development. Formal socialization of children and young people primarily involved storytelling, lecturing, and honor feasts or ceremonies to recognize personal achievements. Physical punishment was rare to nonexistent in prereservation society. In childhood, families sponsored various ceremonies for such events as naming, ear-piercing, first tooth, first walk, and a boy's first hunt.

Arapaho socialization was a lifelong process. The life cycle was divided into four stages, called "the four hills of life," including childhood, youth, adulthood, and old age. Specific types of knowledge and modes of learning were appropriate to each stage. In childhood, relatives honored and encouraged the development of human abilities to eat, walk, speak, and learn. From a young age, boys and girls learned to be useful by taking on various chores in the camp. During the third stage, men and women took on roles as economic providers and leaders. In old age, Arapaho men and women were initiated to the most sacred knowledge of tribal mythology, ceremonies, and history.

There were ways for individuals to define their own unique identity, status, and life direction. For men as well as for some women, life direction was gained from knowledge acquired through visions acquired in solitary fasts on hills or mountains for from four to seven days. Young men also defined their rank and status through feats in war and the stories they told. For women, personal statement and achievement through various art forms were comparable to the war deeds of men.

By 1871 Southern Arapahos began sending their children to the agency boarding school. The Northern Arapaho also welcomed and encouraged establishment of a boarding school and mission on the reservation. In 1884, Jesuits founded a Catholic mission and later a boarding school at St. Stephens. In 1910 the Shoshone Episcopal Mission established St. Michael's Mission in what is now the town of Ethete and in 1917 added a boarding school.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Within each tribe there were distinct bands, each with its own headman and name, e.g., Long Legs, Quick-to Anger, Greasy Faces, and Beavers. Each band was composed of a number of camps. Typically, a camp included several tipis, including at least one of the senior generation and several for daughters, their husbands, and children. Most married couples resided in the wife's camp. Thus, there was a strong matrifocal pattern that placed mothers, daughters, and sisters at the enduring core of family and camp life. There was an elaborate age set system. Men in the same age set but from different camps and bands passed together through the same sequence of age grades, including, from youngest to oldest, the Kit-Foxes, Stars, Tomahawks, Spears, Crazies, Dogs, Old Men, and Water-Sprinkling Old Men.

Political Organization. Each band recognized a headman or chief, a position that was generally though not specifically inherited along lines of descent. Among all the bands the headman of one band was regarded as the principal chief. Each of the men's junior age set had specific functions in policing and defending the camp. Senior grades provided military leadership, political relations with non-Arapaho groups, and authority over ceremonies. All decisions facing the tribe were decided in council by the chiefs, leaders of the age set lodges, and the oldest men.

Today the Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne tribes govern under a constitution, while the Northern Arapaho have resisted adopting a constitution since it was first proposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the 1930s. Besides the Business Council, Northern Arapahos govern through resolutions passed in General Council, a meeting in which all present and eligible tribal members discuss and decide issues facing the tribe. Both Northern and Southern Arapaho tribes now have elected tribal governments.

Despite increased self-determination for both tribes since the 1970s, all tribal governance is still subject to BIA administrative control and congressional plenary power, especially in matters relating to land and other natural resources. Both tribes continue to strive toward greater local self-government, increased control of tribal resources, and sustainable economic development.

Social Control. In traditional Arapaho society, there were a few formal modes of social control, specific to times of critical subsistence activity and sacred ritual events. During the communal buffalo hunts, for example, the Spear Lodge Men patrolled the camp as military police to keep individual hunters or families from racing out ahead of the group. A violator could be beaten or have his lodge destroyed. For certain crimes, too, specific actions were prescribed. A murderer, for

example, had to send a senior relative to speak to the offended family and then make reparations usually in the form of payment of horses. There also were various informal mechanisms of control. If a young man or woman stole, lied, or committed some other offense, a senior relative would lecture him or her. Those who did not conform after informal mechanisms were applied could be shunned from the camp. As a result an offender would camp at a distance from the main camp permanently or until reform was evident to the band. On the reservation, functions of social control have gradually shifted to formal institutions involving police, social agencies, and courts.

Conflict. Internal conflict was rare in the prereservation period but could arise, especially from adultery or murder. When such conflict did occur older family members or elders from outside intervened to negotiate compensation agreeable to all parties involved. This usually consisted of payment of horses from the offender to the offended party. In cases of irreparable conflict within a band, the two groups might separate into two new bands.

There were two main types of intersocietal warfare. One consisted of planned raids in the late summer and early fall against enemy camps. War parties of young men traveled great distances, often on foot, to sneak into enemy camps and escape with as many horses as they could. If fighting ensued, scalps were taken from enemies killed. Arapaho warriors also followed the Plains Indian custom of counting coup by striking their war clubs on living or fallen enemies, as well as accumulating honors from other war feats. The second type of warfare occurred when an Arapaho and enemy band encountered each other in contested areas bordering their territories. Though rare, battles over several days' duration with considerable loss of life could result from these encounters.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. To the Arapaho people all life depends on the Flat-Pipe. More than a sacred object, it was the original being on earth and the means through which Arapahos continue to communicate with all sacred beings and forces. Sitting highest, motionless, and directly above is the Creator and most powerful of all. Other principal beings, each with its own power, include the Four Old Men of the four directions, Sun, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, Thunderbird, and Whirlwind Woman. There are also various lesser beings and forces that roam the earth, such as little people, ghosts, and other spirit forms.

Various new religious traditions emerged to address the severe conditions of early reservation life, as well as to replace the loss of the old ceremonies due to governmental suppression. In 1890, Northern Arapahos became the first Plains people to follow the Ghost Dance. The Paiute prophet Wovoka predicted the destruction of the earth, removal of Euro-American presence, return of all deceased Indians, renewal of the buffalo, and return of the land to its original state. Central to the religious movement were a dance and associated songs that stimulated followers to experience their own visions of the afterlife and world to come. After the massacre at Wounded Knee late in 1890 and the failed renewal of the world as predicted for the spring of 1891, these practices gradually disappeared.

By 1900 the Peyote religion had been accepted among Southern Arapahos and later the Northern Arapaho. The religion's code of sobriety, good family life, charity, and compassion addresses many of the problems of individuals and families on the reservation. Most Southern and Northern Arapahos also have readily selected and adopted aspects of Christianity that are compatible with traditional religion and aid in resolving many of the crises and challenges of reservation life.

Religious Practitioners. Before relocation on the reservation, ultimate authority for the proper performance of all ceremonies rested in seven of the oldest men in a sacred society with a name translated as "Water-Sprinkling Old Men" for the ceremony held daily in the sweat lodge at the center of camp. Because of the harsh conditions of early reservation life, the positions were not passed on. To replace them, the Northern Arapaho formed a group called the Four Old Men, who retain authority over all religious life today. Similarly, the Southern Arapaho formed a group of twelve chiefs for organizing social and religious events. Specific roles that have endured to the present time include the Pipe Keeper, keepers of various other ceremonial objects, the Sun Dance leader, leaders of the tribal drum groups, and various other ceremonial positions passed from one generation to another through apprenticeship. As a counterpart to the seven old men, seven women owned seven sacred bundles for performing the women's ceremonial art form of quillwork. There were also medicine men with specific powers for curing, prophecy, and spiritual guidance. Other religious practitioners have also emerged including the peyote road chiefs, who are responsible for directing the ceremonies of the Native American Church.

Ceremonies. Ceremonies included those for life transitions that took place in the family and camp settings, such as marriage and childhood honor feasts. For childhood transitions families sponsored cradleboard presentation, naming, ear-piercing, first tooth, first walk, and, for boys, the first hunt. Another type encompassed highly sacred rites that took place in a specially prepared tipi, sweat lodge, or other small space closed to public view and access. These consisted of all the secret ceremonies of the oldest age groups and for fasting, offerings, sweats, and prayers to the Flat-Pipe, as well as the women's sacred quillworking ritual.

There were also public ceremonies referred to as "all the lodges" *(beyoowu`u)*, which included five men's age grade ceremonies, the women's Buffalo Lodge, and the Offerings Lodge, now commonly called the Sun Dance. Most ceremonies surrounding the Flat-Pipe have survived, but the only public ceremony to survive is the Sun Dance.

Arts. Traditional arts involved quillwork, beadwork, and painting on rawhide, buffalo hides, wood, and artifacts. Paints were made from tallow mixed with earth, clay, berries, charcoal, or plants. Quillwork applied to tanned hides was done only by women, supervised by the seven old women who were owners of sacred bundles containing the appropriate tools and materials. Women made buffalo robes, cradleboard covers, pillows, tipi ornaments, and other goods as gifts to relatives. Beadwork was an introduced medium that adopted designs and styles once reserved for quillwork.

Medicine. There were two basic types of traditional Arapaho medicine. One involved knowledge of plants and other natural substances for curing illnesses. The other was owned by a very few medicine men with great powers to cure, change the weather, predict the future, and perform other various miraculous deeds. Medicine of either type could be acquired directly through visions or purchased and learned from a senior owner. Patients offered gifts of horses or other goods in return for treatment.

Death and Afterlife. In prereservation culture, death was followed by burial within the same day. The ceremony usually involved only the deceased's immediate family. The deceased was buried in a stone-covered grave, wearing his or her best traditional clothes, along with a number of personal belongings. Remaining belongings that were very close to the person were either burned or claimed by close relatives. The tipi, tent, or, later on, house where death occurred was usually abandoned or destroyed. If the deceased was a warrior, his best horse was killed and left at the gravesite. The deceased's spirit was believed to linger for four days, then travel to *hiyei`in,* "our home," located above and somewhere to the west. For a year following a death, close relatives maintained mourning behavior by appearing unkempt and withdrawing from public life. Women often gashed their legs or midsections, or vowed to sacrifice a portion of a finger for a deceased relative. With the influence of the missions, military service in World War II, and Pan-Indian traditions, Arapaho funerals have become more elaborate and prolonged, involving all extended family and, for prominent people, the entire community. However, mourning behavior has decreased in the modern wage labor economy.

For the original article on the Arapaho, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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JEFFREY D. ANDERSON

Assiniboine

ETHNONYMS: Assiniboin is an alternative spelling; contemporary Assiniboine prefer the spelling with an e, and also often refer to themselves and the language they speak as Nakota, meaning "the people".

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Assiniboine (a'sini,boin) are a Siouan-speaking people closely related linguistically to the Sioux and Stoney. Contemporary Assiniboine live on two reservations in northern Montana and on four reserves in southern Saskatchewan. The Stoney ('ston e), often confused with the Assiniboine, developed from the Assiniboine and became an independent people during the eighteenth century. Their descendants live in the foothills of the Rockies in Alberta.

The name Assiniboine derives from Ojibwa *assinispwas* n, "stone enemy" meaning "stone Sioux" and often with the *-ak* plural suffix and later a final -t, and by the nineteenth century the final -n or -ne.

By the last decades of the nineteenth century Assiniboine reservations and reserves were located in Montana and Saskatchewan, within the larger region they occupied during the previous century. In Montana, the Upper Assiniboines were located with the Atsina Gros Ventre on the Fort Belknap Reservation, and the Lower Assiniboines with Yanktonai, Sisseton/Wahpeton Dakota and a small number of Hunkpapa and other Teton stragglers of Sitting Bull's followers on the Fort Peck Reservation. In Saskatchewan, Assiniboines within Treaty 4 were the reserve bands of Pheasant's Rump, Ocean Man, Carry the Kettle and Long Lodge, and Piapot's Cree-speaking Assiniboines, and within Treaty 6 the bands of Grizzly Bear's Head and Lean Man, which often were known as the Battleford Stoneys.

Demography. The population history of the Assiniboines remains incomplete until well into the nineteenth century. A number of major disease episodes proved to be quite intrusive. The population before the 1780-1781 epidemic was estimated at 10,000; afterward, only half to one-third were left. The 1819-1820 epidemic of measles and whooping cough may have again reduced the population by half. By 1838 the population had recovered as much as 30 percent to between 6,000 and 7,200, but after the steamboat brought smallpox to the upper Missouri, the Assiniboine lost as much as 60 percent of the population, down to 3,375-3,690 persons. After a slow recovery, two more smallpox epidemics struck the Assiniboine in 1856-1857 and 1869.

Assiniboine population figures in the initial reservation/ reserve period were complicated by tribal undifferentiated

figures for the shared reservations in Montana, and similarly for some of the reserves in Canada. Contemporary population figures reflect the mixed heritage of many intermarriages and their offspring. The total maximum population for Assiniboines in Canada was 5,618 as of December 2000 and 6,442 in the United States as of November 2001.

Linguistic Affiliation. Assiniboine is a Siouan language. Folk tradition suggests a separation from the Yanktonai Sioux, but this is not supported linguistically or historically. While Assiniboine is coordinate with the other Sioux dialects, it is no closer to one than to any other, suggesting that Assiniboine diverged from the Sioux at the same time the other Sioux dialects were differentiating from one another. The language is endangered, with few speakers living; most Assiniboine today speak English.

History and Cultural Relations

Assiniboines were first encountered by European fur traders in the woodlands in Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior in the 1640s and the parklands of Manitoba in the 1730s, and were adept canoe users, which facilitated their role as trade middlemen.

In the seventeenth century Assiniboine territory extended westward from Lake Winnipeg and the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers into much of central and southern Saskatchewan. From the earliest descriptions, the Assiniboines were allied with Algonquian-speaking Crees, and later in the early to mid-nineteenth century, Saulteaux or western Ojibwas. Historical sources suggest a westward expansion of Assiniboine territory during the eighteenth century through the parklands of the central Saskatchewan River and into eastern Alberta, but these farthest reaches represented interaction spheres and not a migration of fully articulated social groups, and reflected the fur traders' knowledge of the western prairies. Population movements during the early nineteenth century shifted Assiniboine territory southward, and by 1840 three-quarters of the nation lived along the Missouri River in the area of northwestern North Dakota and northeastern Montana. By the mid-nineteenth century Assiniboine territory extended east from the Moose and Wood mountains to the Cypress Hills and north to south from the North Saskatchewan to the Milk and Missouri rivers.

Assiniboines first learned of the jurisdiction of the United States with the visit of Lewis and Clark. Their incorporation commenced with the arrival of the first Indian agents on the Upper Missouri River in 1820s and the building of Fort Union in 1828, constructed particularly for trade with Assiniboines and points west.

Settlements

Before the 1880s, Assiniboines lived in seasonal camps. When the buffalo herds were reconstituted in the summer, Assiniboines came together in larger camps. During the fall when the herds dispersed, the summer camps also broke up, individual bands eventually settling in sheltered river bottoms for the winter.

The locations upon reservations in Montana in the United States and reserves in Saskatchewan in Canada remain homes for these respective tribes and first nations in the beginning of the twenty-first century. In every case a large proportion of their populations reside off reserve mostly in cities, encouraged to do so both by increased economic opportunities, but also by various government policy initiatives in the decades following the World War II.

Economy

Subsistence. Buffalo were the primary goods and materials resource for Assiniboine subsistence. Three methods of hunting buffalo were used: the group surround, the park or buffalo pound, and single hunter. Communal buffalo hunting, using dogs, was regulated by a soldier society. The introduction of horses in the nineteenth century allowed them to chase their prey on horseback. Hunters surrounded a herd of buffalo and used bows and arrows to kill as many as they could. Assiniboines used the buffalo pound to trap and process larger quantities of animals than could be taken by single hunters. The buffalo pound was a fenced enclosure of approximately an acre surrounded by a series of posts. Rock cairns were built at intervals forming a driveway toward the entrance of the surround, allowing a religious leader to call buffalo and lead animals into the "park," where the animals were then slaughtered using bows and arrows, and later guns. Grease, rendered from boiling bones, was used to make pemmican from dry meat and berries and to seal parfleches used for food storage. Armed with bows and arrows, and later guns, single hunters also stalked buffalo. Often in winter, individuals went out on snowshoes to find buffalo trapped in deep drifts. The meat and other constituent parts were dried or otherwise prepared, stored, or traded.

Assiniboines were not adverse to eating fish and were reported to have utilized fish weirs on a seasonal basis where this was productive.

Industrial Arts. In butchering, a buffalo carcass was cut down the backbone and lengthwise along the belly so that the hide was removed in two pieces. After tanning, the two pieces were sewed together with sinew. Each hide required at least three days to process into a robe. Tipi covers were made of sewed hide and trimmed to size. They were recycled into other objects when a new cover was made.

Both horse and dog travois were used to transport goods, but because they owned relatively few horses, the Assiniboine made greater use of the dog travois throughout the nineteenth century. Bull boats constructed of a willow frame and covered with buffalo hide were used to ferry goods and people across streams.

Trade. Assiniboine cultural history is bound intricately with the history of the European and later American and Canadian fur trades. A portion of Assiniboines specialized as trade middlemen, joining with a portion of the western Crees in the seventeenth century to assume these roles. For groups further inland, these portions of the population became the concentrated producers of furs and buffalo robes, which their middlemen took to trade at the trade factories on Hudson Bay. When the European traders came inland after the mid-eighteenth century, trade was still conducted by headmen on behalf of the band.

Division of Labor. The Assiniboine observed a clear division of labor between men and women. Young men went to war, but after marriage their primary concern was with hunt-

ing. Men made all of their tools and weapons, provided and cared for the family's horses, and trapped fur-bearing animals. In addition they participated in councils, feasts, and ceremonies. Women would accompany men on the hunt to help butcher game. In camp, women dressed the hides and cut up and dried the meat. They made the family's clothing as well as the tipi cover, cooked, cared for the young, gathered food and hauled water. They were also responsible for packing, unpacking, and setting up the tipi when the camp moved. Sometimes a man, as the result of a vision, rejected male roles, dressed in women's clothing, and performed the work of women.

Land Tenure. No Plains tribes claimed a special right to any circumscribed or limited territory. Consequently, the Assiniboines and their neighbors believed in their general right to the whole of the hunting grounds, where buffalo were to be found and particular Indians could be stationed. Each autonomous unit of tribes was in possession of a portion of these lands, necessary for its preservation. In defending their portion from aggression they used every means in their power. Should the game fail, they could encroach upon other regions and neighbors. This attitude toward land tenure changed, however, when the Assiniboines were forced to abandon their nomadic lifestyle for a sedentary one on reservations.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Assiniboine bands were bilateral, although women usually joined the husband's band after marriage, and the couple acquired their own lodge as soon as possible. Descendants believed they were equally related to the relatives of their fathers and mothers.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology was of the Dakota type, in which father and father's brother were classed together as father, and mother and mother's sister were classed together as mother; parents' opposite-sex siblings were uncle and aunt. The children of all fathers and mothers were brothers and sisters to one another, and the children of aunts and uncles were called cousins. Kinship terms were used for address instead of personal names among the immediate and extended family members within the camping band, and the customary patterns of kinship behavior gave order to everyday life. For example, a man was forbidden to speak directly to his parents-in-law; however, a man could lessen the tension of this avoidance relationship and allow for some communication by presenting them with a scalp taken in battle.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Men married for the first time between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, while women married after age twelve. The sound of a courting flute outside a girl's lodge or the use of love medicines were employed by a suitor to persuade her to run off with him. Precautions were taken to protect eligible girls from violators, since virginity at the time of marriage was highly valued. The formalities of marriage required the prospective groom to send a horse and some cooked meat to the girl's lodge. If her family was resistant, he might send another horse and other presents. Once the offer was accepted, the girl was sent with her belongings to the man's lodge to live there as his wife. In-law avoidance prevented the new couple from being able to live with the wife's family; the new husband did not enter his parents-in-law's lodge. Until children were born from the union, the groom performed bridge service, hunting for his in-laws. The labor necessary to process buffalo hides was so great that a successful hunter took more than one wife. A man had the right to marry his wife's younger sisters as co-wives when they came of age. Upon the death of a wife, a man waited a year before remarrying, while a widow might wait as long as three years. Divorce rarely happened if a couple had children, but a man did have the right of divorce. If there were children, older ones went with the father and younger ones with the mother. Adultery and barrenness were the usual reasons for divorce.

Domestic Unit. The core of a band was a cluster of related families composed of a number of brothers and cousins. Each nuclear family lived in its own lodge, a bison hide tipi erected with the three-pole style of foundation. The average size tipi was thirty-one feet in circumference, requiring a minimum of twelve hides for the cover, and could house a family of eight, as well as two or three visitors. Space within the lodge was formally organized, indicating relationships and proscribed behaviors. To the right of the doorway as one entered was the family storage place, filled with storage containers both of family as a whole and of individuals. Next in sequence was a place for a widowed grandmother, then the man of the household with his first wife, then their children, and finally, a place for male visitors. At the back of the lodge was the place of honor, where a visiting brother-in-law or other relative might stay. To the left of the doorway was another storage area, beyond which were places for an unmarried grandfather or uncle, for co-wives, and, toward the back, additional places for female relatives or visitors. Additional lodges for co-wives and their children were created if the main family residence became too crowded.

Inheritance. The personal property of Plains tribes consisted of horses, and a measure of wealth was related to the number possessed at any given time. Over all, Assiniboines had few horses, being at the furthest end of the trade continuum, though they did take some horses from their enemies. All objects, e.g., clothing, robes, arms, etc., that one made were considered personal property. While dying wishes of an individual were taken into consideration, the division of property remained the prerogative of the closest relatives.

Socialization, Newborn babies, when not being carried, were placed in buckskin cradles, which were sometimes fastened to cradleboards obtained in trade from the Cree or Saulteaux. The first name for a baby was bestowed three to four weeks after birth. A successful warrior or holy person was asked to give the name, for which he received a horse, and he would lead the horse about the camp announcing the new name of the child. Girls generally kept this given name throughout their lives, in contrast to the boys, who as they grew older, would obtain new names in recognition of their first accomplishments.

When children were age two or three, they were weaned. At this same age, without fanfare, grandmothers pierced the ears of children. Parents trained their same-sex children, never striking them when punishing, but rather

chastising them and teaching them in proper behavior. Men taught their sons to hunt and use weapons. The kill from the first hunt was left as a sacrifice for the carrion eaters, with prayers offered for future success in hunting and war. Proficiency in hunting was usually achieved by age eighteen, when many also joined their first war expeditions, although some went to war as young as age twelve. Girls were taught a range of skills necessary to women's work, from making clothing to preparation of foods for preservation, and participated from an early age in the care of younger children. When a girl's first menstruation occurred, she was secluded in a small shelter erected near the family tipi. In earlier times this was the practice of all women of childbearing age during their menstrual periods, but this tradition was apparently abandoned by the mid-nineteenth century.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization, Autonomous bands organized Assiniboine society, each having its own preferred territory. The core of a band was a group of related families, usually comprising a number of brothers and cousins. A system of status was tied to accomplishments of young men in warfare and in hunting, before they were allowed to marry and participate in other social and cultural responsibilities.

Political Organization. The band constituted a large extended family under a headmen known as a chief. The chief addressed band members collectively as "my children," emphasizing the significance of kinship as the basis for political organization. The position of chief was not hereditary but was based on merit. The chiefs family was often the largest and most prestigious in the band; therefore, when a chief died he was usually replaced by a relative. The chief served as the chair for a council of "little chiefs" who were the heads of families in the membership of the band, and supported the chief as long as they had confidence in him and accepted his leadership. Bands could fission, and often did if they became larger than was viable to sustain easily in the summer seasons; the configuration of political leadership of the new entities would sort out and chiefs would be made as new ones were needed and others retired or died. Decisions of the chief and council were enforced by the Soldier's society, whose members were appointed by council.

The band was the largest political unit; there was no other overarching structure as a tribe. Bands would coalesce regionally for ceremonies, buffalo hunts, or to plan military expeditions. On these occasions they camped in an expanded circle with each band occupying its own section and maintaining its own autonomy.

Social Control. The soldiers served both as police and as a paramilitary force, maintaining order with the camp and supervising hunts and camp moves, and had the authority to punish transgressors by destroying their property. Crimes, including murder, were considered private matters, left to the parties to resolve without the interference of the chief or council.

Conflict. Warfare was integral to Assiniboine culture. The defense of family and village from the aggression by other tribes necessitated such practices, and status was earned in two types of offensive warfare: horse-stealing raids and war expeditions. Both types of ventures were discussed and organized in the Soldiers' Lodge, and any plan had to be sanctioned by the leader's fasting for a vision. Once received, the leader's family made a feast for lodge members to explain the intention of the expedition. Dancing prefaced departures as warriors prepared themselves for the rigors ahead. Horse-stealing parties left on foot, each man taking extra pairs of moccasins. If at any point the leader or followers had dreams of failure, the party would turn back.

War expeditions were organized to seek revenge against an enemy as part of a cycle of blood feuds for the purpose of taking scalps. Expeditions varied in size, but could be as many as three hundred men. However, the larger the group, the more problems of leadership arose, which could endanger the success of the venture. Holy men were consulted to divine the overall success and to secure protective medicines for the group and for individuals. Some might go on foot, others mounted, depending on the overall plan for the engagement, and scouts were sent ahead to ascertain the enemy locations and strength. Dressing themselves in finery and sacred war charms, and sometimes in clothes or carrying shields upon which were designs of visions, they carried bows and arrows and guns for fighting at a distance, as well as lances, war clubs, and battle axes for hand-to-hand combat.

Warfare ceased by the late 1880s when groups were placed on their reservations or reserves.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Assiniboine religious life is centered by living among myriad forces. The greatest and organizer of these is the great power, the first cause of creation, and is called Great Mystery, the Creator, which encompasses all that was incomprehensible to humans. Contemporary Assiniboines pray to First Born Boy (Hokshi togab) as their intercessor with Creator. The spirits are omnipresent and omnipotent, and humans can call on their power for good or for evil.

Individual prayer is the core practice in Assiniboine religion. It includes the requisite burning of sweet grass; the filling, lifting, and smoking of pipes; a range of sacrifices; and weeping and self-mortification so that men and women make themselves pitiful, and therefore, pitiable. Prayers often contain the phrase, "I know you (the Creator) pity no one, but I ask that you pity me." While Assiniboines believe that the created world was a gift for human beings, the spirits were called upon to help humans cope with their inadequacies and provide security against the insecurities of the world. Both young and old men seek visions, which are the venue for encounters with spirits who bestow power for war, hunting, and curing. Those with such visions and accompanying dreams often construct a medicine bundle according to the instructions received from spirit helpers; these are buried with the individual's bodies when they die.

Religious Practitioners. Repeated visions meant an individual was being selected to become a religious specialist. Ceremonial leaders were considered "holy men" with power to find lost objects, cure particular ailments, cause illness by shooting evil into others, and interpret dreams. Their chief influence, however, was teaching others about the revelations that resulted in the faithful practice of their particular

ceremonies. Other specialists, called "medicine men" had unique powers with medicines, using mostly herbs and organic animal materials to heal the sick or wounded. Sweat baths were also used in curing. Both men and women were curers, women receiving their powers exclusively in dreams and in training as midwives; the majority of curers, however, were men.

Ceremonies. The most important religious ceremony of the ceremonial calendar is the Lodge Building Dance (Sun Dance), held in the first part of summer, bringing together relatives and others after the long winter. More than one, performed by different makers, might be held in various parts of Assiniboine country. Individuals come together after having made vows and become a community in the village specially constituted for the preparing for the lodge. Individual dancers prepare themselves by fasting in isolation and purifying themselves in advance of helping construct the lodge structure. The building takes place on the first day, the center pole found, captured and its life taken as a sacrifice, and brought to the site of the lodge. During the four-day cycle, dancers pray and sacrifice themselves for the vow they have made and for the well-being and future of the people. Dancers are painted to give them strength. Formalized self-mortification for the men consists of piercing their chests with cherry wood skewers attached by ropes to the center pole. Women dancers make offerings of small bits of flesh cut from their arms or legs, all deposited at the base of the center pole. Singers perform special songs throughout, singing nonstop during the time when the piercing and flesh offerings are made.

Horse society curing rituals both for horses and humans are next in degrees of sacredness. Both men and women belong to a society that held its rituals every two or three years, lasting several days, and was held primarily for renewal of the power of the bundles and the initiation of new members. Prayers are for increase in numbers of horses among the people and that children would grow up free from sickness.

Fool Dance is performed by a maker who called upon various individuals to constitute a society at the commencement of the ritual. Contrary behavior is used in a two-day ritual to give those chosen, and by extension all present in the camp, powers for war and hunting. The maker is said to possess the power for doctoring eyes. Held once a year, at the time of the Sun Dance, the selected dancers wear masks and clothes to disguise their identities. The ritual culminated with the retirement of the maker and his dancers to the society's lodge, where those needing eye treatment could come.

A number of men and women sodalities' (societies) rituals include both public and private performances, each revolving around distinctive rules, regalia, songs, and dances. Borrowed from the Blackfeet, the Tea Dance or "drunken dance" involved drinking large quantities of tea and mimicking drunken behavior, while fostering abstinence. It was revived at Fort Belknap in 1891 with men and women participating. Small-scale giveaways were expected from the sponsor.

Portions of the Ghost Dance complex were introduced by the Arapaho to the Gros Ventres at Fort Belknap, but the Assiniboines were not adherents, beyond a few individuals. Assiniboines however, enthusiastically embraced the ritual hand game that passed from tribe to tribe in association with the Ghost Dance. The hand game was one of chance, but the new hand game of the Assiniboines is considered a religious ceremony of divination in which no gambling occurs. The outcome is considered an answer to the question posed by the ritual's sponsor.

Prayers in sweat lodge and in pipe ceremonies provide venues for individuals to center their thoughts and prepare for other rituals, to ascertain solutions to dilemmas, or to mark special events.

Arts. Most artistic expressions appeared on clothing, buffalo robes, storage containers, and tipis. For ceremonies and going to war, clothing was decorated with porcupine quillwork or beadwork. War shirts and leggings were often trimmed with locks of human hair or ermine skins. Trade items included dentalium shell for women's dresses, cloth, glass beads used for clothes and decorative strips on blankets, small hawk bells, and brass and silver wire for earrings and arm bands. Designs were simple and mostly geometric.

Death and Afterlife. Upon the death of a person, the spirit of the deceased was urge by wailing relatives and friends to travel south to the land of the spirits. The mourners cried until the body was buried. A warrior who died was dressed and painted as for war and wrapped in a blanket. His weapons were placed with the body, which was then wrapped in a buffalo robe painted with pictures of his brave deeds, and wrapped once more in more rawhide. The deceased was placed on a scaffold or high place, with the feet to the south and the upper body slightly raided. A favorite horse, or in the case of a woman, her favorite dogs, might be killed at the grave, to reduce the loneliness of the deceased. When scaffolds rotted and fell to earth, the bones were gathered up and buried.

For the original article on the Assiniboine, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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Banyankole

ETHNONYMS: Banyankore, Bahima, Bairu, Hima, Muhima, Iru, Munyankole, Nkore, Nkole, Mwiru, Bahera

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Banyankole are among the half dozen major ethnic groups in Uganda. They live in southwestern Uganda, where there is a common border with Rwanda and Tanzania. To the east of Ankole District is Lake Victoria, and to the west are Mount Rwenzori and a number of lakes, including Lake Albert and Lake Tanganyika. The land, over 4,000 feet (1,220 meters) above sea level, is hilly with rolling plains covered with fine grass. The Banyankole consist of two major ethnic groups: the Bahima, who are pastoralists, and the Bairu, who are agriculturists. The Bairu are numerically larger, and the Bahima are politically and socially dominant.

Demography. One of the most important of the lake kingdoms in prestige and population was Ankole. While the date when it was first established remains unknown, it is speculated that it may have started as early as during the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Ankole became a focus of study only in the 1920s and 1930s as reported by anthropologist K. Oberg and historian F. Morris.

The Ankole District is 6,131 square miles (15,879 square kilometers). There was a time when the population of Bahima was reported to have been close to 50 percent of the entire population. This, however, for various reasons declined to a mere 10 percent of the whole population.

In 1919 there were 149,469 Banyankole; this rose to 224,000 Bairu and 25,000 Bahima by 1931. By 1959 the population rose to over half a million thus making the Banyankole the second largest Bantu-speaking ethnic group in Uganda. In the twentieth century the Banyankole registered over a million.

Linguistic Affiliation. Both the Bahima and the Bairu speak a language called Runyankole, which is one of the Bantu languages spoken in Uganda. Bantu languages are part of the large Niger-Congo language family. It is widely believed that at one time the Bahima had their own language, which they abandoned in favor *of* the Runyankole, spoken by the majority of the Banyankole.

History and Cultural Relations

Some scholars believe that Ankole originally was occupied by Bantu-speaking agricultural Bairu. Later, Ankole provided a passage for Hamitic peoples, possibly the Bahima, migrating from Ethiopia southward. These pastoralists conquered the Bairu and proclaimed themselves the rulers of the land. According to some scholars, the more numerous Bairu were serfs and the Bahima were the dominant ruling class. For the most part the two ethnic groups coexisted peacefully.

When the British created Uganda as a protectorate in 1888, Ankole was a relatively small kingdom ruled by a king *(Mugabe)* with supreme power. In 1901 the British enlarged the kingdom by merging it with the similarly small kingdoms of Mpororo, Igara, Buhweju, and Busongora. The power of the *Omugabe* was curtailed considerably once his kingdom was legally and constitutionally controlled. However, as the Omugabe of Ankole, the king was entitled to all the titles, dignities, and preeminence that were attached to his office under the laws and customs of Ankole. A political relationship based on serfdom, slavery, and clientship ceased to exist under British rule, and the Bairu became less marginalized and despised.

Four years after the independence of Uganda in 1962 serious conflicts arose between the Ugandan central government and the Buganda kingdom that led to the suspension of the constitution of Uganda; this effectively abolished the kingdoms in that country, including the Ankole kingdom. In 1993, by popular and persistent demand, monarchism was restored in Buganda, Bunyoro, and Toro. However, the Banyankole were not united in their quest for the restoration of the Ankole kingdom, and the matter remains unresolved into the twenty-first century.

Settlements

In the early history of Ankole most *of* the nomadic pastoralists had no settled dwellings. Even the king had only a small dwelling with a stockade forming an enclosure for his cows at night. There was no courthouse, and his council met outdoors. In later years that changed considerably. Today settlements are scattered all over the hills, slopes, and valleys of Ankole, consisting of both traditional grass-thatched and Western-style (brick and corrugated iron-roofed) homesteads. Each family owns a fairly large plot of land around its homestead, but usually the homesteads are close to one another. From the top of one of the more than a thousand hills of Ankole, the view of the banana groves appears to be leveled at the top and the surface is entirely green.

Economy

Subsistence. The land available to each homestead is used for livestock or subsistence farming. The animals kept are predominantly cattle, along with a few goats, sheep, dogs, and chickens. The Banyankole possess large herds of a native long-horned breed of cattle that are valued for their milk and meat and are of great importance as indicators of power, wealth, and prestige. The crops grown are millet, the staple and favored food, sorghum, potatoes, bananas, coffee, tea, beans, and vegetables.

Commercial Activities. The Banyankole who engage in agriculture sell some produce and beer to get cash to buy

clothes, utensils, and furniture and pay for the education of their children. Similarly, those who raise livestock sell some of their animals or animal products in the form of meat, milk, butter, skins, hides, and eggs to raise cash. Craftspeople also sell or exchange what they produce. After the British arrived, commercial activities expanded immensely as there was a flood of manufactured goods (sweets, utensils, clothes, fertilizers, electronic goods, lamps, bicycles) that were in high demand.

Industrial Arts. The king employed expert craftsmen such as blacksmiths who made spears, knives, axes, and ankle bands and armbands out of iron; carvers who made milk pots, drums, wooden spoons, and carved decorations out of wood, ivory, and bone; skinner-dressers; bark cloth makers; sandal makers; and beer brewers. Chiefs engaged the services of the Bairu to supply them with spears, watering pails, axes, and milk pots. The Bairu also engaged in weaving, making mats and baskets, and carving.

Trade. Trade took place between the Bahima and the Bairu in the goods that each group produced. There also was considerable trade between the Banyankole and people from kingdoms such as Buganda, Bunyoro, and Toro as well as people in neighboring countries such as Tanzania, Rwanda, and the Congo. Those who traded with the Banyankole traveled to Ankole to purchase whatever they considered of commercial value, and the Banyankole also traveled to sell and buy goods. This form of trade has continued to the present day.

Division of Labor. From about age eight a boy is expected to be useful in and around the house as well as go to school. He goes out with the men who take the cattle to the pasture and learns to herd cows, milk them, treat their ailments, and protect them from wild animals, especially lions. Both girls and boys learn agricultural activities such as cultivating, sowing, harvesting, and guarding crops against birds and animals. Girls are taught the household chores they will perform when they are married. The mother plays a significant role in rearing children; she disciplines and sends them on errands and supervises their grazing calves. Her duties include cleaning the house, cooking, and looking after children. Children are taught to show respect for their elders and relatives. Mothers teach girls to wash milk pots, churn milk, and prepare food. Girls also engage in making bead ornaments, weaving, making mats, fetching water and firewood, sweeping, babysitting, and going on errands.

Among the Bahima herding cattle was the principal occupation for men. In addition they were expected to build homes for their families and pens for cattle. Among the Bairu both men and women were principally engaged in agricultural activities. In the main men were responsible for clearing the land, while women engaged in household chores. Both men and women did harvesting, but women did winnowing, grinding, and thrashing of millet. Comparatively, Bairu women engage in much physical work; Bahima women spend more time caring for their beauty and personal appearance.

Land Tenure. According to the customary law of Ankole, all land was vested in the Omugabe, who controlled it on behalf of every Munyankole who could use it and benefit from it. Similarly, all animals, particularly cattle, belonged to the Omugabe, although people could do what they wished with their livestock as long as they did not sell the animals to people from outside Ankole without express permission from the Omugabe. This has remained the practice, with the limitation that there is no longer free land available for anyone to claim. People now receive land from their parents or relatives or obtain it commercially.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Banyankole are divided into three major patrilineal clans: Abahinda (royal people), Abasambo, and Abagahe. Each clan traditionally had one or more totems. The Abahinda had two totems: *Nkima*—a small black-faced monkey—and *bulo*—millet that is unhusked and uncooked. The Abahinda were not allowed to engage in magic or medicine or eat unhusked and uncooked millet. Clan exogamy was widely practiced. The three clans are broken down into numerous subdivisions, each of which has a function. Among the Abahinda there were warriors, herdsmen, guards, princes, those who purified and painted the king with white clay, royal shoemakers, carriers of the royal spear, milkers, and those who bathed the king during coronation ceremonies. However, marriage within the clan was acceptable if the couple had second or third totems that were different from each other. Those who belonged to the same totem contributed to the well-being of one another by helping those who were sick, burying the dead, bailing out those in debt, and hunting down those who murdered a clan member.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. By the time girls turned eight or nine, particularly among the Bahima, preparation for marriage began. They were no longer free to run and play without some form of control. Girls were mostly kept indoors, where they ate beef and millet porridge and were forced to drink milk in large quantity so that they would become fat. Being fat is associated with beauty, and the drinking of milk is said to contribute to one's beauty. As soon as a girl's breasts emerge, she is warned by her parents to abstain from sexual activities, which may lead to pregnancy and disgrace the family. In the past pregnancy outside marriage was punished by death or expulsion from the home.

A Munyankole father, occasionally assisted by his relatives, is obliged to get a wife for his son by paying the required bride-wealth. This consists of two cows, three goats, and some pots of beer among the Bairu; among the Bahima it may range from two to twenty cows, depending on how wealthy a person is.

A marriage may be arranged by the couple's parents, or the boy may propose to the girl during adolescence. Once the bride-price has been paid, preparations for the wedding begin. On the wedding day the bride's father slaughters a bull for food. Other forms of food and a considerable amount of beer are prepared for feasting at the bride's home. This is followed by another feast at the bridegroom's home, where the marriage is consummated. At the wedding ceremony the girl's aunt confirms that the groom is potent and that the bride defended her virginity before the marriage was consummated.

A social distinction between the Bahima and the Bairu was established by prohibiting intermarriage between them.

The Bahima would find it repugnant to marry a Mwiru. Moreover, it was illegal for a Muhima to give cattle to a Mwiru. A Mwiru would have no cattle for bridewealth for a Muhima wife since all he had was unproductive cows and bull calves. Cattle were essential not only for the legitimacy of marriage but also for the legitimacy of the children born out of a marital relationship.

A woman with no children has no status among the Banyankole, and most women wish to marry and raise many children. If a woman is unable to bear children, her husband is likely to contemplate taking a second wife. Monogamy was the standard practice, though polygyny was not prohibited. Both the Mugabe and wealthy Banyankole practiced polygyny. Today monogamy remains the predominant form of marriage, influenced by Westernization, Christianity, education, and the traditional Banyankole model.

Domestic Unit. A household consists of a nuclear family or an extended family if some family members, such as aged parents or brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, and others, decide to live with the nuclear family on a temporary or permanent basis. In some cases, immediately after marriage the married couple may live with the husband's family, sharing the same compound, or not far from their parents and continue sharing a number of activities, including cooking and eating together.

Inheritance. The Banyankole consider a son to be of special significance because he is an heir to his father's name and wealth and will be responsible for the well-being of his mother when his father dies. If a person is unlikely to recover from illness, he is asked to identify one of his sons as an heir. In general, the oldest son is named, though in some cases this may not apply and the father may identify any of his sons to assume that office. If clan members feel that the father has not made the right choice, they may advise him accordingly or override his choice in favor of the son they think is more suitable. In the past failure to name an heir resulted in the king claiming a person's possessions and assigning them to anyone else he wished.

Succession and the nomination of the heir to the throne were based on two rules. First, the heir had to be a member of the royal line. Second, he had to be the strongest of the king's sons. To determine who was the strongest, the sons had to fight among themselves. The fighting resulted in death or exile until one son emerged as the victor, entitling him to claim the drum *(Bagyendanwa)* and the right to ascend to the throne.

Socialization. Generally, children are welcomed and warmly treated by all their relatives. The naming of a child is carried out immediately after birth or after the seclusion period. A number of factors influence the type *of* name that is given to a child: the experience of the mother and father, the time of day when the child is born, the day of the week, the place of birth, and the name of the ancestors (this applies only to the Bahima since the Bairu do not use ancestors' names). The father plays the predominant role in naming the child. At the end of about four months, if the child is a son, the father holds the child, dedicates two cows to the boy's use, makes him sit for the first time, and gives him the name of one of his ancestors. A baby girl is made to sit by her mother and is given the name of an ancestor. She is carried outside the house, directed to look over the plains to other kraals, and told that her fortune and wealth will come from there. This declaration was made in reference to the husband who would marry her when she reached the appropriate age.

A specific rate of development is considered normal, and if a child appears to be a slow developer, small bells are tied to the child's ankles and wrists to encourage him or her to walk according to their rhythm. The child remains close to the mother day and night. During the day the mother plays with and feeds the child. She may put the child to sleep in his or her crib or carry the child with her as she does her daily household or garden chores. At night the baby sleeps with the mother until the arrival of the next baby (usually after two or three years). Then the child may share a bed with his or her brothers or sisters or with other relatives staying with the family. If the mother is too busy to do so, relatives may take care of the child. The relatives who may help in this way are the child's grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins.

For the first seven years of life boys and girls play together, guard calves, and engage in games and activities related to warfare; marriage; herding; building; wrestling; shooting at a target with arrows and making toys out of clay, wires, and other materials; boxing; swimming; playing hide and seek; dancing; and throwing objects. Milk is part of the children's diet, and they are expected to drink it in large quantities; failure to do so leads to some form of reprimand or punishment.

When a girl experiences menarche, she tells her mother, who may decide to inform her husband and others immediately or to conceal it for a while. A mother will conceal the event only if she does not wish her daughter to marry right away or to be persuaded to have sex and run the risk of pregnancy. Although the Banyankole have no special ceremony to mark the attainment of puberty by a boy, he is expected to be able to support himself, marry, and be able to support both his family and his parents in their old age.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Perhaps because of their military advantages, the Bahima maintained domination over the Bairu. They imposed an inferior legal and social status and insisted that they pay tribute to the Bahima through the king, who was invariably a Muhima. The Bairu were not permitted to possess productive cows. If a Mwiru worked for a Muhima, he was given barren cows and bull calves as remuneration. If a Mwiru owned productive cows, a Muhima could dispossess him of that livestock. While the Bahima participated in military activities, the Bairu were not allowed to do this. Similarly, Bairu could not hold high office. They were restricted in the exercise of blood revenge against the Bahima. In terms *of* blood revenge, they were prohibited from killing a Muhima, whereas a Muhima could kill a Mwiru as a matter of course.

The Mugabe, together with the chiefs and wealthy Bahima, owned slaves, mainly Bairu captured during raids on neighboring kingdoms. It was a common practice for slave owners to give slaves to friends as presents. Slaves had no legal status, and a slave owner could deal with them as he wished. Slaves were not entrusted with herding cattle since they were considered untrustworthy; supervision of slaves was done by a Mwiru headman.

Political Organization. The kingdom of Ankole was controlled by the Mugabe, whose rule was absolute and whose decisions were final. In him were vested physical, magical, and religious powers. The king made decisions regarding peace and war and was responsible for all major political appointments in the kingdom. Appointees could be dismissed for incompetence or personal incompatibility or because they brought bad luck to the king. However, it was impossible for the Mugabe to run the government by himself, and there were some elements of democracy in the running of the government. The king was assisted by his mother, sister, the *enganzi,* chiefs, office holders, military bands, and a host of servants and specialists.

Next to the king in importance were the kings's mother and sister, who could veto his decisions. Nobody could be ordered to be executed without the consent of the mother and the sister. After the mother and sister came the enganzi, who was the king's chief of chiefs, carrying titles such as prime minister, head chief, beloved one, favorite chief, executive chief, and chief adviser. The enganzi was selected for office with input from the king's mother and sister. It was a policy that the enganzi not be a member of the king's Abahinda clan. For this reason, it was not possible for the enganzi to ascend to the throne. The enganzi was the king's confidant and the only person aside from the pages who could enter the palace at any time. He had his kraal in front of that of the king so that he was available any time the king needed to consult him on state matters.

While an enganzi had to be chosen among the Bahima, over fifty years after the arrival of the British this changed so that a number of Bairu were elected to the eminent office of the enganzi a number of times. Initially the Bahima resisted, but there was not much they could do to change the course of events as political changes swept across the Kingdom.

The kingdom of Ankole had sixteen districts, each of which was under a chief (Mukwngu) appointed by the Mugabe. The sixteen chiefs were invariably cattle keepers who had agricultural people as serfs. The authority of a chief was limited. A chief did not control the movement of subordinate chiefs and other people who might decide to move into his district and graze their animals there. All the land was free to cattle owners, who could settle where they wished and could move elsewhere at their convenience.

Under the chief in the district, there were junior chiefs who reported to the district chief particularly when there were matters that needed his attention. Otherwise they operated more or less independently. Among these junior chiefs were Bairu who assisted with the collection of tax. Despite Bairu junior chiefs playing this role, the Bahima had problems recognizing them as such.

Social Control. Judicial authority was vested in the king, with certain judicial powers exercised by Bahima and Bairu extended families. The king could administer punishment to his subjects in the form of death, exile, beating, torturing, and cursing. He had the right to confiscate the cattle of his subjects, could override the judicial decisions of chiefs and kinship groups, and was the only one who could grant the right of blood revenge. However, no one could be executed without the consent of the mother or the sister of the king.

Whenever one of the subjects appealed to the Mugabe regarding a decision made by one of the chiefs, the matter was referred to the enganzi or one of the favorite pages to try the case. However, disputes of a serious nature, such as those involving more than fifty cattle or women deserting husbands, were brought directly to the attention of the Mugabe for resolution. The Mugabe's court was not in session all the time, but when there were cases, the enganzi brought them to the attention of the Mugabe. The court session took place in the open, where the Mugabe sat in the shade of a tree as he listened to the case. Those in attendance were the enganzi, the Mugabe's pages, private guards, chiefs, and common people.

Benevolently the king would see that a subject whose livestock was raided got the necessary assistance in regard to defense. If a client lost his livestock or property, the king would help him acquire new property or livestock. If one of his relatives was murdered, the king would grant the right of blood revenge.

Conflict. As in any other society, Ankole experienced a range of conflicts at an individual, family, regional, and national level. There were ethnic group as well as political and religious conflicts. Starting at the end of World War II, the Bairu challenged the premises of hierarchy and subordination inherent in the Ankole structural setup. This led to formation of movements such as Kunyamana, which means "to know each other," whose principal purpose was to protest against inequality that the Bahima had imposed on Bairu. As a result, there were changes introduced to cater to the concerns raised by Kunyamana. It is important to note that despite the levels of animosity between the Bairu and Bahima, ethnic conflict in Ankole did not lead to open violence.

The majority of Bairu are Protestants. Most positions of power were held by Protestants with very few Roman Catholics and Muslims holding such positions. This was a source of conflict which had be to be addressed for peaceful coexistence.

There were also conflicts between the king and the colonial government, the former feeling that he was being bullied and marginalized, while the latter felt that the king was not doing what was expected of him as king. Meetings were held and written communication was exchanged with the colonial officers threatening to remove the king from office if his behavior did not change for better. However, there is no record to show that such threats were ever implemented.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Banyankole believed that there was a powerful creator whom they referred to as Ruhanga (God) with permanent residence in heaven. Though there were no prayers directed to him, prayerlike expressions were used. At the birth of a child, people would express their joy by clapping the hands and saying *tata Ruhanga* ("Father God"). In the event of sickness they would say *Ruhanga akutambire* ("may God heal you").

According to Banyankole, Ruhanga created the first man—Rugabe—and first woman—Nyamate—who were to fill the earth with their offspring. From these first human beings were born kings who, after their death, were deified and assumed the role of gods of fertility, earthquakes, thunder,

and other such occurrences, to whom they presented their requests.

Apart from kings, who became gods after death, the Banyankole attached special importance to ghosts. Some of the functions of the ghosts were hovering around the living, helping them, or displaying their displeasure if they were not properly treated by surviving relatives and friends, as well as punishing those who failed to adhere to clan law and customs. It was believed that while ghosts were invisible, their presence was unmistakably felt in the wind that blew in the trees and grassy areas for the cattle keepers. For peasants, the presence of ghosts was felt as audible rustling in the grain and the plantain trees. People turned to ghosts more than to the gods for help and made offerings and supplications. Every family in Ankole had a shrine for ghosts, and cows were dedicated to them. Milk was provided for ghosts on a regular basis, and in some instances meat was made available.

Since the arrival of the British and other people from Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, many of the Banyankole have embraced Christianity and Islam as a way of expressing their spirituality and belief in God as their creator. It is reported that there was a time when the king of Ankole, Kahaya, became a Christian. This meant he had to divorce six of the seven wives he had and retain only one in keeping with the church requirement. There are times when conflicts arise between the new form of religion and Banyankole cultural values and traditional forms of worship.

Religious Practitioners. The Banyankole did not have a formal religion and clergy. Traditionally, sacrifices were carried out by mediums and medicine men.

Ceremonies. Various ceremonies are carried out among Banyankole some of which involve joyous occasions, while others may be sad occasions. The joyous ceremonies involve weddings, birth of children, dedication of children, commemoration of important events, rites of passage, coronation of the king and receipt of visitors bringing bridewealth. Sad ceremonies would involve death in the family or the death of the king, sickness, and displeasure of the ancestors. For most of these ceremonies, there is eating, drinking, speech making, singing, and dancing.

Arts. The Banyankole engage in numerous artistic activities involving music, literature, sports, weaving, and dancing. Historian Morris is reported to have collected and translated Ankole's epic poetry. Many missionaries and Banyankole have written books in Runyankole which are widely read at home and at school. Many events taking place in society are expressed in the form of poetry. In the evenings and other times children and parents share stories depicting events and episodes in society.

Epic poetry was composed to celebrate raids of various kingdoms. Songs would be composed to praise the warriors, their valor, and the invincibility of their weapons. There were also songs for praising cattle to the effect that they were objects of beauty and joy forever. In doing this they would use various parts of the body as well as instruments such as flutes, lyres, and drums.

Banyankole are also known for engaging in activities such as making agricultural implements including hoes, sickles, axes, and knives; weapons such as spears, bows and arrows, and clubs of hardwood; making pottery, weaving mats and baskets, using iron, copper, and brass to make jewelry including necklaces, bracelets, headrings, and anklets.

Medicine. The Banyankole generally believe that illness is caused by God, ghosts, or magic. God is said to cause illness and ultimately death because his desires and rights have not been fulfilled and adhered to. A ghost causes illness if cows dedicated to the family are sold or bartered without the consent of the ghost, if offerings due to him are not made, and if clan laws are violated. A hostile ghost from another clan can cause illness. If a person has a grudge against another person, a magic rite may be performed over beer, which is then offered to that person to drink. Once a person discovers that he has drunk such beer, he or she dies of fear.

If an illness is not serious, a man is taken care of by his wife, and a woman by her mother, with traditional (often herbal) medicine. If the illness is serious, a medicine man is called in to discover the cause. Then an appropriate traditional doctor provides treatment. For a fee, female traditional doctors treat women patients; male traditional doctors treat both women and men patients.

With the availability of health facilities in the form of hospitals and clinics, many Banyankole have availed themselves of Western treatments without necessarily forsaking the traditional model of healing.

Death and Afterlife. Among the Banyankole illness is not considered a natural cause of death; therefore, such deaths require an investigation to find the responsible party. By contrast, old age is accepted as a sufficient cause for death. It is held that God allows old people to die after the completion of their time on earth. The Banyankole view death as a passage to another world.

When a man dies, every relative, along with friends and neighbors, is informed. A person who fails to attend the funeral without a good reason may be suspected of being associated with the death. Before burial, the body is washed and the eyes are closed. As the deceased is placed in the grave, the right hand is placed under the head while the left hand rests on the chest. The body lies on the right side. One or more cows are slaughtered to feed everyone present. Beer is provided as part of the mourning. The mourning goes on for four days. A deceased woman is treated in a similar manner except that in the grave she is made to lie on the left side as if she were facing her husband. Her left hand is placed under her head, while her right hand rests on her chest.

For other cultures in Uganda, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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TUNTUFYE SELEMANI MWAMWENDA

Banyoro

ETHNONYMS: Unyoro is a corruption of Banyoro. The most popular usages are Banyoro (the people), Bunyoro (the region), and Bunyoro-Kitara (the kingdom). In the past Kitara was used commonly to denote Greater Bunyoro.

Orientation

Identification and Location. Unyoro was the name nineteenth-century Arab interpreters used to refer to those enemies whom the Baganda derisively called Banyoro, meaning "inferior foreigners." In Bunyoro, however, a chief was called *Omunyoro* (plural *Abanyoro).* Gradually, the name became an honorific title used in addressing individuals of significance.

Bunyoro is one of the administrative regions of the modern Republic of Uganda. The Banyoro live largely in western Uganda, east of Lake Mobutu. The region includes the districts of Hoima, Masindi, and Kibaale.

Bunyoro is part of the western Ugandan physical terrain and is part of the western Rift Valley complex. The elevation is roughly between 2,200 and 4,800 feet (670 to 1,460 meters) above sea level. It is characterized by three topographic patterns: the western Rift Valley system, rising about 2,200 feet (670 meters) above sea level and including the areas around Lake Mobutu; the well-watered and fertile plateau system about 3,400 feet (1,036 meters) above sea level, descending westward on a steep escarpment to the Rift Valley system; and the central hilly system, which runs on a southwesterly to northwesterly axis at a height of 4,000 to 4,800 feet (1,220 to 1,460 meters) above sea level, with a maximum width between 18 and 19 miles (29 to 30 kilometers).

Demography. Physical and historical factors had a strong effect on the demographic history of affected Bunyoro. Although the early estimates of its population based on the geographic extent of the kingdom before the British conquest cannot be accepted as accurate because of a lack of sufficient data, the official guidebook to East Africa estimated a population of 2,500,000 in 1893. The average population density in the 1890s was estimated to be quite high. Bunyoro has become one of Uganda's smaller regions both territorially and in population. The provisional figure in Uganda's 1969 census put the population at 348,000, which ranked Bunyoro as the fourteenth most populous district. Even though most of Bunyoro is well watered and fertile, the population density remains the lowest in western Uganda. Among Uganda's thirty-one subnational groups, the Banyoro are twelfth to fifteenth position in population.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Banyoro speak Runyoro (Nyoro), which is in the Central Bantu division of the Bantu languages. It originally was widely spoken in the Lake Region. In the Paluo area of northern Bunyoro a language related to the Luo language is also spoken. Runyoro is spoken essentially in the Bunyoro districts and to a limited extent is understood in Tooro districts and, to a lesser extent, in Ankole and Buganda. Runyoro is more closely related to Runyankore than to Luganda, however.

History and Cultural Relations

The early history of Bunyoro is not known, but it is thought that people have inhabited the region since the Stone Age. However, among the Banyoro there is a strong tradition that their ancestors founded the earliest state system in the interlacustrine region of East Africa. The founding dynasty is identified as the *Abatembuzi* (Pioneers). This was probably a pastoral dynasty whose activities are only dimly remembered. It is claimed that the Abatembuzi exercised dominion over agricultural communities that earlier had displaced the region's hunter-gatherers, to whom archaeologists attribute the origins of the Sangoan and Lupemban industries of the Middle Stone Age as well as the Wilton industries of the Late Stone Age.

Between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this dynasty—whose identity as actual people some dispute—was displaced by another pastoral dynasty identified as the *Abachwezi,* who within a century are said to have turned the Abatembuzi state into a loosely organized and amorphous empire called Kitara. Unlike the Abatembuzi, whose identity is not generally accepted, there is no doubt that the Abachwezi were real individuals whose activities are imperfectly remembered. However, the description of their dominion as an empire and the territorial extent of that dominion are disputed. Their reign was short but significant. They are credited with performing supernatural feats and with exercising effortless dominion over those who came into contact with them. They were elevated to a cult status—the Abachwezi Cult—after their defeat. The dynasty had only three kings.

The last dynasty, which had twenty-seven rulers, the Ababiito Dynasty, still reigns in Bunyoro. It was founded by the Luo, also a pastoral dynasty of Nilotic ancestry. The Ababiito defeated and displaced the Abachwezi during the sixteenth century. Bunyoro tradition claims that the Ababiito exercised both formal and informal influence over the Lake region. The Ababiito existed, but the extent of their dominion is disputed. It is clear that by the eighteenth century their influence came under heavy pressure from their neighbors, notably the Baganda and Banyankore, who had been expanding from their nuclear areas since the disintegration of the Abachwezi "empire." By the middle of the nineteenth century the areas controlled by the Ababiito had shrunk considerably. The efforts of Kabarega, the most famous Ababiito ruler, to reverse the situation were halted by the British conquest of Uganda.

Early in the twentieth century the Banyoro formed the bulwark of resistance against British colonialism. They

blamed the British for restoring the Tooro kingdom, which Kabarega had reconquered; for allowing Buganda and Ankole to expand at their expense; and for forcing them to live under the rule of Baganda chiefs appointed by the colonial government. This resentment climaxed in the Nyangire Revolt of 1907, which was a rejection of Buganda's subimperialism but primarily was a passive revolt against British rule. The revolt was suppressed, and direct colonial rule was imposed on the Bunyoro.

In 1933 the colonial government, satisfied that the Banyoro had decided to accept the political reality, signed the Bunyoro Agreement with Omukama Winyi IV and his chiefs, by which Bunyoro district was officially recognized as the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. The Banyoro regard this recognition as a validation of their claim to have presided over a Kitara empire. The agreement also ended the era of direct colonial rule from Kampala. The Bunyoro Agreement of 1955 formally ensured that the *Omukama* (king) was only the titular head of his kingdom.

The independence of Uganda in 1963 was welcomed by the Banyoro, but they remained unhappy because of the several lost counties; only the Buyaga and Bugangaizi were restored to them. In 1967 the government of Milton Obote abolished all the Ugandan kingdoms and pensioned off the kings, but in 1993 the government of Yoweri Museveni restored the kingdoms. On June 11, 1994, Prince Solomon Gafabusa Iguru was crowned the twenty-seventh Omukama of the Ababiito Dynasty of Bunyoro-Kitara. The Banyoro are engaged in what they call the "Rebirth of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom" in the context of their reduced circumstances.

Settlements

Before the nineteenth century settlement patterns reflected clan organization, which was seen as protection against external enemies. The clans *(enganda),* which numbered over 150 by the 1950s, were both exogamous and patrilineal. Thus, the location and number of settlements tended to coincide with those of the clans. To a large extent Bunyoro's topography determined the distribution of settlements.

By the twentieth century, because of population movements, the strengthening of chiefly institutions that afforded better protection, technological developments, natural disasters, and colonialism, consanguinity gradually ceased to be the major determinant of where people lived. The dispersal of clan members over the years has continued within Bunyoro, within Uganda, and to other parts of East Africa.

The original houses, which were conical in shape, were made of wattle and clay and thatched with grass. Settlements *(byaro)* were somewhat isolated from one another except in a few lakeside areas where people lived in compact villages. Each homestead, usually consisting of one or two buildings, had its own gardens and plantain plantations.

Colonialism brought changes to settlement patterns, structures, housing designs, and materials. Now there are brick houses with corrugated iron roofs and various sizes and shapes of dwellings. Some byaro still exist and are being modernized.

Economy

Subsistence. The preindustrial economy was essentially one of subsistence: People generally produced food and other goods for their own use. Agriculture formed the basis of this economy. The ancestors of the Banyoro were both farmers and pastoralists, but the majority were and have remained sedentary farmers *(abairu).* Their products included millet, root crops, bananas, coffee, and bark cloth. Their implements were primarily hoes and knives. The pastoralists *(abahuma)* operated mainly in grassland areas. Although it was possible to be both a farmer and a rancher, the two occupations were distinct.

Knowledge of metalworking greatly enhanced agricultural activities. Animal food was supplied by goats, sheep, chickens, and a variety of hunted animals. Under British rule the economy was more fully integrated into the capitalist system; products began to be sold for money. Agricultural techniques were modernized, and the volume of production increased. Crops such as cotton, tobacco, and coffee became prominent, but traditional agriculture and modern agriculture continued to be practiced simultaneously. This has not changed markedly since independence.

Commercial Activities. The Banyoro produced a wide range of goods well before the colonial period, commercial activities involving monetary exchange are essentially a feature of the twentieth century. About sixty market locations scattered over ten counties have been identified, including local, royal, specialized, frontier, central, and satellite markets. The form of exchange was barter. Later in the nineteenth century the Arabs popularized the use of *ensimbi* (cowrie shells) in commercial transactions. This marked the beginning of a money economy. During the colonial period money in the form of currency gradually displaced the other forms of exchange.

Industrial Arts. Industry was specialized and reflected regional, cultural, social, and religious characteristics. The products manufactured included hoes, knives, spears, bows, arrows, canoes, boats, wood carvings, jewelry, ivory, and pipes. Iron deposits were worked, particularly in Bujenje, Masindi, and Kooki counties. Metalworking was monopolized by guild members who were divided into smelters and smiths. Secluded from the rest of the population, they lived in makeshift huts and worked in groups of ten and twenty. Other important occupations included salt mining at Kibiro and Katwe and mining graphite, copper, chalk, and clay.

Trade. The specialized nature of the economy favored trading. Goods were traded in the numerous markets that were patronized by the Bunyoro's neighbors. There was a complicated network of trade routes that facilitated trading operations. The goods exchanged included both agricultural and industrial products.

Division of Labor. The assignment of basic economic tasks by age was not adhered to strictly. Essentially, the specialized nature of the economy was a major determinant. Generally, women performed most of the basic agricultural tasks and the bulk *of* the domestic chores, and tasks requiring physical strength were done by men.

Land Tenure. In the pre-European period all Bunyoro land belonged to the Omukama. The system of land tenure known

as the *Kibanja* system categorized land as lands allocated to the hierarchy of chiefs, allocations to clans, and allocations to individuals. During the colonial period the ownership of land became invested in the governor-general as a representative of the imperial government. An important innovation in the period is the concept of a Certificate of Occupancy. The powers of the governor-general were transferred to the government of independent Uganda.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Kinship was based on the clan *(Rugando)* system. The clans, which numbered over 150, were patrilineal and exogamous, except for the royal clans. Clan members observed totemic avoidances *(miziro).* In the past the clans were essentially independent of one another but could form alliances for mutual defense, in which case they entered into a blood-brother relationship *(omukago).* Clan members were forbidden to harm one another.

Kinship Terminology. Cousin terminology is of the Omaha type. The children of the father's brothers and the mother's sisters are called "brother" and "sister" and belong to a person's descent group. The father's brothers are called "father" and also belong to one's descent group.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage as an institution existed for procreation, but financial security, clan alliances, and the desire for political power or influence were important considerations. Marriage *(Okuswera)* was often polygynous. Traditionally, it was arranged through a person *(Kibonabuko)* delegated by the bridegroom's father to collect information about a future bride, such as her clan, family, looks, health, and behavior. If the information was satisfactory and the intended bride and her father were interested in a union, a bride-price was paid to the bride's father. Thereafter the bride moved to her husband's residence. Divorce and remarriage were disfavored but not forbidden. The wife was regarded as a slave of her husband. With the advent of Islam, Christianity, and colonialism, the traditional marriage system was largely replaced.

Domestic Unit. The traditional household was often a polygynous family in which the cowives and their children occupied separate houses. Traditionally, the house contained metal and wooden utensils, clay pots of various sizes and shapes, wooden beds, mats made of raffia, and wooden tables, chairs, and stools. Today a household usually consists of a single monogamous family.

Inheritance. Inheritance was in the male line. A man may nominate any of his sons as his heir. The custom of primogeniture did not apply.

Socialization. Child rearing traditionally was essentially women's work. However, women also had to work outside the home, and so there was a need for caretakers, who could be older siblings (usually also female) or female relatives. Values such as respect for elders, good manners, chastity, hard work, a martial spirit, courage, discipline, honesty, good neighborliness, and truthfulness were inculcated. The naming ceremony was important. Three months after the birth of a boy (four months for a girl), a personal name chosen by the father was given to the child at a simple ceremony. In addition, the child was given a pet name *(empaako),* the name Banyoro use in greeting each other. Major cultural rites included the initiation into the Abachwezi cult and graduation into manhood. Traditionally, education involved informal lessons in traditional history, folklore, work, religion, sports, and the use of weapons by males.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Under colonial rule, the village and not the clan became the basis of social organization. Still, the clan heads *(abakuru Vengando),* who were elected by the clan members, constituted an important social force, serving as the Omukama's advisers on customary law, including inheritance. Certain clans were associated with territorial administration. There were four royal clans that were divided into 156 royal subclans. The male head of the clans *(Okwiri* or *Mugamba),* not the king (Omukama), ruled the male clan members. The female clan head *(Kalyota* or *Batebe)* ruled the female clan members.

The society was divided into four distinct classes. The *Ababiito* were the ruling family. The *Abohuma* (pastoralists) regarded themselves as superior to all others; they originally regarded the Ababiito as part of the *Abairu* (farmers), who constituted the vast majority of the society. The fourth class was the *Abahuka* (slaves). However, the inequality premised by this class system was ameliorated by the existence of a considerable degree of social mobility. By the twentieth century the Abahuma had disappeared as a distinct group and slavery had ceased to exist.

Political Organization. The Ababiito developed a state structure that delegated powers and had checks and balances. Authority flowed from the Omukama, a divine, awesome figure, in descending order to a hierarchy of territorial administrators and palace officials who had specific functions. These officials praised the Omukama while kneeling before him. The highest-ranking officials included the *Abakama b'Obuhanga* (provincial governors), the austere order of the *Abajwaro Kondo* (crown wearers), and the *Abakuru b'Ebitebe* (counselors of state). The major institutions of government included the *Orukurato Orukuru rw'Ihanga* (parliament) and the *Orukurato rw'Omubananu* (cabinet). Since 1955 the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara has been only a cultural leader and the traditional institutions of government have lost their power.

Social Control. Clan heads established and enforced social control over their members and settled interclan conflicts. The hierarchy of territorial administrators enforced customary law and thus exercised juridical control. Conflicts beyond the resolution of the village administrator were transferred to his superior. Some difficult cases reached the Omukama.

The numerous market institutions were also a source of conflict. Under the instrumentality of the market masters *(abahoza)* and their assistants *(abahoza bebihya),* they exercised social and juridical control. The abahoza were the Omukama's political agents and tax collectors.

The *abarusura,* or the national standing army, was established by Omukama Kabarega in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was invested with powers of sociopolitical and juridical control in an effort by Kabarega to check the

growing influence of the provincial governors after the civil war of 1869. These means of social control and conflict resolution have gradually given way to the laws of the Ugandan Republic.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditionally, the Banyoro believed in a creator-god today called Ruhanga. Tradition recounts in detail how Ruhanga created in Bunyoro a microcosm of the world and came to Bunyoro in the company of his brother Nkya Mba. Although the account resembles the biblical story of the creation, perhaps because of embellishment by an early European missionary, it has a peculiarly Banyoro piquancy. Ruhanga, disgusted at the evil he saw in the world, ascended into heaven, never to return. Nkya Mba or Kantu was left behind. Mba had three sons: Kairu, Kahuma, and Kakama. Kakama passed a set of tests prescribed by Ruhanga and thus became the Omukama. Kahuma became his brothers' herdsman, and Kairu, the firstborn, furious at his disinheritance, became the source of evil in the world. This myth is historically and socially relevant because it provides historical justification for the monarchy and a justification of social inequality. Thus, the Omukama is invested with divine attributes on earth. A great deal of ritual surrounded his person. The Banyoro also believed in various supernatural agencies to whom they turned for help or intervention, especially to ensure fertility, good health, prosperity, and population increase. Most Banyoro today are Christians or Muslims, but vestiges of the old beliefs remain.

Religious Practitioners. Religious practitioners included diviners and the spirit mediums of the Abachwezi cult as well as those of minor cults.

Ceremonies. Ceremonies included the coronation of a new king, which involved an elaborate ritual; the *Empyemi* (succession) rite; the *Enjeru* (a periodic declaration of peace) rite; and the Mpango ("refresher") rite held every two years to renew the king's ascension to the throne. The coming of Islam and Christianity led to the modernization of some of these ceremonies to make them acceptable to the new religions.

Arts. Literature and written music are associated with the advent of Islam and Christianity. Before then literature was oral, as were music compositions; the art of dancing was well developed. Banyoro artistic talents are reflected in the styles and shapes of their pottery, amulets, and drums.

Medicine. In spite of the introduction of modern medical science, belief in the efficacy of "native" doctors is still widespread. The two types of medicine—traditional and scientific—occasionally go hand in hand, often with disastrous consequences.

Death and Afterlife. The Banyoro believed that Kantu, with the approval of Ruhanga, introduced hunger, disease, and death to their country because he resented how well the society was prospering. Death therefore was not a punishment for sin. Most Banyoro still attribute death not to chance or natural causes but to sorcerers, ghosts, and other supernatural agencies regarded as malevolent. In the past the deceased's body was wrapped in bark cloth, male mourners shaved their heads, and members of the household refrained from sexual activities for about two months. Blankets and sheets have replaced bark cloth, coffins have been introduced, male mourners have a few locks of hair cut from the back and front of their heads, and sexual avoidance has been reduced to about two weeks. The Banyoro believed in an afterlife in the fashion of most African societies. The most important of their ancestors were deified after death.

For other cultures in Uganda, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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GODFREY N. UZOIGWE

Barundi

ETHNONYMS: Rundi. The Barundi are culturally and linguistically closely related to other peoples *of* the so-called Great Lakes region in East Central Africa, especially the people of Rwanda and the Baha of Tanzania. Most Barundi live in the mountainous areas of Burundi.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The present-day Republic of Burundi is the successor state of the kingdom of Burundi, formerly also called Urundi. The great majority of its inhabitants are Barundi who speak Kirundi. The Barundi are culturally and linguistically homogeneous, though there are some regional differences.

Burundi is part of the so-called Great Lakes region in East Central Africa, which also includes large parts of Uganda and Tanzania, Rwanda, and a small area in the Republic of Congo.

Most of the territory of Burundi consists of mountainous highlands with a height of up to 9,840 feet (3,000 meters). Most of the land is cultivated or used for grazing. There are forests on some mountaintops in the western region of the country.

Demography. Burundi has one of the highest population densities in Africa. Its population was estimated in 1998 at about 6 million. It has been estimated that 80 to 85 percent of the Barundi are Hutu, with the rest being Tutsi and a very small minority of Twa.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language spoken in Burundi is Kirundi, a Bantu tone language that is closely related to other languages in the Great Lakes region A few dialectical differences exist, especially in peripheral areas such as the Imbo and Kumosso regions. French is used in educated circles and in government publications.

History and Cultural Relations

The region was inhabited long before the Christian era, and agriculture and cattle husbandry were practiced before that time. Solid historical evidence dates from the founding of the dynasty of the Baganwa clan at the end of the seventeenth century. Before that time many small kingdoms and chieftainships existed, but it was the first king *(umwami)* of the dynasty, who was known as Ntare Rushatsi, who united large parts of the territory. The kings of the dynasty follow a cycle of four names given in a fixed succession: Ntare, Mutaga, Mwezi, and Mwambutsa.

The kingdom of Burundi fought many wars with its neighbors including the precursors of present-day Rwanda. It also faced many attacks from Arab slave traders that were repulsed.

Under the reign of King Ntare II Rugamba the geographic extent of the kingdom was doubled and approached the current size. This king placed his sons as chiefs in the conquered territories and established the practice of nominating the princes *(Ganwa)* as territorial chiefs.

At the end of the nineteenth century Burundi became part of German East Africa, but after World War I it was combined with Rwanda to form, under Belgian administration, the territory of Ruanda-Urundi under the control of the League of Nations and later the United Nations. Its boundaries, with some exceptions, coincided with those in precolonial times.

In 1962 Burundi was declared independent as a kingdom separate from Rwanda under Mwambutsa II as *mwami,* as the king was called in Kirundi. This king, who had reigned since 1915 under Belgian supervision, stayed in power for only a few years after independence. He was dethroned in 1966 by his son, Ntare III, who held the throne for only three months and was later executed. In 1968 Burundi became a republic after a military coup by Tutsi officers. Its first president was Colonel Michel Micombero, who established a dictatorial regime.

After many years of Tutsi-dominated government a short democratic period began during which a Hutu president was elected. This president, Melchior Ndadaye, was killed in 1993, shortly after his election. Since that time a military regime has governed, with Colonel Pierre Buyayo as president. These events led to military uprisings by Hutu rebels. Burundi is in a state of endemic civil war in which up to 200,000 people have been killed.

Settlements

The Barundi are still a rural people, with about 90 percent of the labor force engaged in agriculture. The only urban center is Bujumbura, the capital, with 340,000 inhabitants There are a few commercial and administrative centers, such as Gitega and Muramvya, but they are of minor significance. Owing to wartime conditions that have led to extensive population movement, exact population figures are not available.

The Barundi have never lived in villages. The only exceptions were the royal residences, which had a few hundred nobles, functionaries, warriors, servants, and workers, many of whom were temporary residents. The majority of the Barundi lived in *kraals* spread over the hills. This type of kraal, or *urugo,* was composed of the members of a local patrilineal lineage and their wives, children, and dependents. The head of the kraal was a father or grandfather. Each individual household had its own house, granary, and fields.

The kraal was surrounded by an enclosure of branches within which the granaries and spirit huts were built and the cattle were kept during the night. The houses were of the beehive style, built of wooden branches and covered with grass.

On a higher level of organization people formed a hillside community called *umusozi* under the command of a representative of the chief.

Economy

Subsistence. The economy of Burundi is still largely a subsistence economy, although most farmers cultivate coffee for exportation. The main food crops are beans, sweet potatoes, sorghum, maize, manioc, and bananas. Bananas are used mainly for brewing beer, which is an important means of social communication. Fields are cultivated with hoes, the main agricultural instrument besides the banana sickle. Most meals are vegetarian; meat and milk are rarely available.

In precolonial times the valleys were not cultivated, but Belgian colonial officers forced the Barundi to reclaim and cultivate them.

Cattle husbandry is important, and in some areas there is an agropastoral economy in which the use of cattle dung is essential. Beside cows, goats and sheep are kept; the sheep were used mostly for ritual purposes. In the past only the meat and blood of cattle were consumed, but today the meat of goats and chicken is eaten. Cattle owners drank the milk of their cows and used butter as an ointment.

Traditionally, markets were unknown, but since colonial times they have become not only centers of economic activity but also social meeting places. At markets people sell and buy small surpluses from their agricultural activities and products of their own making, especially pots, baskets, and mats. Western products such as cigarettes, soap, iron hoes, electric lamps, and knives are sold.

Commercial Activities. In the past commercial activities were restricted to barter with surrounding regions, mostly involving cattle, salt, and hoes. No money was used, but iron hoes served this function to some extent. Itinerant merchants called *abayangayanga,* mostly from peripheral regions, were involved. Later Arab and Swahili traders played an important role in the importation and distribution of Western goods and had shops in marketplaces. The use of money has been accepted for a long time, but transactions take place on a modest scale.

Industrial Arts. In the past there were several kinds of specialists, including potters, blacksmiths, salt makers, and makers of wooden utensils. Many of these trades have disappeared because of the importation of Western products, but people still make mats, pots, pestles, and baskets. Burundi had no tradition of making of wooden sculptures or masks, though woodworking is done today for sales to tourists. Formerly people wore locally made bark cloth, but this material has been replaced by manufactured textiles.

Trade. Burundi takes part in international trade on a very modest scale. Coffee is the main export, accounting for almost 90 percent of total exports, with tea and cotton occupying a secondary place.

Division of Labor. Men and women work in the fields, but heavier jobs such as cutting trees and constructing houses are mainly male activities. Milking and the herding of cattle are done by men and boys, while cooking and housework are considered tasks for women. The making of earthenware pots (mostly done by the Twa), baskets, and mats is a female activity, but the working of iron and the making of wooden articles are done by men.

Land Tenure. In principle the mwami was considered the proprietor of all the land in his kingdom. His land rights often were delegated to lower officials, especially chiefs. He and his chiefs could distribute lands to reward dignitaries, servants, and followers and could evict people from their land, though this happened only rarely. Land rights were held by the heads of individual households, but after the death of a landholders those rights returned to the lineage.

Many arrangements existed, from different forms of long-term leases to different kinds of servants to the temporary rental of land. The state has taken over the rights of kings and chiefs and has established Western forms of individual ownership. There is not widespread land ownership.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The term *umuryango* usually is translated as clan or lineage in the sense of the patrilineal descendants of a common male ancestor. There are more than 200 *imiryango* (the plural of umuryango), which are spread across the country. In most cases the name of the ancestor is not known, and many people with the same clan name do not know each other. A person's social position was determined largely by membership of a clan. Many functions at the royal courts had to be fulfilled by members of particular clans. For instance, only members of highly placed Tutsi clans were allowed to marry members of the royal family or milk the cows of the royal herds. Several Hutu families played important roles as ritualists.

The use of the term umuryango depends on the situation. In a local setting it may mean the local group of descendants of a known ancestor or all the people living in a kraal, including neighbors.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology reflects the structure of Burundi society, as can be seen in the equivalence of terms for members of one's own patrilineage and one's mother's patrilineage and the distinction made between cross cousins with whom a marriage is allowed and parallel cousins between whom marriage is interdicted. The special terms for mother's brother and father's sister reflect the special relationship with those relatives.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. All Barundi are expected to marry and have children. No marriage can occur without the family of the bridegroom handing over a substantial marriage gift *(inkwano).* Besides this main gift, which once consisted of one or more cows or hoes and today is usually money, many gifts are given and returned. These gifts are presented during the negotiations before the wedding and also are given later, especially after the birth of a baby. At all these occasions many kinsmen and friends offer pots of banana or sorghum beer and food. Without inkwano a couple cannot be considered married or have legitimate children. This is very important because the expressed aim of marriage is to have children. Birth control is met with heavy opposition.

Formerly marriage between cross cousins was allowed, but today people prefer to marry partners of their own choice. There are several rules of avoidance, especially involving a man and his mother-in-law, who are not supposed to visit or to speak with each other.

Domestic Unit. The most important domestic unit in daily life is the local community of a patrilineage living in one kraal, *urugo,* including wives and other dependents. The inhabitants of a kraal eat and work together.

It is a common situation for a grandfather to live with his children and grandchildren in one kraal. In a polygynous situation, which is rare today, each woman has her own household. In the case of the king and the princes, the wives had their own kraals.

Traditionally, the father was the undisputed master of the house, but wives had great influence in the control on food resources. Men cared for the cattle and did the heavy work in cultivating, cutting trees, and constructing houses. Women fetched water, cooked, did the washing, and did most of the cultivation.

At ceremonial occasions such as weddings men were the official representatives *of* the household. Most men were seated outside where the official speeches were given; women remained in the house or in private places in the kraal.

Since 1980 marriages are supposed to be done only according to the regulations of a new civil code largely based

on French/Belgian/Congolese examples but also incorporating elements of Burundian traditional law.

Inheritance. In principle one of the sons of a deceased man is designated as the principal heir and receives the parental authority *(ubugabo)*. During the lifetime of their father married men received part of his land or were supposed to be installed in it by him. Women did not inherit from their fathers but were given personal possessions from their mothers. In polygynous marriages the deceased's property went to the households of his spouses.

Socialization. Children are required to show unconditional obedience to their parents, especially their fathers, and to other adults. They start early in helping the same-sex parent. No rites of initiation existed in Burundi. The children of princes and nobles were taught to behave in a dignified and reserved manner and learned military valor, dancing, and singing.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In the past social status was determined largely by a person's membership in a particular clan and the function the members of that clan fulfilled at the royal and princely courts. Noble functions were performed by judges, ritual experts, makers of royal drums, milkers at the courts, diviners, and rainmakers. Humble functions were performed by cultivators, watchmen, and collectors of cow dung. Status also was determined by the personal merits and riches of particular persons as counselors, judges, and warriors of the king and the princes.

It has been suggested that only two ethnic groups *(ethnies* in French), Tutsi and Hutu, are involved in the ethnic conflict. However, when the Barundi refer to *ubwoko/amoko* (race, family, kind, species, sort), they distinguish between at least five: Ganwa, Tutsi-abanyaruguru (nobles), Tutsi/Hima (lower-status Tutsi), Hutu, and Twa. Although the opposition between these groups has been simplified by conflict involving only the Tutsi and Hutu, the older distinctions have not been forgotten and both groups are internally divided. Tutsi and Hutu share the same language and culture.

Despite suggestions that Roman Catholic missionaries and the colonial administration fostered the distinction between Hutu and Tutsi, that division dates back to precolonial times. Clear physical differences exist ideotypicaly associated with the tall and slender Tutsi, the sturdy short Hutu, and the dwarflike Twa.

These physical differences led to the elaboration of the Hamitic theory, according to which Burundi and other kingdoms in the region originally were inhabited by a pygmoid group of hunters and food collectors, the Batwa, followed by a much more numerous group of cultivators, the Hutu. Then, a few centuries ago, the Tutsi entered the country and subjugated both Hutu and Twa. The Tutsi were said to come from a country to the north, such as Ethiopia, and to be of so-called Hamitic origin. They brought with them, along with cattle, the institution of kingship. The colonial authorities and the missions considered the Ganwa/Tutsi to be natural leaders and placed them in high positions.

Critics of the Hamitic theory point out that there is no proof of a massive influx of pastoral people. Instead, linguistic and archaeological evidence indicates that groups with different origins have lived together in the region for a very long time. For millennia agriculture and animal husbandry have been known, as well as several forms of leadership associated with the kind of rituals found in the later kingdoms.

In more recent times relations between Tutsi and Hutu certainly have changed. Some historians maintain that these relations were once peaceful. Power was in the hands of the ruling royal family, the Ganwa, with the majority of the Tutsi in the same inferior position as most of the Hutu. There were also Hutu, mostly in ritual positions, at the head of important domains. According to other interpretations, relations between Tutsi and Hutu have always been strained. Although the highest positions were reserved for the Ganwa, the Tutsi were the most privileged, partly because they could intermarry with the Ganwa. The Tutsi were in general the richest in cattle and had many Hutu in their service. Today these and other interpretations are used as ideological arguments.

Political Organization. Until 1966 Burundi was a kingdom headed by sacred king called umwami. The king was supposed to have supernatural characteristics and guaranteed the well-being of men, animals, and crops. The burial places of the kings were holy places, cared for by corporations of ritual guardians. At the court and in several places in the kingdoms ritual domains were headed by ritual experts who played special roles during the annual national ritual in which the king inaugurated the new planting season for sorghum. All chiefs and representatives from all segments of the population were supposed to be present and pay their respects to their sovereign. The main symbols of kingship were the royal drums, religious objects made and cared for by special corporations of ritual experts.

The king had many residences and domains with pastures and farmland that employed many servants, milkers, farmhands, and other workers. Each of the king's wives lived in her own residence and administrated it as his representative. The most important of the queens was the queen-mother, who had much power and influence.

Besides what was produced by the workers on the domains, the subjects of the king had to deliver agricultural and industrial products such as sorghum, beer, honey, salt, pestles, hoes, mats, weapons, and ornaments.

The king was involved in a constant process of receiving and giving cattle and owned herds of a special long-horned variety cared for by specially selected milkers who had to observe many restrictions. Some of his herds were cared for by special herders who mixed the royal cattle with their own cows to protect them against the seizure by chiefs.

The king had an army of young men armed with bows, spears, and shields but was also supposed to be supported by the armies of his chiefs in wartime. Most of the kings of Burundi have been involved in wars with their neighbors for conquest or defense.

The king was assisted in the administration of the kingdom by members of the royal lineage, the *abaganwa,* who ruled independently in their territories as long as they respected his sovereignty. They had their own armies, collected their own tributes, and had their own functionaries and workers. They also acted as judges assisted by a board of wise men, *abashingantahe.*

Not all the subjects living in the territory of a chief were subjected to his authority. Besides subjects who were inhabi-

tants of a royal domain lying within the limits of the chiefdom there were subjects who could be considered direct clients of the kings. Also, a chief could assign parts of his territory to other abaganwa, such as his sons, to administer those regions in his name.

The *ivyariho* (singular *icariho),* who acted as deputies, were men with little power and authority, both Hutu and Tutsi. They controlled the collection of taxes and the work done at the residences of the chiefs. Their field of activity was limited to the level of a hillside or part of it.

The royal domains also were administered by chiefs who were not Ganwa but had high prestige. This function was abolished in colonial times when the Belgians introduced a simplified hierarchical system in which, besides the king, the chiefs *(chefs)* acted as the heads of the *chefferies,* assisted by *sous-chefs/abatware,* most of whom were princes or Tutsi.

The political system of Burundi has been characterized as feudal because of the institution of the *ubugabire,* a patron-client relationship. According to the rules of this institution, the patron *(shebuja)* handed a gift in the form of a cow or land to a man of lower status who thus became his client. The patron was obliged to protect and help his client, and the client had to act as his follower and regularly give him gifts of food and beer. Many political relationships were based on the same principles of inequality.

After independence the Ganwa system was abolished and replaced by provinces and local organizations administered by governors and local administrators.

Social Control. The king, chiefs, and lower officials played an important role in keeping law and order by administering justice and using their armies as a kind of police. The king was the supreme judge in the country, assisted by his chiefs and by special judges, many of whom were Hutu. The sanctions were death penalties, fines, and eviction.

On all these levels as well as on the local level acted arbitrators known as abashingantahe. Each hill community had its own abashingantahe. They arbitrated in cases of marriage and divorce, boundary disputes, theft, physical assaults, and inheritance disputes. To become such an official a man had to go through several grades. Each promotion to the next grade was accompanied by a ceremony during which the candidate had to obtain the official approval of the authorities and his fellow abashingantahe and offer large quantities of beer. These arbitrators were supposed to be wise men who adhered to high moral standards and were widely respected. During colonial times and after independence the men in power have tried to make good use of this institution to increase their own interests; as a result, it has lost most of its social value.

Today the judicial system is based on Western models and administrated by Western-trained judges. Despite or because of efforts to incorporate the abashingantahe in the new system, this institution has been undermined.

Conflict. In precolonial times most large-scale conflicts took the form of rebellions or fights between Ganwa. There often were succession wars after the death *of* the king or one of his chiefs, but there also were conflicts between factions of the royal family. Conflicts between chiefs concerning territorial claims were common. In the first years after independence the political arena was characterized by parties based on affiliation with the different princely factions. The main figure was a son of King Mwambutsa, Prince Louis Rwagasore, who had played a major role in the winning of independence and was the founder of the political party UPRONA and a group of juniors called JRR. He won the sympathy of much of the public and was considered a national leader before his assassination by rival princes.

After that time political conflicts were fought mainly along the line of the Hutu-Tutsi dichotomy. In 1966 a revolutionary coup by Tutsi army officers ended the monarchy. The Republic of Burundi was proclaimed with captain Michel Micombero as its first president. This heralded a period of military regimes dominated by Tutsi. Only during a few years of democratization in the 1990s was a president elected, the Hutu Melchior Ndadaye, who was assassinated), inaugurating the civil war. Armed rebel forces with bases in Congo and Tanzania attack the government, many fugitives live in neighboring countries, and peace talks have not yielded positive results. Many people fear that the type of genocide that occurred in Rwanda could occur in Burundi.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The notion of Imana is considered central in Burundi beliefs and was translated as God by Christian missionaries. Burundi theologians maintain that Christian monotheism was not new in the country. However, Imana also means life principle or chance. Many names and places derive from Imana, but he was not worshiped in regular services. The belief in *abazimu,or* the spirits of deceased people, was prevalent. The term applies to the spirits of the ancestors and to spirits of unknown ancestry belonging to a widespread cult called *kubandwa.* Ceremonial huts for both kinds of spirits were erected in the kraal.

Kubandwa was known under several different names in the region of the Great Lakes. In Burundi the central figure was Kiranga, who was said to have been the brother of the first king, Ntare Rushatsi. At the royal court a Hutu woman resided who was called Mukakiranga, the wife of Kiranga.

These and other kinds of spirits and unseen forces could be manipulated through the use of magic by a medicine man. The Barundi were subject to a multitude of prohibitions *(imiziro),* mostly involving eating certain foods or marrying certain relatives. Christianity has not entirely eliminated these beliefs.

Religious Practitioners. The main religious practitioners are the *umupfumu* (medicine man, diviner) and the *umuvurati* (rainmaker). Both were present at the courts and often played an important role as advisers. These men were esteemed by the people, in contrast to the *umurozi,* a sorcerer, who practiced black magic and harmed people.

Since the end of the nineteenth century Christian missionaries have been active, most of them Catholic White Fathers. Besides converting the majority of the population to Christianity, they have played a major role in transportation, education, and health care. During colonial times government officials and missionaries often worked together, though there was some mutual mistrust. After independence the Tutsi government suspected the missions of Hutu sympathies and expelled most of the White Fathers and reduced

the power of the Church. Most of the clergy now are African priests, and all the bishops are Barundi.

Ceremonies. During the ceremonies addressed to Kiranga, his family, and his followers, cult members were supposed to be possessed by his spirit. The spirits were approached to heal sick people and grant favors such fertility of men and animals. During the ceremonies the initiates permit themselves all kinds of liberties. The Christian missions were very much opposed to the cult of Kiranga, whom they called the devil. Today African priests approach the ancestor cult as well as the cult in a much more positive way. Several cults are amalgams of Christian, Barundi, and newly found elements. Childbirth, marriages, and funerals are accompanied by Christian ceremonies but are followed or preceded by customary practices.

Arts. The Barundi excelled in oral literature and singing (myths, legends, praise songs, stories, and proverbs), but woodcarving was little developed and they did not practice weaving. Drums were the most important royal symbols and a royal prerogative. The king had a special corporation of drum makers and players. The Barundi also used a board cyther to accompany songs. Several other musical instruments were played, such as the hand piano, the *sanza,* and the musical bow. To embellish homes small decorated baskets were made mostly by women; today these baskets are sold to the tourist market. Baskets are also used as containers and a means of transport for food.

Medicine. To protect themselves against illnesses and misfortune the Barundi wore wooden amulets, since wood had high symbolic and magical value. They also used a great variety of medicinal herbs. The umupfumu was the specialist in these matters and used divination and other magic means to heal his consultants. The missionaries introduced modern methods of medicine and started to build hospitals. Today there is a faculty of medicine exists at the Université du Burundi and many Barundi are fully trained doctors, nurses, and medical assistants. Abapfumu continue to offer their services.

AIDS is a very serious threat to the health situation. Up to 30 percent of the adult population is estimated to be affected.

Death and Afterlife. After his death the master of the house was immediately buried in the middle of the kraal. Parts of his possessions were destroyed, and the fire in the house was extinguished. Rich mourners left their houses and went to live elsewhere. For common people mourning took only a few days; for rich people and the Ganwa it took much longer (for the king, a year). During the period of mourning it was forbidden to cultivate, and bulls had to be separated from cows. The king was cremated and placed in one of the burial places cared for by Hutu ritualists.

Today Christian funeral ceremonies are common, but many old customs are maintained. Dead people were supposed to continue to live as spirits to whom offerings were made once a year or if misfortune occurred.

For other cultures in Burundi, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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Basoga

ETHNONYMS: Soga (Anglicized name), Busoga (name of territory), Lusoga (name of language), Usoga (Kiswahili equivalent)

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Basoga live in Uganda's districts of Bugiri, Iganga, Jinja, Kamuli, and Mayuge (formerly known collectively as Busoga). Situated in eastern Uganda immediately north of the equator, Busoga is bounded by Lake Kyoga to the north, the Victoria Nile to the west, the Mpologoma River to the east, and Lake Victoria to the south. Busoga is 3,443 square miles (8,920 square kilometers) in area, with a length of about 100 miles (160 kilometers) and a width of a little over 50 miles (80 kilometers). These natural boundaries have enabled Basoga to have a uniqueness of their own as a group.

The climate and vegetation of the southern zone are influenced by Lake Victoria, where the average rainfall is 60 inches (152 centimeters) a year. This heavy rainfall produces a luxuriant growth of vegetation.

The northern zone is large and flat as the land drops to Lake Kyoga. The lake affects the climate and vegetation in that area. Around the basin of Lake Kyoga, the grass is short and there are papyrus swamps. In an area with an annual rainfall of 40 inches (100 centimeters), the natural vegetation is mainly savanna interspersed with deciduous trees.

Demography. With an estimated population of 2 to 2.5 million in 1999, the Basoga are the third largest ethnic group in Uganda.

Busoga, particularly southern Busoga, has experienced catastrophes since the nineteenth century. Between 1897 and 1911 Busoga lost many people to severe famines, smallpox, plague, and sleeping sickness. Although the population began to recover in the 1930s to the 1960s, AIDS has taken a toll since the 1980s.

During British colonial rule (1895-1962) Busoga attracted immigrants who sought employment in the cotton ginneries, the sugar estate at Kakira, and factories in Jinja, Uganda's industrial heartland. In the late 1980's Jinja had a population of fifty-five thousand, making it the second largest urban center in the country.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language spoken by the Basoga is Lusoga, a Bantu language in the Niger-Congo family. As in the Bantu languages in the Lake Victoria region, nouns among the Basoga are reflected by changing prefixes: human beings are indicated by prefix *Ba* (plural) and MM (singular) ; name of the country (region) *Bu;* the language *Lu* and an adjective from these *Ki*. Thus, the region is called Busoga; the people are Basoga (singular, Musoga); the language is Lusoga; and "of the Basoga," Kisoga.

Lusoga is further divided into two dialects: *Lupakooyo,* a dialect similar to Runyoro, was traditionally spoken in parts of north Busoga, and the Lutenga dialect was used in the south.

History and Cultural Relations

Historical research relates the origin of the Basoga to that of the Bantu speakers who entered Uganda from northern Katanga (the current Democratic Republic of the Congo) between 400 and 1000 C.E. Beginning between 1250 and 1750, the Basoga migration and settlement in their present location is associated with two cultural heroes: *Kintu* (the Thing) and *Mukama* (the Milker).

Migrations around the Lake Victoria area are associated with Kintu, who originated from the Mount Elgon area in the east; traveled through southern Busoga, where he founded states; and later moved to the neighboring state of Buganda to the west.

The largely Bantu population in Busoga was affected by the arrival of Luo immigrants between 1550 and 1700. The Luo migrations which affected parts of northern and eastern Uganda are associated in Busoga with the Mukama figure. Traditionally regarded as the provider of all things, Mukama was the most influential leader of the Luo immigrants who entered Busoga from different directions.

Originating from the east, Mukama traveled westward; stopped in Busoga, where he fathered children who founded important states in the north; and later continued on to the state of Bunyoro in the northwest.

These migrations turned Busoga into differentiated cultural zones consisting of the largely Bantu-influenced region around Lake Victoria in the south and the Luo-influenced area in the north around Lake Kyoga and the Mpologoma River.

These apparent differences were greatly minimized by cultural cooperation between the Basoga and their neighbors. Before the Kintu-Mukama migrations, the Basoga socioeconomic and political society was dominated by various clans, which determine blood relationships. The Basoga cemented their relationships through interclan marriages and over the years used that institution to become closer as a group and coexist peacefully with their neighbors.

Cultural relationships also were forged through the indigenous religious institutions that brought the Basoga together to worship. People all over Busoga would meet at religious shrines built for the founding figures Kintu and Mukama.

Linguistic interaction also provided a basis for cultural cooperation. To coexist with their neighbors, the Basoga, who live near the border areas, adopted dialects that reflect their locations. Examples include groups known as the Bakenhe and the Banyala, who live on the eastern and western basins of Lake Kyoga, respectively. Although the languages (Lukenhe and Lunyala) of these groups cannot be classified as Lusoga, they are similar to Lusoga.

Interaction among the Basoga increased as a result of the changes caused by policies initiated by British and post-independent Ugandan leaders.

Settlements

The indigenous Kisoga pattern of settlement consisted of randomly dispersed subsistence holdings that were located in a given *omutala* (a highland area between swamps). The omutala was subdivided into ekisoko *kisoko* (subvillage), which had an appointed or hereditary headman who distributed land. Land was available to both relatives of the headman and those who were not members of the clan. As long as the land occupant paid the initial dues and fulfilled the customary obligations, the occupant had secure tenure.

A village consisted of dispersed homesteads, and a homestead consisted of a building or group of buildings. Traditional houses were round, beehive-shaped, and thatched with dry banana leaves from the top to the ground. During the twentieth century this building style was converted to grass roofing with walls made of mud. Each family unit consisted of many houses where both immediate and extended families resided.

After the imposition of British rule, houses became more rectangular, were built with multiple rooms, and had whitewashed walls. Other materials were used for construction: corrugated iron for roofs, cement for floors, and bricks for walls.

Today, behind each house there are various buildings that serve as a kitchen, grain store, a shed for young calves, and a pit latrine.

British colonial rule introduced clustered settlements, the most important of which is Jinja. Europe an-style houses were built for administrators and individuals who worked in various industries in Jinja. Indian premises that served both as trading and as living quarters were built in Jinja's business district.

To meet the demand for African housing, semimodern houses were built in areas such as Bugembe, Mpumudde, and Walukuba. These houses of varying sizes were scattered at the periphery of the urban core, usually within a radius of three to five miles (five to eight kilometers). The Basoga who lived on the edge of Jinja transformed their land holdings into housing settlements. Consequently, the edges of Jinja have a cluster of houses, food shops, and bars built with permanent or semipermanent materials.

Arabs and Indians seeking to introduce retail trade to Africans developed cluster settlements in the interior of Busoga. Consequently, shops known as *dukas* were built in towns such as Bugiri, Iganga, Kaliro, and Kamuli.

After the expulsion of "Asian traders" from Uganda in the 1970s, the Basoga moved into the heartland of Jinja and other towns in Busoga. However, as a result of failed government policies, lack of experience, and neglect, Jinja and other towns have become slums with dilapidated buildings.

Economy

Subsistence. Every Kisoga homestead has a plantain garden that provides the staple food. Additionally, each household has patches for seasonal crops such as peanuts, millet, corn, and potatoes. On the edge of the holdings are patches of uncleared bush used as a source of wood and grass. The availability of these foods is determined by where one lives. The south, which receives plenty of rain, grows plantains, beans, cassava, and potatoes, while the north, with somewhat drier conditions, grows famine-resistant crops such as finger millet and sorghum.

Because of the region's varied ecology and geography, the Basoga engaged in the exchange of goods. Bark cloths from the north were exchanged for pots and food from the south. Similarly, the Buvuma islands in Lake Victoria, which specialized in fishing, exchanged their goods for food, clay, bowls, and pots from southern Busoga. In the nineteenth century the Bavuma introduced beads and cowrie shells as a medium of exchange.

Commercial Activities. Large-scale commercial economic activities among the Basoga were introduced after the British annexation in 1895. The occurrence of famines and the outbreak of sleeping sickness between 1897 and 1911 made it difficult for the British to find a reliable source of revenue. To alleviate that problem, the British experimented with a protectoratewide "dual economic policy" between 1894 and 1923 that involved the cultivation of coffee, rubber, and cocoa on European plantations as well as African-grown cotton. Commercial cotton growing was introduced in 1905 and by 1939 had become the chief source of cash earnings for the majority of the Basoga. Additionally, cotton could be grown alongside subsistence crops. Cotton cultivation also became attractive because its products were critical for industries in Jinja such as animal feed factories, textile mills, and oil and soap factories.

Cotton production dropped precipitously because of chronic political instability and erratic economic management during the 1970's and early 1980's. As a result of the labor-intensive nature of cotton cultivation and the closing of many factories in Jinja, the Basoga abandoned cotton to focus on growing cash-generating foodstuffs such as corn, peanuts, and rice.

Industrial Arts. Pottery was made by specialists and included everyday utensils such as *ebibya* (bowls), *entamu* (cooking pots), *ensuwa yomwenge* (beer pots), *ensuwa yamadhi* (pots for drawing water), and *emindi* (tobacco pipes).

The Basoga make baskets, drums, and mats. The common items made with basketry include granaries, pot lids, trays, eating utensils, and storage vessels. Pots are made by both men and women from creepers, grasses, palm fronds, and papyrus bark.

Largely made from the plaited fronds of the wild palm, mats are used as floor covers, partition screens, bedding, and wall hangings.

Drums generate dance rhythms and are played to accompany singing. Churches use drumbeats to announce services. Drums are a popular item for home decorative purposes and traditionally were used to announce a war, invite people to go hunting, and announce a death in a village.

Trade. The decline of cotton production in Busoga diminished its central role in Uganda's economy. However, the Basoga contribute to internal trade by selling food items (bananas, cassava, beans, corn [maize], potatoes, peanuts [groundnuts], and soybeans) within Busoga and to other parts of Uganda.

Jinja's decline as Uganda's industrial town has exacerbated Busoga's economic difficulties. The opening of the Owen Fall Dam in 1954 catapulted Jinja to a position of potential economic leadership in Uganda. Jinja attracted several major industries, including textiles, blankets, spinning mills, copper smelters steel rolling mills, and breweries. Poor management during the 1970's resulted either in the underuse of these facilities or their closure.

The Madhavani Group of Companies, which is located at Kakira, is the only surviving viable enterprise in Busoga. Started in 1905, the Madhvani Group is an Indian-owned enterprise whose operations include several large companies. The Madhvani Group employs over fifteen thousand people and contributes more than $50 million annually to the national economy.

Division of Labor. Women do most of the work central to the survival of the household. To provide food for the family, women and children look after the garden where they cultivate bananas, and ensure the availability of beans, cassava, potatoes, tomatoes, and green vegetables. Men help their wives in clearing thick bushes and felling large trees. Additionally, men protect their homes and provide necessities that cannot be produced from the family plot. Men hunt to provide meat for the family. The introduction of commercial cotton cultivation enabled children to get a Western education and increased opportunities for individuals to work in cotton-related industries. Men found work in cotton ginneries, the civil service, and the private sector.

Since education was the key to getting these jobs, Basoga women, whose education was neglected, ended up becoming homemakers or working at low-paying jobs.

Land Tenure. The control of land has ramifications for almost all aspects of Busoga society. Aside from small-scale land ownership, all other forms of land ownership had economic and political implications for the recipient.

Anybody in Busoga could acquire land, but the size of a land grant varied. The land structure had four levels: the state level, the *omutala,* the *ekisoko,* and the individual level. Each of the precolonial Busoga states was subdivided into emítala (singular, *ornatala),* an area of land bounded by either swamps or natural features such as rivers, valleys, or mountains. Omutala could be small or large. With these natural boundaries, the omutala became a convenient administrative unit for the allocation of land to individuals. The third level

in the land structure was the ekisoko, a subdivision of the omutala and the final administrative unit in the state system. Land ownership on a small scale is the last stage in the structure. This category included the majority of cases in which individuals were granted land for daily use.

Individuals seeking land for daily use would contact the relevant authority (the headman of the ekisoko), who would take them through the required steps before land could be allotted to them. Once one paid the required dues and fulfilled one's customary obligations, one could claim tenure over a piece of land.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Known as *ekika* (plural, *ebika),* a clan is a patrilineal descent group that includes individuals who recognize a common ancestor through the male line. The father is central to the clan system because all his children and those of his sons belong to his clan. One cannot marry a member of one's clan or one's mother's clan.

A clan's identity is based on the name of its ancestors. Clan names are formed by combining the prefix *mu* (singular) or *aba* (plural) with the form *ise* (father) with the name of the common ancestor.

Basoga clans were divided into two categories: *abakopi* (commoners) clans to which the majority belonged and *abalangira* (royal clans). Intermarriages between commoners and royal families tended to close potential social gaps.

In the past particular locations became identified with each clan and were venerated with the title *obutaka* (ancestral lands). Clan members buried their dead in those lands. However, as a result of population growth, clashes within clans, catastrophes such as famines and sleeping sickness, and raids from neighboring states, many clans dispersed. The clans segmented into lineages known as *enda* which typically included individuals who traced their genealogies through the male line to a common ancestor. These segmented lineages either kept minimal contact with the original base or forgot it.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. To ensure the continuation of a clan, marriages, particularly those involving men whose offspring automatically become members, are encouraged. Polygynous marriages were encouraged because they increased a man's chances of having a large family.

Since marriages are between families rather than individuals, relatives on both sides become interested in whom one is marrying. Once the two families reach an understanding, the man's side pays bride-wealth to his prospective in-laws in appreciation for raising his wife-to-be.

A wife expects her husband to provide housing and clothing and to treat her and her relatives well. The husband expects his wife (or wives) to be a good cook and to work hard enough to provide daily food, bear children, and have good relations with his relatives. Failure by either party to meet these obligations may result in separation or divorce. Families try to intervene to prevent the dissolution of a marriage.

Domestic Unit. A household may vary between five and ten people. People in the countryside may have a household consisting of a father and his wife or wives, children, and relatives who cannot live by themselves. It is also common for individuals who are educated, are monogamous, have a few children of their own, and live in town to have eight people in their households. This is caused by the willingness of householders to help members of the extended family whose parents might have played a role in their upward mobility.

Inheritance. After the death of a clan member, the clan gathers to perform funeral rites and ensure the legitimate passage of the deceased's property, home, and family.

Two forms of inheritance are followed: *omusika owénkoba* (heir of the belt) and *omusika owémbisi* (property heir). The former role is assigned to the deceased's (usually youngest) brother (real or collateral), who becomes the guardian of the family by adopting the children, taking the widow as his wife, and inheriting the belt, spear, stool, and other items that symbolize the personality of the deceased.

Land, livestock, and other property were given to omusika owémbisis, normally the oldest son of the deceased. Succession is now largely based on primogeniture. The remaining property is divided equally among the other children. The youngest brother is still accorded the ceremonious title of omusika owénkoba and, depending on the education and economic well-being of the family, may take over the children and wife or wives of the deceased. If the widow or widows decide to remain independent, they either are provided for by their relatives, buy land elsewhere, or become employed.

Socialization. In the Kisoga patrilineal kinship system, children belong to the man and must be brought up according to the guidelines laid down by their father. The boys, who are the bearers of clan traditions, must conform to their father's strict code of upbringing. Girls, who are generally brought up under their mother's influence, have their social relationships closely monitored by the father. It is the father who grants permission to his wife or wives to leave the homestead for short visits.

The mother, together with her older children, looks after the younger children and manages the day-to-day affairs of the household. While children freely interact with their parents and members of the extended family, they have to understand the limitations of their social relationship with grown-ups. Under no circumstances can young people interrupt elders when they are engaged in a serious discussion. One must not address older people by the first name. Failure to adhere to these rules may result in beating, spanking, or grounding.

As children grew up (especially boys), they establish their autonomy either by building their own homes nearby or purchasing land elsewhere. In seeking their independence, girls are more diplomatic in maintaining a cordial relationship with their parents and brothers since they regard those individuals as a refuge if there are problems in their marriages.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Although clans have broken into smaller groups, they still form the main social organization. Clans still play important roles in marriages, the naming of children, burials, succession, and land allocation.

The broad division of clans into abakopi and abalangira is deceptive since further divisions can be established within those categories. Larger clans and those associated with the "national" heroes, Kintu and Mukama, were more highly regarded than others. Similarly, individuals who were in charge of the shrines of key *enkuni* (a place where the clan first arrived) and those who excelled as blacksmiths or pot makers were rich and socially higher than a person who owned a small plot of land. Thus, the so-called commoner clan encompassed a disparate economic strata that was united as a group only by their political obligations to the royal clans.

The social hierarchy of the royal clan consisted of the king, princes, princesses, and other members. Intermarriages between commoners and members of the royal clans bridged the gap between the two groups and increased the chances for upward social mobility for many people. Commoners who excelled as dancers, wrestlers, and soldiers and provided a wife to the ruler could be rewarded by being allocated large tracts of land. Land granted to those individuals eventually benefited clan members who were encouraged to settle on it.

A process of social adaptation to new conditions took place after British colonization. Education became a critical factor in upward mobility. Recruitment into the civil service and private sector jobs required an individual to be educated. Consequently, a class of educated and respected people emerged to fill positions in the colonial service or became teachers, pastors, or doctors.

Commercial cotton cultivation opened up new opportunities for economic and social advancement. Successful cotton cultivation enabled individuals to pay tuition for their children, build Western-style houses, and buy bicycles. This resulted in the emergence of a class of "new people" whose social status reflected the changes in Busoga society.

Political Organization. The clan was the earliest political institution. The head of the clan was the leader in war, presided over council meetings, arbitrated disputes, and apportioned land.

Migrations and settlement between 1250 and 1750 C. E. resulted in the establishment of different states. At the top was the ruler, who administered the state with the help of the *katukiro* (prime minister), *abamatwale* (provincial governors), *abémitala* (village chiefs), and *abékisoko* (subvillage headmen).

Colonial rule changed political institutions on three fronts: The Busoga states became a single political unit, political institutions from the neighboring kingdom of Buganda were adopted, and the hereditary kingship was abolished. The unification process started in 1906 with the establishment of an overall administrator known as "President of Busoga Lukiiko" (Council). This title was changed in 1939 to *Isebantu Kyabazinga* (the father of the people who unites them). The new title gave the position a Kisoga identity, and the incumbent was no longer a spokesperson for the council but for the entire region.

After Uganda's independence in 1962, Busoga was accorded the title "territory," a status that gave the region semiautonomy under the leadership of the Kyabazinga. The institution of Kyabazinga, together with other monarchical institutions, was abolished in 1967. Between 1967 and 1996 Busoga was administered directly by the Uganda central government officials, who included a District Commissioner, a *Saza* (county) chief, a *Gomboloh* (subcounty) chief, and a *Mutongole* (parish) chiefs.

The Kyabazinga institution was restored in 1996, with its role limited to ceremonial and cultural functions. The administration is run by officials of Busoga's four districts: Bugiri, Iganga, Kamuli, and Mayuge. Each district is headed by a government-appointed District Aadministrator (D.A.), who together with elected officials collectively known as "Local Councils" (L.C.'s) administers the region. The L.C.'s range from the lowest (L.C.-l) to the highest (L.C.-5) official at the district level. This unique administrative arrangement has empowered the ordinary people.

Social Control. Children are taught at an early age what is acceptable in society. Early in life parents inculcate their children with social ideas such as not eating one's totem, not having sexual intercourse with or marrying someone from one's clan or that of one's mother, respecting older people, and giving a proper burial to one's relatives.

Failure to follow these social norms is an embarrassment to the lineage. Similarly, if a member of the lineage succeeds, he or she gives credit to the whole community. The Basoga are deterred from committing some social crimes due to the fear of possible supernatural punishment. A person who commits incest may die, and his or her body will swell to an enormous size. The key to social control is the general understanding that actions have ramifications for members of the lineage.

Conflict. Lacking a central political authority, the Basoga fought among themselves and were raided by their powerful neighbors.

The most contentious issue is land disputes. Technically, land belongs to the clan and its ancestors, and its acquisition by individuals is generally simple. Conflict is caused by inability to determine boundaries between one piece of land and another and lack of respect for the previously agreed on boundaries. These quarrels sometimes lead to murder.

Clan members are always the first to intervene in a land conflict. Efforts are made to determine the disputed boundaries, and if a settlement is reached, the contending parties and the members of the clan have a meal of reconciliation together. If they do not reach an understanding, the matter has to be resolved in the courts of law, something that may take ten years.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Basoga believe in the existence of a spirit power that is omnipotent and timeless and influences activities in a way that is beyond human understanding.

At the top of the religious hierarchy, is Kibumba (the Creator), who created the people and the earth, moved into the sky, and left behind the spirits as his representatives. The spirit world left behind consisted of *emizimu (omuzimu,* singular), *enkuni,* and *emisambwa (omusambwa,* singular).

Omuzimu is the spirit of a dead relative and can affect the lives of that person's descendants. Enkuni represent the first place of settlement for the clan and thus are places of worship. Emisambwa are the spirits of "national" heroes such as Kintu, Mukama, and Walumbe. These spirits are associated with marriage, birth, fertility, and death.

Despite the introduction of Christianity and Islam, a significant number of people consciously or unconsciously observe "Indigenous Kisoga Religious Beliefs." This is the case partly because the Basoga attitude toward religion is primarily utilitarian.

Religious Practitioners. Communication with spirits was done through "religious professionals," the most important of whom were the *abaswezi (omuswezi,* singular), who act as mediums of various emisambwa. Emisambwa decide who becomes omuswezi by possessing a person, who then is taught the skills of divination and mediumship by the senior abaswezi.

The second category are called the *abaigha (omuigha,* singular), who play the role of "doctor." These persons are not possessed by emisambwa; but their skills in divination are inherited. Thus, if a father was omuigha, one of his sons was expected to follow in his footsteps. Abaigha can diagnose problems and provide solutions. They also make charms that people wear for protection from diseases and enemies.

There are *abalogo (omulogo,* singular) who use mystical power to harm or kill people. This group is hated, and if anybody is caught in the act of *okuloga,* the public may kill that person.

Ceremonies. To placate the spirit of a dead relative, family members have to perform rites involving offerings of food or meat or libations of beer. Failure to maintain a good relationship with the omuzimu can lead to misfortune, sickness, or death. Normalization of this relationship is achieved by sharing a ritual meal with the living members of the family and the displeased spirit.

When families face sickness, drought, poverty, or misunderstandings, the Basoga believe that this may be a sign of displeasure from the spirits. A ceremony intended to reconcile with these spirits is performed. When there is a drought, the Basoga consult with the God of Rain *(Musoke).* A variety of foods are tied in a bark cloth and thrown into Lake Victoria, where the God of Rain resides.

The Basoga also honor occasions related to foreign religions. In 1977 the Church of Uganda celebrated a century of Christian activities in Uganda.

Arts. The Basoga excel in making drums, mats, and baskets. Emphasis is placed on indigenous music and dancing as forms of entertainment.

Medicine. The traditional healers known as abaigha are consulted, together with doctors who practice modern medicine.

Death and Afterlife. The *musumbwa* associated with death is Walumbe. It is believed that when a person dies, the spirit remains alive while the flesh is rotting. Since the Basoga believe that life after death is a continuation of what one was doing on earth, the deceased must be given a proper burial, which includes burying the body in ancestral land, ensuring that all clan traditions are followed before and after the burial, and burying the body with some items that were associated with the deceased.

For other cultures in Uganda, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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PETER F. B. NAYENGA

Bellona and Rennell Islanders

ETHNONYMS: In 1793 Bellona Island was named after a passing British ship, the *Bellona.* Rennell Island was named after Lord Rennell, president of the Royal Geographical Society in London. In 1799 according to a chart both islands were named Bellonas Island. In 1816 the islands were referred to as Rennell's Isles. The names the islanders use for self-reference are Mugaba (Rennell) and Mungiki (Bellona). The meanings of those names are unknown. Younger people on both islands sometimes use the name Avaiki.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The islands constitute the southernmost and smallest province of the independent Melanesian nation Solomon Islands (a former British protectorate) but are inhabited by Polynesians. The combined land area of Bellona and Rennell is 446 square miles (1,154.5 square kilometers). Bellona Island is 7 miles (11.5 kilometers) long and 2 miles (3 kilometers) wide and lies northwest of Rennell, between 11° 16' and 11° 19' South and 159° 45' East. Rennell is 49 miles (79.5 kilometers) long and 9 miles (14 kilometers) wide and located between 11° 34' and 11° 47' South and 159° 55' and 160° 37' East. The large, 109 mile-long (176 kilometers) uninhabited Indispensable Reef lying *50* miles (80 kilometers) south of Bellona and Rennell is called Ngotoakau and is claimed as part of this territory.

Tegano Lake, the largest brackish lake in the Pacific, covers about 50 square miles (130 square kilometer) s at the east end of the island. There is no fresh water on any of the islands; rain is collected for daily use. Yearly precipitation is about 120 inches *(300* millimeters). The climate is tropical

with temperatures from 63 ° Fahrenheit (17° Celsius) at night to 93 ° Fahrenheit (34° Celsius) during the daytime. There is no communal electric power but a few churches have generators run by diesel oil.

Both islands are of the raised coral type *(makatea)*. Apart from villages and garden areas, both islands are rocky and covered by tropical forest. There are no mammals except for the flying fox, rat, mouse, cat, and dog. Rennell has two natural harbors; Bellona has none.

Demography. In the 1960s a detailed census was made of the population as it had been when Christianity was introduced on Bellona in 1938 and gave a count of 441 persons. A general census for the Solomon Islands in September 1998 revealed the population of the two islands. On Bellona there were 295 households with 1,256 individuals and on Rennell there were 433 households with 1,866 inhabitants. According to the census, approximately 60 percent live abroad. Many residents have moved to the national capital, Honiara, on Guadalcanal Island, often for education and service-related activities. In 2000, during the ethnic conflict between the people of Guadalcanal and the people of Malaita, most people on Bellona and Rennell left the capital and returned to their islands.

Linguistic Affiliation. Bellonese and Rennellese are mutually intelligible and are nuclear Polynesian languages in the Futunic subdivision with a few phonemes of unknown origin. Portions of the Bible were translated into Rennellese in 1950 and 1994. Two dictionaries and a grammar were published in 1975, 1981, and 1988, respectively. Pidgin English is spoken by almost all the residents, and English by a minority. Literacy is more than 90 percent in the sense that nearly everyone writes and reads Bellonese and Rennellese.

History and Cultural Relations

According to oral traditions, the islands originally were inhabited by people of another culture before the ancestors of present-day Polynesians arrived in canoes from their homeland, 'Ubea ngango (probably West Uvea in the Loyalty Islands, Overseas French Territories). On their voyage, the ancestors of the present-day Polynesians arrived at 'Ubea matangi (probably East Uvea Wallis Island, Overseas French Territories), and finally reached Bellona, where they found people, the *hiti*, living in caves at the ocean sides of the island. The hiti were dark-skinned, short people with long hair reaching to their knees and spoke a language intelligible to the invaders. The invaders gradually killed off the indigenous inhabitants.

In the 1980s the "new" Polynesian inhabitants could still trace their genealogies twenty-four generations back, and in considerable detail, to the first immigrants. The oral traditions relate that the first invaders consisted of seven married couples, five of which have since died out, leaving two surviving clans *(sa"a)*.

In the oral tradition narrators tell of scattered and singular voyages to and from other inhabited places in the Western Pacific. Just after settling, some men returned to East 'Ubea (Uvea) to get the precious root stocks of turmeric for ritual dyeing and anointment. In following generations two men went to Murua (probably Woodlark Island, Mungua) and returned with place names and new kinds of yams and bananas. Another oral tradition details the arrival of a New Caledonian ship with tobacco and steel adzes. Other oral traditions state that poultry was brought to Rennell before the first Christian teachers were killed in 1910. In the latter part of the nineteenth century Rennellese and Bellonese were taken to Queensland by Blackbirders to work in the sugar plantations. One Rennellese man is known to have been returned, bringing home Western goods such as axes, cotton cloth, umbrellas, and guns.

The two islands were at first contacted only sporadically by Europeans and Americans in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1910 the three first Christian missionaries were killed on Rennell, and the islands were left to themselves until preachers from the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), the Church of England, and the South Seas Evangelical Mission (SSEM) arrived in 1936 to take a group of high-status Rennellese men to mission stations in other parts of the Solomons. In 1938, the Christian faith became dominant on Rennell.

Generally, a slow Westernization on the two islands began after World War II. Closer contact with the rest of the Solomon Islands sped the process. More regular shipping was initiated, and children were sent to schools on other islands. Air service to the two islands began with weekly flights between Honiara and the airstrips on Bellona and Rennell. Health clinics were established, and wireless contact began in the 1950s.

With a restructuring of the political system of the Solomon Islands, Bellona and Rennell were declared an independent constituency and province within the Solomon Islands on 21 January 1993. Around the turn of the millennium the different churches began losing their power, especially over the younger generation. Sports, music, and home brewing became leisure-time interests, and education and vocational training rose in importance.

Settlements

Before World War II people lived in small homesteads next to the main trails running lengthwise from east to west on the islands. Houses were built in clearings in the forests, separated by garden land and temple areas. Each house commonly was inhabited by a nuclear or extended family, with the members sometimes living in separate houses around a place used for rituals and dancing. The houses had posts dug into the ground, covered with saddle roofs of dried pandanus leaves reaching down to about 20 to 28 inches (50 to 70 centimeters) above the ground. Temple houses were smaller than habitations. A low earth mound often encircled the dancing area. On both sides were ancestral graves covered by mounds of sand, while the graves of important ancestors were sheltered by thatched leaf roofs on posts.

After 1945 villages formed when a Melanesian Adventist priest was sent to Bellona and had the Adventists build a church in Ngongona; at the same time the South Seas Evangelical Mission built a church in Kapata.

Economy

Subsistence. Before 1945 the Bellonese and Rennellese economy was nonmonetary, entirely based on subsistence. The basic economic values could be said to be "manpower"

and "objects." Economic activities included swidden gardening; fishing; some hunting of birds and flying foxes; the building of houses; the carving of troughs, war clubs, and sacred paraphernalia; and the plaiting of baskets and mats.

Gradually cash was introduced, yet the islanders have not become completely commercialized in a Western sense. Closer contact with the Westernized economy in Honiara, including its industry, stores, systems of education, and infrastructure had necessitated the acceptance of a monetary system. However, concepts such as profit, gain, and value have no equivalents in this language. Since people began laboring in other parts of the Solomon Islands after World War II, a cash economy has been implemented on the two islands.

Commercial Activities. Money was introduced by the first Christians and the British colonizers as a means to pay taxes and tithes. A monetary economy is gradually becoming more common, but there are no banking facilities on Bellona and Rennell.

Industrial Arts. People spend their cash on boat fares and airplane trips to the capital of the Solomon Islands, bringing food and artifacts to the market or shops for sale. Others live more or less permanently in Honiara (White River), making a living from dancing and singing, the carving of traditional objects such as war clubs, fishhooks, large bowls (kumete), and walking sticks, and plaiting mats and baskets for sale to tourists. Some work in offices or in the building industry. Most take pride in sending their children to school. Education has become a primary way to acquire prestige.

Trade. Very little precontact trade took place except during the time of the "black birding" ships, when the islanders traded wood carvings for adzes, knives, whistles, beads, calico, and umbrellas. In the 1960s the British protectorate government encouraged the people of the Solomon Islands to set up cooperative trading companies on their islands. Bellonese and Rennellese entrepreneurs attempted to establish two such companies. Their assets were the copra from the very large coconuts grown on the two islands. However, this system failed because the economic ideals of the islands were incompatible with those of Western culture.

In 1969 and 1976 Japanese and Australian companies did test drillings. On Bellona considerable amounts of phosphate were found, and on Rennell there were large deposits of bauxite. Because of the conflict between wanting to avoid violation of ancestral graves and the wish to make a profit in the Western sense, mining has not been inaugurated at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Division of Labor. Before contact with the outside world, garden work was done communally by all the members of a nuclear family according to their abilities. Women did all the cooking, plaiting of baskets and mats, and the child rearing, while men did all the fishing, hunting, house building, canoe carving, and distribution of harvested crops. There has been a gradual equalization between the sexes since that time. Women and men may receive the same education and are equally likely to be employed in the Solomons. In politics at home and abroad, men are generally the leaders and dominate the political arena.

Land Tenure. Land ownership is hereditary within a patrilineal descent group, with an emphasis on male primogeniture. If a younger son possesses talents or virtues and is admired by the members of his lineage, he may inherit the major parts of his father's land. As land is scarce and the population is growing rapidly, equal ownership has become increasingly difficult. Even before contact with other cultures a landowner could grant usufruct privileges to others for a stipulated period. It is common for a mother's brother *(tu'atinana)* to present his sister's son with a land area, especially if he is fatherless. However, it is not uncommon for women to inherit land.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. In both theory and practice, the core social structure and organization is a patrilineal descent system, with descent reckoned from the first male immigrants.

The islands are subdivided into districts *(kanomanaha* or, in modern speech, *kakai 'angalpotuanga)* : six on Rennell and three on Bellona. In each district people live in villages and in separate family settlements. All male heads of households are descendants of the same clan, Kaitu'u, except for males in the small Iho clan at the west end of Bellona. The patrilineages are named after the new settlement *(hakanohonga)*. Although land principally is inherited patrilineally, there is a growing tendency for men to hand over land to female kin.

With a growing population, the land areas owned by individuals are diminishing in size, and disagreements over ownership or stewardship of land are increasing. In precontact times this was a cause of interlineage feuds.

Kinship Terminology. The terminology of Bellona and Rennell is characteristically Western Polynesian, which includes distinct terms for the mother's brother and cross-cousins. This system is related to some Melanesian kin terminologies.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Ideally, marriages take place only between a male and a female of another lineage. The closest relationship between spouses would be that of cross-cousins. However, a person traditionally was free to marry anyone from another lineage without the specific consent of the parents. Freedom in the choice of a spouse is stressed. Married couples generally live near the husband's parents (virilocal residence). Divorce is common. In pre-Christian days polygynous marriages were found among high-status people with a considerable amount of land. However, Christianity disapproved of polygynous marriages, and they have disappeared.

Domestic Unit. Before World War II, the basic households were dispersed along the main trails. The average household consisted of just over four nuclear family members sometimes supplemented by in-laws and occasional visiting kinspeople. In front of the houses were the ritual grounds laid out in a semicircle, with ancestral graves around them facing the main trail. Traditional houses were of varying sizes, often constructed as a roof made of pandanus leaves on posts without walls. The houses of wealthy landholders had curved roofs. The various Christian faiths attempted to display their strength by building large prayer houses. At the turn of the millennium social prestige was shown to the community through the size of one's house or houses.

Inheritance. Prior to World War II, wealth was measured by the size of the property a landholder possessed. Around the turn of the twenty-first century, values gradually changed. "Wealth" in landholding has become of lesser importance than "wealth" in higher education. Obviously, a rich landowner can better afford to send his children abroad for education than can a person with less wealth in property. Material goods have less prestige than funds for sending one's children to school.

Socialization. In an infants' earliest days, child rearing is the task of its mother and her female kin. Once a child can walk and talk, the father's duty is to socialize him or her into his or her coming position in society. Strictness is important in the upbringing of children, and punishment can be harsh. Bellona has begun to form kindergarten schools, and on Rennell there are five. Bellona has three primary schools and Rennell has eight. On Rennell there is a secondary school, and there are plans to establish tertiary schools.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In theory, Bellona and Rennell have a more shallow social organization than do most other Polynesian societies. Class is little talked of, but the islands still have three different social status levels: persons of high prestige *(hakahua),* ordinary landowners *(maatu'a),* and persons of the lowest status *(pengea i tu'a,* servants). On Rennell more words are used for the low-status individuals *(pegea i tua, guani,* and *tino).* Persons born out of wedlock belong to the last category.

Political Organization. The patrilineal descent groups were politically independent, usually with a few prestigious men as their high-ranking heads. Before World War II, the two islands had no chiefs in the Polynesian sense. In 1993, when Bellona and Rennell were pronounced a province of the Solomon Islands, a provincial government was formed as an allegedly democratic political system with a premier, various ministries, and a provincial assembly. Constitutionally, the islands are subdivided into ten wards.

Social Control. Land disputes, theft, vandalism, uncontrolled consumption of "home brew," and verbal fights are among the major crimes. People usually maintained peace and order by themselves through lineage elders, but a policeman and two constables were stationed on the islands in the 1970s.

Conflict. In the days of incessant interlineage blood feuds (before the introduction of Christianity), wives were sent out as peace negotiators between the parties. Land disputes, defending honor after insults, and mutual killings in raids were some of the reasons for ongoing conflicts. Society had been in a constant state of conflict until Christianity was accepted. Present-day conflicts are solved in local courts and in the Solomon Islands High Court.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Bellona and Rennell were among the last Polynesian Islands to convert to Christianity. Their almost complete isolation during the war in the Western Pacific prevented the population from acquiring extensive knowledge about Christian doctrines, but this isolation made it possible for anthropologists to acquire a detailed picture of a pre-Christian Polynesian religion. The world of the islands was inhabited by an impressive hierarchy of gods, deities, and worshiped ancestors classified as sky gods, who were associated with the universe and with the nonsocialized nature surrounding human beings. District deities comprised a lower level of supernatural beings, whose existence was organized as that of human beings and who protected society in its present form. Ancestors acted as messengers between the world of humans and that of gods and deities, taking goods, wealth, and children to the island societies. Almost no act was carried out without communication with the supernaturals. At feasts in the homesteads and temples, men and gods communicated, raw food for the gods and cooked food for the deities and ancestors were distributed among the participants, and sacred and profane dances were performed to honor the gods and the guests.

In October 1938 a meeting was held in the homestead Niupani at the lake. A series of rites were conducted both to the Christian god and to the old deities. After a short period of social and ideological chaos the Christian faith became dominant on Rennell. Shortly thereafter a group of Rennellese went to Bellona to announce the dismissal of the old deities and the two islands were proclaimed Christian. The old deities were chased away to their abodes at the eastern horizon. The two stone images of gods on Bellona were crushed; sacred buildings and areas were destroyed and uprooted. A few years after the end of World War II foreign missionaries ordered people to build churches and establish villages around them.

On Rennell the first Adventist church was founded in Hutuna at the lake. Later, in Tahamatangi and Tegano the SSEM built two churches at the lake. Over the years the missions have founded new churches with surrounding villages, and during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s a few families converted to Baptism, Baha'i, the Anglican Church, and the fundamentalist Adventist Church Concerned Bretheren (CB). In all there were twenty eight local religious communities on the two islands at the turn of the millennium.

Religious Practitioners. In the pre-Christian religion all adult men had religious roles. Three formal types were distinguished: priest-chiefs, second priest-chiefs, and assistants to priests. An informal role was that of a medium who occasionally was possessed by a district deity or ancestor and who, with a twisted voice or in an unintelligible language, spoke through him.

The first two Christian denominations which were established were the South Seas Evangelical Mission (later South Seas Evangelical Church—SSEC) and Seventh Day Adventists. Both still follow the beliefs taught to them by the missionaries, but their doctrines are less philosophical than those of either their pre-Christian religion or of Western theology.

When asked about the differences between their beliefs, both sects claim that the only difference is the time of worship: Saturday versus Sunday. However, the strict food taboos of the SDA and the payments of a tithe of 5 to 30 percent of one's earnings differ from the practices of the SSEC, which collects cash during church services. The Seventh Day Adventists do not believe in death. They believe

death and resurrection will take place after the second coming of Christ and is an event eagerly wished for.

Ceremonies. The most important pre-Christian ceremonies were harvest rituals that were performed in cycles within the patrilineal descent groups, each lasting two or more weeks. Uncooked tubers were presented to the sky-gods, and cooked food to the district deities and ancestors. The food then was distributed among the participants.

Arts. In pre-Christian times the major art forms were poetry, dancing, tatooing, wood carving of ceremonial clubs, and the making of staff-like objects. Making tapa and the plaiting of baskets and mats are female skills. Wood carving has almost become an industry, mostly in the capital. The islanders are praised for their arts and sell it to tourists. Wood carvers from Bellona have decorated a number of buildings in the capital. Dance groups perform traditional dances at home and abroad. Modern music is composed with traditional themes and played at concerts and recorded.

Medicine. Except for the prevention of disease by prayers to the supernatural beings or by avoiding certain food items, the islanders did not have medicinal practices in the pre-Christian era. The gods took care of life, health, and death, but hot stones, coconut oil, massage, and green leaves have been and are still used to induce abortions and to treat certain illnesses. Common diseases are respiratory infections, skin diseases, diarrhea, and sexually transmitted diseases. Homeopathic medicine was introduced by the South Seas Evangelical Mission. Modern, scientific medicine was introduced later and was received with enthusiasm. The islands have sixteen health posts and clinics. All serious cases are referred to the national hospital in Honiara.

Death and Afterlife. In the pre-Christian era death involved a long series of rituals and extended mourning. The beliefs were that dead individuals left the islands, went to dance on the reef, and were taken to the abodes of the gods under the horizon. Low-status individuals went to the underground, where they were erased on a flat stone in the darkness and forgotten.

For other cultures on the Solomon Islands, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 2, Oceania.

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TORBEN MONBERG

Bemba

ETHNONYMS: Wemba, Awemba, AbaBemba

Orientation

Identification and Location. The word "Bemba" has several meanings in present-day Zambia. The core Bemba group are subjects of Paramount Chief Chitimukulu. They live around the center of a plateau called Lubemba in the Northern Province. However, approximately twelve other groups that reside in the Luapula Province, in southern Katanga (Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC]), and in the rural areas of the Copperbelt Province speak dialects of IchiBemba and consider themselves loosely affiliated with the core Bemba group. They may call themselves by the particular group name—Aushi, Bisa, Chishinga, Kunda, Lala, Lamba Lunda, Ng'umbo, Swaka, Tabwa, or Unga—but the tendency in urban areas is to use the generic term "Bemba". In this broad sense the Bemba form the most important ethnic group in the urban areas of the Copperbelt, including Kitwe, Ndola, Mufulira, Luanshya, Chingola, and Chililabombwe in Zambia and a significant minority in Lubumbashi in the DRC.

The plateau heartland of the Bemba reaches a height of approximately 4,300 feet (1,300 meters) and is located from 10° to 12° S and 30° to 32° E. It rises from the lowlands of Lake Bangweulu and the Luapula Valley to the south and west and Lake Tanganyika and the Luangwa Valley to the north and east. The Chambeshi River, which feeds Lake Bangweulu and forms part of the southern Congo drainage basin, meanders through its center. The plateau is made of old crystalline rocks that are rich in minerals but produce poor soil fertility. The natural vegetation consists of thin forests of tall trees termed savanna woodland.

Demography, The core Bemba group's population is approximately *400,000,* excluding those who have permanently settled in urban areas. The first colonial censuses between 1910 and 1930 estimated the number at 100,000; in 1963 the figure was 250,000. Including those permanently settled in urban areas, the number of people who identify themselves as Bemba is 741,114. However, those who speak IchiBemba

as a first language number approximately 3.7 million, accounting for nearly a third of Zambia's population and a significant proportion of the million inhabitants of southern Katanga.

Linguistic Affiliation. IchiBemba (or IciBemba) consists of several dialects that are associated with the distinct Bemba ethnic groups and have minor differences in pronunciation and phonology. An urban dialect called Town Bemba (ichiTauni or ichiKopebeelti) is a widely used lingua franca in the Copperbelt towns and consists of a number of loan words from English in Zambia and from French and Swahili in the southern DRC. Portuguese and Swahili loan words indicate nineteenth-century trading contacts. IchiBemba is a Central Bantu language. The Bantu language group is part of the Benue-Congo branch of the Niger-Congo family.

History and Cultural Relations

The oral tradition of the Bemba court recalls a migration of chiefs from the country of the Luba (Kola). The king of Kola, Mukulumpe, married a woman who belonged to the Crocodile Clan (Abena Ngandu) and had ears like an elephant. She had three sons—Katongo, Chiti, and Nkole—and a daughter, Chilufya. After a fight with their father, Chiti and Nkole fled eastward and were joined by their half brothers Chimba, Kapasa, and Kazembe and their sister Chilurya. After the death in battle of Chiti and Nkole, the son of Chilufya became chief. When they came across a dead crocodile, they decided to settle, for they were of the Crocodile Clan. Chilurya became known as Chitimukulu, or Chiti the Great.

Historians have argued that this oral tradition is more a "mythical charter" that legitimizes the rule of the Crocodile Clan than a record of historical fact. The legend probably refers to a migration of Luba or Lunda chiefs that occurred before 1700. Before the migration there were autochthonous inhabitants who spoke a Bantu language that resembled modern IchiBemba and had certain cultural and economic practices similar to those found after the Luba/Lunda conquest. They had settled in the area more than a thousand years earlier. The Luba/Lunda chiefs did not alter the cultural and economic practices of the original inhabitants, adapting them while proclaiming descent from royalty to legitimize their rule.

Before the 1840s the greatest challenge to the Bemba came from Mwata Kazembe's Eastern Lunda Kingdom based in the Luapula Valley; after 1840 the Ngoni from southern Africa challenged the Bemba from the east in a series of inconclusive wars until a decisive battle in about 1870 led to a Ngoni retreat. Local exchanges of iron and salt were important for the consolidation of political power by chiefs, but the long-distance trade in slaves, ivory, and copper with the Portuguese and Swahili on the east coast fortified and centralized the Bemba polity, which reached its zenith in the 1870s.

The first written reference to the Bemba is from 1798, when the Portuguese expedition to Mwata Kazembe led by F. J.de Lacerda heard about the Bemba. The first recorded contact between Portuguese traders and Bemba chiefs took place in 1831, when another expedition to Mwata Kazembe under A. C. P. Garnitto encountered Bemba chiefs expanding to the south. Tippu Tip, a Swahili slave trader, had contact with the Bemba in the 1860s, and David Livingstone passed through the area in 1867-1868 and in 1872 shortly before his death near Bemba country.

In the 1880s and 1890s European conquest and colonization began. The London Missionary Society and the Catholic White Fathers established mission stations on the border of the Bemba polity. By the 1890s agents of the British South African Company had begun signing treaties with chiefs. Europeans widened internal fissures between the competing chiefships of Chitimukulu and Mwamba, and this contributed to the lack of organized resistance to European colonialism. During the colonial period the Bemba territory became an important labor-supply hinterland for the copper mines. The powers of the Bemba chiefs were reduced by the colonial administration, yet certain Bemba chiefs, including Chitimukulu, retained authority under the colonial practice of indirect rule.

The Bemba supported the Cha Cha Cha struggle for independence led by the United National Independence Party (UNIP). The first Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda, was not of Bemba descent yet grew up and taught in Bemba country. Bemba support for UNIP declined after the brutal repression of the popular Lumpa Church and the perception that the one-party regime discriminated against the Bemba and favored easterners. In the 1970s support grew for the breakaway United Progressive Party (UPP) led by Simon Kapwewe. Bemba support for the government of Frederick Chiluba that took over from Kaunda after democratic elections in 1991 was high. In urban areas President Chiluba is considered a Bemba even though he comes from Luapula Province and is not a member of the core Bemba group.

Settlements

A tarmac road called the Great North Road runs from the Copperbelt through the plateau region and splits into two roads leading to the Lake Tanganyika port of Mpulungu and the border of Tanzania, respectively. A railway line from Kapiri Mposhi to Dar es Salaam runs through Bemba country. Settlement is concentrated along the roads and railway line, with farms extending for several miles into the interior. Northern Province is divided into nine districts, each of which has an administrative capital that also serves as a trading center. The most important towns near the Bemba heartland are Chinsali and Kasama. Houses constructed of bricks and corrugated iron are replacing those made of the traditional clay and thatch. Except in the towns, piped water and electricity are rare. Small toilets and granaries are situated outside the main houses. The population density is low.

Economy

Subsistence. Subsistence agriculture makes an important contribution to livelihood since employment levels are low and wages and pensions are below the subsistence level. In many areas cassava and maize have replaced the traditional staple, millet. The Bemba are known for a shifting form of agriculture termed *chitemene,* in which the branches of trees are cut and burned to supply the nutrients needed to cultivate millet and maize. Forms of chitemene have changed over time. For example, traditionally only tree branches were burned, but now entire trees are burned for use as both fertil-

izer and charcoal. Without burning, fertilizer is required. Cassava grown on mounds *(mputa)* has become more widespread since little fertilizer is required and it can be grown without chitemene. However, chitemene has not disappeared and still is an important part of Bemba survival strategies. Cassava, millet, and maize are dried, ground into flour, and cooked with water to make a thick porridge called *ubwali*. Vegetables include pumpkin, squash, cabbage, spinach, rape, and cassava leaves. Cattle traditionally were not domesticated because of the tsetse fly and are still rare. Sources of protein include beans, groundnuts, caterpillars, fish, game meat, poultry, and goat.

Commercial Activities. Maize and cassava are exported to urban areas. Coffee estates in the highlands export high-quality beans. Small-scale gemstone and mineral mining occurs. Before the decline of the copper mines in the 1980s, most income was derived from urban remittances.

Industrial Arts. Handicraft products include clay pots, reed mats and baskets, hunting and fishing nets, wood and iron agricultural implements, canoes, stools, and drums. Wood is the most important and versatile raw material. There is little tourism, and these products usually are made for local use.

Trade. Trucks on the main road carry trade goods to and from the Mpulungu harbor on Lake Tanganyika and the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam. Locals sell food and refreshments and provide services to passing truck drivers and train passengers.

Division of Labor. In general, men prepare the chitemene fields by cutting and burning the branches. Women are responsible for planting, harvesting, drying, pounding the dried grain or root into flour, and cooking. Increased male migration to the copper mines after the 1920s was a factor in the replacement of millet cultivation in chitemene fields by cassava. Men dominate hunting and fishing activities, while women and children gather wild produce such as mushrooms and caterpillars. The Bemba speak about a division of labor in a rigid fashion, but in practice it can be fluid.

Land Tenure. As a result of the traditionally low population density and shifting agricultural practices, uncultivated land or bush *(mpanga)* had little intrinsic value and was not strongly associated with individual ownership. However, rights to the land did exist and were regulated by village rulers. The colonial government declared land "Native Trust," to be allocated by chiefs. Despite the vesting of the land in the president under the postcolonial government, chiefs still allocated land. The introduction of individual land registration under the post-1991 government has not had an impact. In contrast to uncultivated land, there is a strong sense of individual ownership of cultivated fields and produce.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Bemba usually are classified as matrilineal and matrilocal. This is an idealized version of Bemba kinship relations that might have existed in the past, yet even this seems unclear. Currently, there seems to be a weakening *of* the matrilineal/matrilocal system; residence departs substantially from matrilocality now and might best be described as bilocal. Membership in a clan *(umukowa;* plural *imikowa)* and positional succession are still matrilineal. However, it is common for a child to adopt the father's name and ancestral spirit *(umupashi),* and this is suggestive of a strengthening of patrilineal elements. In the past a man worked for a period in the homestead of his new wife and chose to remain with his wife's family or return with her to his mother or father's homestead. However, today newlywed couples may stay with the husband's family. A money economy and Christianity have strengthened the control of men over their children and weakened attachment to uterine kin.

Kinship Terminology. Kin terms are of the Iroquois type. Close kinship terms are subject to declension, for example, *mayo* (my mother), *noko* (thy mother), *nyina* (her mother). In ego's generation separate terms are used for siblings according to their sex and age. Because of positional succession *(ukupyanika)* kin terminology for an individual can change. For example, through succession ego can become his mother's brother and all women who were his mother (mayo) become his sister *(nkashi).*

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally, marriage payments in the form of goods from the groom's family to the bride's family were small and insignificant. The more important aspect of the marriage contract was the labor service performed by the son-in-law. With the increasing importance of money and goods, payments are becoming of more importance and labor service by the son-in-law is increasingly rare. Polygamy is allowed but uncommon. Marriages are unstable, and divorce or separation is common, especially if a man fails to provide labor, money, or goods to his wife's family. To a certain extent Christianity has stabilized marital relations. While marriage within a clan is not allowed, cross-cousin marriages are permitted and strengthen the bonds between brother and sister.

Domestic Unit. In the past a married couple started out in an extended matrilocal family unit and formed an independent unit after a number of years. The encouragement of nuclear families by Christian churches and the ability to provide money instead of labor service to the wife's family has meant that a husband can achieve this position with greater ease. However, the traditional basis of domestic cooperation through female relatives—mother and daughter or sisters—and ties between mother and children are still strong.

Inheritance. Inheritance of goods is relatively unimportant, and wealth can pass from a dead man to his son or to his sister's son. The inheritance of a title or a wife is of more significance and follows the matrilineage.

Socialization. Children learn household, agricultural, and hunting skills from their mother or her relatives, although the father may be involved. Children have freedom and autonomy but must respect their elders. Although the practice has declined in recent years, initiation *(ichisungu)* at puberty teaches girls duties toward their households and husbands. There are no equivalent male initiation ceremonies. Children generally attend school.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Independent households, which form the basic productive unit, join together to form villages. The

membership of a village is fluid, and households migrate in search of new land. A village headman who is appointed by village elders or by the chief runs each village and mediates conflicts and access to land. Chiefs are drawn from the royal matrilineal Crocodile Clan, and this has contributed to greater centralization than is found among the neighboring groups. Chiefs and headmen are generally male, but it is not unusual to find women in such positions. Chiefs have their own councilors elected by the old men of the royal village. Paramount Chief Chitimukulu commands the respect of a number of lesser chiefs across the plateau and rules his own district (Lubemba). Chitimukulu's tribal council consists of a number of royal hereditary officials called *abakabilo* who have different ritual duties.

The Bemba have about thirty matrilineal clans generally named after animals. All clans have joking opposites. For example, the Goat Clan jokes with the Leopard Clan because leopards eat goats. An individual can rely on the support of his or her clan and joking clan members. Joking between the Bemba, who are known as baboons (*kolwe)* for their reputation for eating baboons, and the Ngoni, who are known as rats *(kwindi)*, is an element of social life and a way of overcoming old rivalries, especially in urban areas where Ngoni and Bemba live together.

Political Organization. Political authority is divided between the formal government and traditional chiefs. The government follows the model of the British colonial bureaucracy. The Northern Province, with provincial headquarters at Kasama, has nine districts with elected district councils at district capitals called the Boma. Under the first postcolonial regime of Kaunda, UNIP party structures played an important role in running district affairs. After 1991, under the successor regime of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), party structures were not meant to play the same role, although their de facto political influence has been great.

During colonialism chiefs collaborated closely with the colonial officials based at the Boma. In the postcolonial period the formal judicial and executive powers of the chiefs were handed over to the district government. Nevertheless, during the first postcolonial regime chiefs became involved in formal district governance and political parties. After 1991 chiefs were supposed to remain outside formal politics, but their influence remains significant.

Social Control. Chiefs and headmen are not instrumental in the perpetuation of social norms. Responsibilities toward the extended family are entrenched through witchcraft *(ubuloshi)* accusations that act as an important deterrent against breaking social and ritual taboos. Didactic songs, including those associated with the girls' ichisungu ceremony, provide guidance for responsibilities toward husband, children, and family.

Conflict. Before the colonial period the Bemba were known as a "warrior" people who raided their neighbors for slaves and tribute. Conflict between Bemba chiefs and between the Bemba and the Ngoni was frequent. Praise songs of chiefs and clan elders celebrate battles and past conquests. After colonialism, raiding and local conflict ceased, and political stability in Zambia has contributed to a long era of peace.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Precolonial religious beliefs revolved around the worship of ancestral spirits *(imipashi)* and nature spirits *(ngulu)*. These spirits controlled uncultivated land and were responsible for the harvest. Chiefs and clan elders prayed and offered sacrifices to the spirits at shrines, which were miniature huts housing relics or natural sites such as waterfalls and springs. Such rituals occurred at important economic events such as the cutting of trees *(ukutema)* to prepare chitemene fields or before hunting or fishing expeditions. Although rare, these rituals are still performed in certain areas.

Most Bemba are Christians. The United Church of Zambia (previously the London Missionary Society), Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists are important denominations. Biblical stories and proverbs are popular. The name for God is Lesa, although the etymology of the term is unclear. Christianity has been fused with older religious practices. For example, the Lumpa Church, founded by the prophetess Alice Lenshina, spread across Bemba country in the 1950s and was repressed by government in the 1960s. At least since the spread of the bamuchapi witchfinders in the 1930s, witchcraft accusations have combined ancestral and Christian belief systems.

Religious Practitioners. Chiefs, clan elders, and other ritual specialists prayed and made sacrifices to the spirits. Precolonial prophets such as Bwembya claimed to derive their prophecies from the ancestral spirits of kings. Christian prophets such as Alice Lenshina claimed to hear the voices of God and Jesus. Witchcraft purification and detection are still performed by witchfinders *(abashinganga)*, often on behalf of traditional chiefs and councilors. Church congregations led by elected church elders exist in most villages.

Ceremonies. Traditional ceremonial activities include rites surrounding the preparation of chitemene fields and first fruit ceremonies. Although it is no longer widely performed, the most important semipublic ceremony is the ichisungu initiation for young girls. When a girl begins to menstruate, she is taken into the bush by a ritual specialist called *Nachimbusa* (the mother of sacred emblems) and instructed in the duties of womanhood through songs and sacred clay figurines and paintings called *mbusa.* Men are not allowed to attend the ceremony. After initiation the girl is considered ready for marriage.

Arts. Tatoos and other forms of scarification were common in the pre-Christian period. Hairstyling among women is still popular. Painting and ornamental arts illustrating biblical themes or clan jokes adorn houses and public places. There is little demand for Bemba artworks, and works generally are made on commission. Musicians, especially guitarists and singers, perform in village bars and churches.

Medicine. Traditional remedies are made from bark, fruit, and plant extracts. Knowledge of these remedies is widespread. However, if these remedies fail, a patient will go to expert herbalists who have specialized knowledge of remedies and supernatural causes of illness.

Death and Afterlife. The cause of death is believed to be a curse or bewitchment by a jealous friend or family member. After death the family will employ a witchfinder to search for

the source of the bewitchment. Spirits can return to act as guardians of the bush or can be adopted by newborn children. The Bemba combine beliefs in ancestral spirits and witchcraft with Christian beliefs about the afterlife.

For the original article on the Bemba, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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DAVID M. GORDON

Bena of Southwestern Tanzania

ETHNONYMS: Wabena or Bena. The core of this name, "Bena," is used to designate a variety of different things connected with being Bena. The prefix "Wa-" is the plural so "Wabena" refers to more than one group member including the group as a whole, while a single individual is an Mbena. Other prefixes are used, so their territory is Ubena, and their language is Kibena.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Wabena, hereafter called "Bena," dropping the prefix as is conventional in the literature, are Bantu-speaking hoe agriculturalists who live in two different eco-zones. One is a high plateau where a large majority of the Bena live and the other is a plain, occupied by a relatively small minority. An uninhabited broken escarpment, difficult to traverse on foot and just short of impassable by car, separates the two zones.

Demography. In both eco-zones settlements are nucleated villages rather than the scattered settlement pattern characteristic of virtually all other East African agricultural societies. Population size cannot be reported with any confidence. In 1967 the District Officer's office in Njombe, the administrative center for Benaland, reported that there were 140,000 Bena. In 1988 the Summer Institute for Linguistics estimated the Bena population as almost *600,000,* which seems far too high but, as with the earlier, lower figure, there is no published basis for a confident count.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Bena speak a Southern Bantu language of the Niger-Congo language family. Kibena is not mutually intelligible with the languages of the neighboring societies, but speakers say they learned the languages of their neighbors even if they had lived in their areas for as little as a few months.

History and Cultural Relations

Before the colonial peace was established, each village *(kaya)* was ruled by its own hereditary and independent ruler called *mutwa,* or "king." Each king viewed all other villages as enemies whose raids could be expected at any time. The raids were aimed at capturing slaves, getting grain, cattle, and such other valuables as might be found. If a kaya was captured, all the males, including male babies and young children, were killed. This was because the men would be dangerous if left alive and the babies and children might be taught by their mothers that the new rulers killed their father and, when grown, take vengeance. Some of the women might be kept as wives, but most were sold to other groups or to slave trading Arabs who traveled from area to area looking for slaves to be sold on the coast for resale in the Persian Gulf area.

In the pre-colonial era, the Hehe, a fierce group on the northeast border of Benaland, conquered the Bena together with the first Bena conquerors, the Sangu, their neighbors to the northwest. Unlike the Bena's intervillage wars, the objective of the neighboring groups was not to pillage villages in hit and run raids but to make Benaland a tributary source of taxes and labor. The Sangu installed members of their own royal family, responsible to the Sangu king, as chiefs in each Bena village. When the Hehe conquered the Sangu and with them their Bena subjects, they replaced Sangu village chiefs with their own "royals" responsible to their king.

The pre-colonial period ended with German rule reaching Benaland in the late 1890s. A Bena king, who unlike other kings, aimed at conquest rather than pillaging, had been successful in defeating and bringing under his control a number of other villages. He decided to leave the high plateau and lead his people into the lowlands in order to avoid German control. The sparsely populated lowlands had a few residents from other ethnic groups who had found refuge there from the turmoil in the south associated with the expansion of the Ngoni peoples. These earlier residents, ac-

cording to several lowland Bena elders, gladly joined the newcomers under the authority of the Bena king.

Settlements

The Bena live in nucleated villages rather than in scattered households. Currently villages are all made up of separate houses a few yards apart, not the single structure of pre-colonial times. The walls of the houses are formed of the soil in the vicinity of the house, although some householders use earth from the banks of any nearby river where the clay content of the earth is greater. Fathers and sons often build their houses close to one another where, usually, there are the houses of other kin, mainly agnates, in what might be called a patrifocal grouping. This kin-based unit is a central part of village social organization, but after the father dies the sons often move away to new houses in other parts of the same village. In some cases this is due to the fact that the fraternal relationship is quite hierarchical, with older brothers demanding respect from their juniors whose interests they are supposed to protect.

The Bena did not always live in freestanding houses. In the pre-colonial era all the residents of a village were housed in a single building. This structure was built as a hollow rectangle with single walls facing the courtyard and the outside with a door from each suite to the courtyard. A single gate gave access to the outside. One existing ruin of such a structure was about a hundred yards long and thirty-five yards wide on all four sides. Each nuclear family had its own set of rooms, usually two, with each room attached to the next in the family suite by an internal door and with a single door from the suite to the courtyard.

Economy

Subsistence. The plateau Bena raise corn as their dietary stable but also grow sorghum and millet as insurance against pest and disease damage to the corn crop. It is a rare meal for the plateau Bena that is not based on cornmeal. The lowland Bena favor dry-land rice—a rare luxury in the highlands—as their staple, and eat corn only if the rice crop is insufficient. Both the lowland and plateau groups grow a variety of other food crops, especially beans of various sorts as well as potatoes, onions, and leafy vegetables. Cash crops such as pyrethrum and caster beans are also grown in both eco-zones.

Chickens, ducks, goats, sheep, and cattle are raised, as is the occasional donkey, but animal husbandry makes only a very minor contribution to subsistence. Cattle are mainly used in bride-wealth payments, as are sheep and goats. Sometimes a cow is killed for a funeral or wedding and, in strapped times, for cash to buy food, pay debts or taxes and school fees. Eggs, although not taboo to most clans, are rarely eaten. Chickens are killed for important occasions, or to honor particularly important guests, but the other animals are very rarely slaughtered. Extremely long hours and hard labor are required for a spare living in both of the Bena eco-zones and even that is uncertain in the frequent years of draught or excess rain.

Commercial Activities. Some cash is essential in the Bena economy. Cash for school fees, unlike the personal tax, are optional, but most parents treat these fees as necessary, since education is the sole means of escaping the endless poverty of subsistence farming in an area of infertile soil and undependable rain. The few clothes they own are purchased. Most villages have a duka, a little shop that is usually part of the owner's house, selling a limited inventory of such things as kerosene, matches, charcoal, salt, soap, cigarettes, rubber flip-flops, and inexpensive, brightly colored cloth used for the main female garment. Another commercial activity is hunting, or, more accurately, poaching. The single shot twelve-gauge shotguns hunters use provide dried or smoked meat to be sold in the village for low prices. The most consistently profitable activity for women in rural villages is selling home-brewed beer. Some Bena women weave baskets of all manner and sizes for their own use or for sale, but it is by no means as profitable as selling beer.

Industrial Arts. Most Bena women can make clay pots of the strictly utilitarian sort that was once the main cooking, eating, and drinking vessel. Every sizable village has a locally-trained carpenter and many villages also have a tailor whose foot powered sewing machine sometimes repairs torn clothing but mainly makes new clothing to order.

Trade. Most trade outside the group was in agricultural products. Prior to independence the buyers were ethnically Indian businessmen, but with independence the Tanzanian government took over the trade, with the initial result that for some time Bena cash crops could not be sold at all. When the government finally resumed trade, the prices paid were far below those of the independent buyers.

Division of Labor. Bena women's work focuses around childcare, and growing and preparing food and cash crops. Men cleared new fields of heavy stones and the stumps of trees and participated in the arduous task of bringing new or long fallow fields into production. Men are responsible for house-building, although women sometimes help. The main responsibility of men is providing money, usually by getting paying jobs outside the village Consequently, often the only males in residence in villages are boys and old men.

Kinship

Kinship Groups and Descent. The Bena kinship system emphasizes patrilineal descent to some extent, although there are no lineages in the sense of localized, corporate kin groups. The clans all have food taboos, but there is no understanding that the taboo article, whether a plant or an animal, had a special relationship with the clan or its founders. Some clans have the same taboo as others but this is not taken as an indication of a special relationship between them. The main functions of the clans are to provide hospitality for members who find themselves in distant villages and to serve as a basis for a relationship with strangers who share a clan membership. There are a very large number of clans; the names of almost two hundred were recorded in 1963, but even then many younger men and women did not know what clan they belonged to or what it was clan membership did not allow them to eat. The most socially important kin group, after the nuclear family, is that made up of a father and his sons and, only rarely, the father's brothers and their sons.

According to the Bena, their fraternal relationships are close and strong; however, no one is surprised when one

brother accuses another of assault by witchcraft. Disagreements about inheritance and about who has use of incoming bride-wealth are said to be the main sources of trouble. Envy and the eldest brother's exerting his authority as the dead father's successor in the family also serve as sources of fraternal conflict.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage only takes place after the father of the would-be bride accepts the groom's bride-wealth payment, usually consisting of livestock and cash. A major source of the groom's bride-wealth comes from the bride-wealth a family obtains when marrying off a daughter or sister. Bena men often marry later than they want to because of difficulty in getting the bride-wealth together. Bena women, however, marry early and, on their first husband's death, marry again leveratically. If the widow refuses to marry her dead husband's brother, the original bride-wealth must be returned.

Around 20 percent of the men in the village practiced polygyny. One of the reasons older women accept, even initiate, their husbands' taking of additional, usually younger wives is that post-menopausal women are believed to be seriously harmed by coitus. Also older wives recognize that an additional hoe in the hands of a young co-wife makes a contribution to the polygynous family as a whole.

Domestic Unit. Most houses are occupied by spouses and their unmarried children, but some contain other kin as well, generally unmarried or widowed, of either the wife or the husband. Some prosperous individuals build several houses together with the walls of the houses forming a rectangle. This sort of arrangement is most commonly built by polygynists, with each wife and her children having their own house, but some monogamists also build in this way, providing separate domiciles for each wife of the father and of his married sons.

Two principles are central to the hierarchy of the domestic unit: males are superior to females and seniors are superior to juniors. Fathers are superior to sons and daughters and mothers are superior to daughters, but they have rather mixed relationships with their sons. The oldest brother is superior to other siblings, with the rest ranked according to age, although with less difference between them than between them and the oldest. When the father dies, the eldest son assumes his paramount position of authority in the domestic unit. All brothers are superior to their sisters, with the partial exception that among practitioners of the traditional religion, the oldest sister may have a special status. If she is the oldest surviving member of the senior generation she is the only acceptable link to the ancestors and, as such, enjoys considerable authority and prestige in relations with all her siblings, male and female. Relations among sisters follow age hierarchy but actual dominance in their relations with one another is far less pronounced than in the relationships between brothers.

Inheritance. In most cases a woman's possessions include nothing of great value. Upon her death, these possessions are divided into parts, with each sister and each daughter getting some. Following the same procedure used for men, the goods are spread out on the ground and each item's heir is announced by a senior man related to but not an heir of the deceased. The same procedure is used for men. If the intended recipient is dissatisfied with the object displayed, and says something to the effect that other heirs need it more, he or she is urged to accept it. A refusal to accept what is offered is very serious and other kin may take the refuser to a settlement session and demand to know what prompted the refusal. Some say that the concern about a relative rejecting an inheritance is based in the fear that the refuser may resort to witchcraft.

The crops on the deceased's field are inherited, although the land is not. However, an heir who wishes to continue using the field needs only to inform the village chief and, barring the highly unlikely possibility that somebody else has told the chief he wants it, the chief will tell the heir to continue using it.

Socialization. From the hour of birth until an infant can walk, he or she is with the mother twenty- four hours a day. When the mother returns to the fields after giving birth, she takes the infant with her in a cloth sling on her back. The breast is always available for nursing and at the slightest indication of hunger the infant is moved to the mother's front. At night she takes the infant to bed with her, a choice made easy by the fact that the postpartum sex prohibition removes her husband from their bed. This situation, however, lasts only until the child can toddle, at which point the mother returns to full-time hoeing and leaves the child in the charge of his siblings. The siblings, mainly sisters who may be only a few years older than their charge, feed the child a corn and water gruel, rice and water in the lowlands or, since the 1960s, prepared baby formula. Although the child-minding children do tease and neglect the toddler, this behavior does not seem to be severe or frequent. Little girls help their mothers with all their work, including pounding corn to flour and cultivating with the heavy hoe against the adamantine soil. Little boys have no strenuous or difficult work, but they are put in charge of grazing cattle, which they must keep from straying and return them to their krall at dusk.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The largest social unit whose members are in frequent interaction with one another is the village, with its social organization based in a combination of kinship and neighborhood ties under the authority of a chief and, if large enough, headmen. The kinship ties used in forming groups larger than the nuclear family are those between a father and his married sons. These men and their wives often live in adjacent houses and sometimes carry out joint and cooperative activities. The cluster does not usually include the father's brothers and their sons, since each of the brothers forms his own cluster when his sons marry and have children. Although there is no rule demanding that it be so, the great majority of marriages are between residents of the same village. This promotes kin based bonds within villages and reduces bonds between villages in a way weakly reminiscent of the pre-colonial kaya.

Political Organization. In the pre-colonial kaya, when all Bena lived on the high plateau, every village had its own king whose interest in other villages was limited to raiding them and being raided by them. When a raid was successful, the result was not conquest and the addition of a village and peo-

ple to the winning king's domain, but rather the destruction of the losers' village and the enslavement of its people. According to available evidence, the king had unlimited authority, but it did not extend beyond his own kaya. This did not apply to the lowlands where a single king ruled a number of different villages, rather than only one as in the highlands.

With the coming of the British colonial administration after World War I, the Bena political system in the highlands changed to a single ruler. A hereditary village chief was selected and installed in the newly-created office of Paramount Chief under whose authority were the new offices of District Chief, Village Chief, and Headman. After independence, the government changed this administrative system by abolishing hereditary succession and shifting authority to the office of Area Secretary and a new popularly elected office, Member of Parliament.

Social Control. When someone exhibits behavior others find unacceptable, such as rudeness, theft, assault, or failure to return love, the offender and the person or persons bothered discuss the matter publicly in what is called a *baraza*. Solutions are proposed at any time in the discussion and the matter is considered settled if the litigants both accept a solution. If such acceptance is not achieved, the matter must be considered further until it is. There is no means of enforcing the solution save returning the matter to the baraza for further consideration.

Conflict. The most common sources of conflict since the end of warfare and raiding are usually between close kin. For example, it is considered wrong for a father or a senior brother to use the bride-wealth received for a daughter's or sister's marriage to take another wife when a son or junior brother is still unmarried. This does not happen frequently, but when it does, a rupture in the father-son or older brother-younger brother relationship can occur, and become permanent, if publicly declared at a baraza.

The relationship between spouses is also hierarchical. Husbands are expected to direct many aspects of their wives' activities. If a wife displeases her husband, he is considered not only within his rights but well advised to beat her without causing injury, and the same is true for parents as concerns their children. This is because the beating "teaches," as Bena say, in a way no amount of talking can.

In general, conflicts are to be avoided. The baraza is used to end conflicts when they arise and is remarkably effective in achieving at least superficial solutions. One of the reasons for this is that many group members emphasize the virtues of peaceful relationships and view conflict as something to be avoided even at the cost of loss of prestige or material goods. The fact that the ideal person is one who visits neighbors and kin often and "talks a lot and laughs a lot," suggests the powerful informal forces in social relations that contribute to curbing the extent, duration, and intensity of conflict.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. By the 1960s, after three-quarters of a century of missionary activity, the Bena were overwhelmingly Christian. The Protestants constituted the majority in the highlands and Roman Catholics the majority in the lowlands. Islam was only beginning to win serious numbers of converts in the early 1960s, mostly in the highlands. An important appeal of Islam, sometimes mentioned by Bena Muslims who have converted from Christianity, is its acceptance of polygyny.

Religious Practitioners. A sizable proportion of Christian missionaries and ordinary clergy, both Protestant and Catholic, are Bena. Another sort of practitioners, called *waganga* (singular, *mganga)* are healers and providers of medicine used to cure illness and bring good fortune. Despite this, waganga are almost always suspected of also being *wachawi* (singular, *mchawi),* or witches. Witchcraft and witches are an almost obsessive concern. Witches afflict people who have offended them, even if the offense is a fairly minor one. Also, witches kill close relatives because they are envious of their victim's success.

Ceremonies. Church services and funerals constitute the few public rituals. A traditional ceremony consists of a yearly report by the head of the kin group to the dead grandfather and father on the food supply, births, deaths, marriages, divorces, and serious illnesses. What the forebears want is an understanding of how their descendants are faring and if they think it wise to do so, they have the ability to influence the rains and the crops, which they can use to benefit their living kin. If no news-giving ritual is held, their beneficial influence may not be forthcoming.

Arts. The Bena show little interest in the arts. Some men are skilled in wood carving, but this seems to be used only in making three-legged stools from a single log which, though actually quite handsome in their unadorned simplicity, are regarded as things to sit on and nothing more. Women make pottery, which, like the stools, is purely utilitarian. As of the 1960s, there was no dancing other than adolescents dancing to rock music. It is unknown if there were previous traditions of dancing.

Medicine. Naturally-caused illness is treated by the patient him- or herself, family members, or by a waganga. Medicines from an impressive list of local plants are used. Witch-caused illnesses are treated by a waganga making counter magic, or by identifying the witch causing the illness and making him stop the action of his medicines.

Death and Afterlife. Christian and Muslim understandings about the afterlife became widespread and accepted in the 1960s. Traditional understanding of the afterlife is evident in the continued interest in the supernatural powers of deceased kin.

For other cultures in Tanzania, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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MARC J. SWARTZ

Bosnian Muslims, Bosniaks

ETHNONYMS: Bošnjak/Bošnjakinja (pl. Bošnjaci), Musliman/Muslimanka (pl. Muslimani)

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Bosnian Muslim homeland is Bosnia and Herzegovina in the western Balkans. One of six republics in the former Yugoslavia, it was internationally recognized as an independent state in 1992. Bosnian Muslims share the country with the Bosnian Serbs and Croats, whose identification and political orientation are largely synonymous with those of the neighboring countries of Serbia and Croatia. Bosnia and Herzegovina has been claimed by both these neighboring peoples, but the Muslims have contested their claims. The Bosnian Muslims identify themselves as belonging to a distinct ethnic group or nation and, contrary to the Bosnian Serbs and Croats, consider Bosnia and Herzegovina their only homeland. In the constitution for Bosnia and Herzegovina outlined by the Dayton Accord (21 November 1995) the official name for Bosnian Muslim is Bosniak (or Bosniac—both spellings are used in English), an English translation of the ethnonym Bošnjak that is preferred by the Bosnian Muslim political leadership to avoid confusion with the religious term "Muslim." All natives of Bosnia and Herzegovina may also be referred to by the term Bosanac; Bosanka (fern.), Bosanci (pl. of Bosnian).

The Bosnian Muslims were the largest ethnic group in Bosnia and Herzegovina before the 1992-1995 war. They lived among Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and other Bosnians in cities, towns, and villages throughout the country. The largest concentrations of Muslims were in the central and eastern parts and in the northwestern area of the country. During the war Muslims were expelled from or killed in the territories controlled by the Croat or the Serb armies. Others fled from cities under siege and bombardment. The Muslims have traditionally dominated the cities as evident in the cultural expression of the capital city of Sarajevo. Since 1995 the Bosniak population has been concentrated in the major cities that were under Bosnian Muslim control during the war: Sarajevo, Zenica, and Tuzla, along with other municipalities within the Bosniak-Croat Federation. The federation with the Bosnian Serb-controlled "Republika Srpska" forms the two state entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina established by the 1995 Dayton Accord.

As a consequence of the past war (1992-1995), communities of Bosniaks can be found throughout Europe, with the largest number in Germany. Outside of Europe groups of refugees from Bosnia, with the assistance of the United Nations, have been sent to the United States, Canada, Australia, Turkey, Indonesia, and Pakistan.

Demography. According to the 1991 national census for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Muslims accounted for 43.5 percent, or almost two million (1,902,956) people, of a total population of 4,337,033. However, as a consequence of the 1992-1995 war this number has been reduced and it is difficult to ascertain the exact post-war population because of the dislocation caused by military action, forced expulsions and massacres (ethnic cleansing), and political manipulation. (In July 2000, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was estimated at 3,835,777.) During the war hundreds of thousands of Muslims either fled or were systematically expelled from their homes. In addition, thousands were killed in massacres. For instance, when the city of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia was taken by Serb forces in July 1995, it is believed that more than seven thousand Muslim men were massacred (7,141 were missing, and approximately four thousand bodies were found in mass graves). The war, and particularly the strategy of so-called ethnic cleansing, had left over two million Bosnians (Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs and others) displaced within the country or living as refugees abroad. An estimated 250,000 people were killed during the war.

One of the provisions of the Dayton Accord was the right of all refugees and displaced persons to return to their prewar homes. Six years after the accord was signed an estimated 700,000 people have returned to the municipalities they lived in before the war (almost 600,000 of these people returned to the Federation entity), but a majority were not able to go back to their prewar homes.

Linguistic Affiliation. Bosniaks share a language with their Serb and Croat neighbors within Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the neighboring states of Serbia and Croatia. It is a Slavonic language whose official name before the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was Serbo-Croat. Since the dissolution of this state and its division into ethnically based nation-states this common language has taken on three different designations: Serbian (the eastern *Ekavski* variant using the Cyrillic alphabet), the official language of the Serbian population; Croatian (the western *Ijekavaski* variant using the Latin alphabet), the official language of the Croatian population; and Bosnian (which is of the Ijekavaski variant and uses the Latin alphabet), the official language of the Bosniak population. The last variant is distinguished from the Croatian mainly by a variation in vocabulary.

History and Cultural Relations

The independent kingdom of Bosnia arose in the Middle Ages. In 1463 Bosnia was conquered by the Ottoman Empire after a century and a half of fighting. In the following centuries a large number of the local people (Christians belonging to the Roman Catholic or Eastern Orthodox churches and, some scholars argue, the Bosnian Church—the "heretical" church of the Bosnian king whose members were persecuted by Rome and Catholic Hungary) converted to Islam, the religion of the conquering state. Those who converted came from a broad cross section of society. The Bosnian gentry were probably among the first to embrace Islam—and the securing of property and privileges may have been a motivating factor—but peasants and members of other socioeconomic categories followed suit.

The Ottoman administration favored those who shared their faith. They had access to education and could hold office in the administration. A Bosnian Muslim elite grew up that obtained the right to own land. The peasants who worked on their land were usually Christians. Although a majority of Muslims were peasants, significant socioeconomic differences developed between Bosnia's different religious communities. In the Ottoman Empire various groups had been identified and administered on the basis of religion. During Ottoman rule Bosnia was multireligious and the three major faiths were Islamic, Serbian Orthodox, and Roman Catholic. The Christian churches were a significant force in the national movements in Croatia and Serbia in the nineteenth century. Gradually, these movements expanded into neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina and over time Catholic and Orthodox Bosnians came to see themselves as Croats and Serbs with an allegiance to the "national centers" of Zagreb and Belgrade, respectively. A Bosnian Muslim national movement developed much later, and had a smaller popular base. It was mainly a response to a Serb and Croat nationalist denial of the existence of a separate Bosnian Muslim identity and claims that Bosnian Muslims were ethnically Serbs or Croats. Along with these claims went Serbia's and Croatia's nationalist aspirations to incorporate Bosnia and Herzegovina, or those territories with a substantial ethnic Serbian or Croatian population, into their respective nation-states. However, the Bosnian Muslims refused to become either Serbianized or Croatianized.

Since its independent status in the Middle Ages, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been under the political control of different state powers. The Ottoman empire, the Habsburg empire, and the Yugoslav kingdom all discriminated against one community or segment of the population while favoring another. In postwar Yugoslavia, the communist partisans led by Marshal Tito developed a complex system for the balance of power between the largest ethnic groups to make sure that no ethnic group or nation within the multinational Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was favored or became dominant. The main competition for power had historically been between Serbia and Croatia. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the two met in their hegemonic aspirations for territory expressed through their coreligionists and ethnic brethren. Bosnia and Herzegovina was thus a potential source of instability in the new socialist Yugoslavia. Tito may have calculated that the Muslims could be used as a stabilizing factor. Under Tito's rule the Muslims obtained the constitutional nationality status *of narod* (people or nation). This gave them the equal status with Serbs and Croats that Muslim activists had long demanded. None of the three constituent nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina had carried an ethnonym that directly identified it with the country. In the case of the Muslims their religious rather than ethnic affiliation and territorial identity was stressed, while for the Bosnian Catholics and Orthodox Christians it was their affiliation with a political and territorial entity outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With the rise of separatist nationalism and the dissolution of Tito's Yugoslavia at the end of the 1980s the Serb and Croat populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina were mobilized for Serbia's and Croatia's state-building projects. Explicitly or implicitly they sought a division of Bosnia and Herzegovina along ethnic lines. The Muslims were caught in between (together with Bosnians of ethnically mixed parentage), as they neither identified with a political unit outside of Bosnia or had military or political support from a neighboring patron state. The Muslim political leadership and population favored a united multiethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Muslims became the victims of genocide perpetrated by the Serbian side and were the hardest hit by "ethnic cleansing." Before war broke out in 1992 people of different ethno-religious backgrounds coexisted as neighbors, friends, and colleagues throughout the country. The degree to which people coexisted and interacted varied locally. Some traditions, customs, and rituals were regionally based and shared by people of all three backgrounds. However, during World War II Bosnia and Herzegovina had been the scene of a ferocious civil war and a war against the German and Italian occupying forces. Issues and historical memories from that war inspired nationalist rhetoric and became a motivating force for the 1992-1995 war.

Settlements

Before 1992 Muslims lived throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina but there were sharp regional variations in ethnic composition. For instance, in Cazin in the northwest and Janja in the northeast, Muslims made up 95 percent of the population. In some areas, such as that surrounding Banja Luka, Muslims lived among a Serb majority, while in western Herzegovina Muslims lived among a Croat majority. In other regions Muslims and Croats or Muslims and Serbs were found in almost equal numbers.

The major cities are often divided into an old city center and a new part characterized by high rise tower blocks. The city centers were divided into *mahalas* or neighborhoods that traditionally had been inhabited by one ethnic group. In Sarajevo certain mahalas in the old city had been inhabited by urban Muslim families for generations. In rural areas Muslims lived in separate villages or hamlets or in ethnically mixed ones. In ethnically mixed villages the different groups lived in separate or clearly defined areas or families with different ethno-religious backgrounds lived as next door neighbors. Settlements typically consisted of brothers with their families. The ideal for a young married man was to set up his own household in a new house. However, it was not uncommon for a young family to share a household with the husband's parents until it could establish its own house. This house was often built on the man's father's land nearby. As a result of industrial development in Yugoslavia after World War II wage labor became widely available, and in the 1960s migrant labor opportunities abroad made sons independent of their fathers. The traditional communal patrigroup household called *zajednica* ("community") became less common as brothers left the household at a much earlier age and established their own households. During the past war most ethnically mixed villages were socially and physically destroyed. After 1998, in Federation territory of central Bosnia, Bosniacs and Croats began to return to life in mixed villages.

Economy

Subsistence. The 1992-1995 war destroyed most prewar economic activities. During the war people lived off small plots of land, by receiving food aid and remittances from

abroad, and by engaging in black market activities. The unemployment rate was an estimated 80 percent and remains at 40 percent. There are no distinct subsistence or economic activities in which Bosniaks engage. Although there are full-time farmers, agriculture is typically of the subsistence variety: Rural households derive income mainly from industry and labor migration and supply the household economy from small agricultural holdings. Agricultural products such as milk, butter, and eggs are sold at the local market mainly by women.

Commercial Activities. From the 1960s until the dissolution of Yugoslavia many Bosnians engaged in labor migration, primarily to Germany and Austria. When the labor market in Europe became more restricted in the 1980s, men left for Canada and Australia. Yugoslav companies were involved in construction work in the Middle East, and Bosnian men worked in that region. The money they earned often was invested in projects in their home country such as the building of a new house or invested in a private business.

Industrial Arts. In larger cities and market towns Bosniaks engage in traditional handicrafts: Coppersmiths make traditional plates, coffee grinders, coffee sets, and tables. Silversmiths and goldsmiths make traditional filigree jewelry. Shoemakers make traditional slippers and leather shoes. Bosnian Muslim artisans also make traditional pottery, and some women weave traditional kilims or knit colorful and richly patterned woolen socks that they sell in the marketplace.

Division of Labor. Both men and women are involved in wage labor in industry, education, the health services, and public administration. Household work is primarily the domain of women, and particularly in rural areas there is a clear distinction between women's and men's work. During the second half of the twentieth century when men left rural areas to work in industry in nearby cities and abroad, agriculture and sheep herding became female centered. This trend is changing as there are few opportunities for wage labor in postwar Bosnia.

Land Tenure. During Ottoman rule (1463-1878), Bosnia had a feudal system with Muslim *begs,* or landlords, at the top. The Muslim landlords made up 2 percent of the Muslim population, but most of the sharecroppers *(kmets)* who worked on their land were Christians. There were some Muslim kmets, but most Muslim peasants were freeholders and did not have to make obligatory payments to a landlord. The kmets had to give over a third of the annual crop to a Muslim landlord and another tenth in levies to the state. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a series of peasant revolts that were directed against the feudal system with its Muslim landlords. The Austro-Hungarian dual kingdom that governed Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878 to 1918 made only a few cosmetic changes. During royal Yugoslavia, 1918-1941, radical agrarian reforms were introduced and 150,000 peasant families received over one million hectares of land. The previous, mostly Muslim, owners of the land received some cash compensation from the Yugoslav government. During the socialist period another set of agrarian reforms was introduced. Over one and a half million hectares were confiscated and allotted to partisans and landless peasants; Muslim landlord privilege was totally eradicated. The peasant working collectives introduced in 1945 proved to be an economic disaster and by 1965 had ceased to exist. The 1945 agrarian reform had allowed a maximum of twenty five to thirty five hectares for private ownership. In 1953 the maximum was decreased to ten hectares; it was again increased slightly for mountainous regions in the 1980s.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The basic social and political units in rural communities are agnatically-based kin groups. This is reflected in the settlement pattern in which brothers with their wives and children live next door to each other on land inherited from the father. This agnatic structure is modified by the important role of maternal kin and affines in a person's kinship network. The relationship between in-laws called *prijatelji,* or "friends,"is characterized by ritual gift exchanges in connection with marriage. Affines may be called on in times of crisis for economic and other forms of assistance. Affines and kin constitute a kinship network with a political and economic mobilizing potential. Descent is reckoned patrilineally, but in practice kinship networks are bilateral. In rural areas Bosniaks are usually endogamous within the ethnic group. Kinship is thus the main organizational principle for the ethnic community and ethnic loyalties are primarily kinship loyalties.

Kinship Terminology. The Bosnian Muslim terminology system is parallel to that of the Bosnian Serbs and Croats, but the words used to denote certain relatives often differ. All three groups distinguish between uncles and cousins on the father's and the mother's sides. The terms used by men and women for their respective parents-in-law also differ. The same term is used for a brother's wife, a son's wife, and a man's brother's son's wife. This lumping together of close male relatives' wives reflects the old patrilocal and patrigroup-based household organization.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Bosniaks are exogamous and disapprove of marriage between relatives reckoned collaterally up to "the ninth generation." "Generations" are counted from ego or alter up to an apical ancestor. Since genealogies are rarely known farther back than the third or fourth generation, the prohibition usually is applied to known cousins or traceable genealogical ties. In rural areas and among urban religiously oriented families marriage with non-Muslim Bosnians is disapproved of. Bosniaks are thus exogamous within the kin group and endogamous within the ethno-religious group, although there are numerous exceptions. During the socialist era any marriage had to be registered by the secular authorities before a religious ceremony could be conducted. Only a few religiously devout Muslims married according to Shari'a or Islamic law. Such a wedding had a symbolic value but could not supersede secular laws on marriage. Polygyny is not permitted and was rare even until 1945 when Islamic family law was accepted by the authorities. Divorce is socially acceptable, religiously permissible, and not uncommon. Children may remain with either parent. The legal age for marriage is eighteen but may take place at an earlier age in the form of an elopement. Socially a couple is married if the woman is brought to the man's parent's home as a bride and spends the night there. This is followed by a series of visits and gift-

exchanges between the groom's and the bride's parents and close relatives. Marriage is essential to obtain the status of a fully adult and responsible individual.

Domestic Unit. The basic socioeconomic unit is the household based on the core family, which is generally virilocal in rural areas and neolocal in urban areas. In some rural areas the traditional viri-patrilocal extended family unit is found. In both rural and urban regions a young couple often shared a house with the man's parents, as a separate house was not always practical or economically possible. The war radically altered domestic arrangements. Houses and apartments are in short supply, and many people have been displaced from their homes; a large number of families have been forced from rural areas into the large cities; families and households have been split up; and households have become large extended family units. The domestic unit, however, is still the primary socializing unit. A household gains considerable social worth and status by offering hospitality to guests. A guest should be treated to the best a household can offer in the way of food and comfort.

Inheritance. Secular inheritance laws are followed and inheritance is equal for male and female heirs. Farm property is divided equally among all the heirs, but inheriting daughters often relinquish their share to a brother since they usually marry out of the village.

Socialization. The kind of socialization a child receives is often dependent on the socioeconomic status of its family. Generally, socialization is more gender-specific than is the case in northern Europe. Boys are brought up to be the center of attention and take precedence over their female siblings. Certain tasks and skills are gender-specific. Parental use of corporal punishment (such as caning) is not uncommon. Education is seen as important and is encouraged. In rural areas, sons are encouraged to receive an education, while girls frequently leave school earlier and marry earlier than boys. Children grow up with many adults around and are rarely excluded from adult social gatherings. Depending on the religious attitude of the parents, both boys and girls may be sent to Quranic schools *(Mekteb)* at the age of six or seven.

Sociopolitical Organization

Political Organization. After the 1992-1995 war the country was divided into a Serb entity (Republika Srpska) that more or less covers the territory that the Bosnian Serb nationalist forces took control of and "ethnically cleansed" during the war and the Bosniak-Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federacija Bosna i Hercegovina) that covers territory that the Bosnian Army or the Croatian Defense Forces controlled during the war. Under the terms of the Dayton Peace Accord the "Srpska" entity has 49 percent of the territory and the "Federation" has 51 percent. The Bosniaks are the most numerous group in the Federation. As of the 1996 elections the Bosniak nationalist party (the SDA) had an absolute majority in the Federation parliament and was in a position to elect the prime minister and most of the other ministers. In the general election in November 2000, the Bosniak (SDA), Croat (HDZ), and Serb (SDS) nationalist parties that politically and militarily controlled Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1992 lost their absolute majority in the State (central) and Federation parliaments to nonnationalist parties. In the Republika Srpska the Serb nationalist party still has a solid majority. There is considerable power sharing between Bosniaks and Croats within the Federation. Substantial powers have devolved to cantons and municipalities. Certain cantons are predominantly Bosniak, some are predominantly Croat, and two are mixed. Within the mixed cantons there are elaborate procedures for power sharing. A substantial part of the Bosniak population has legal and voting rights in the Republika Srpska. However, with few exceptions they do not live in the Republika Srpska and have not been able to return. Bosnia and Herzegovina has a very weak central government that controls a limited number of functions, such as foreign relations, foreign trade, and fiscal policy. The national government is based on a principle of ethnically based proportional representation There is a national parliament with two-thirds of the representatives from the Federation and one-third from the Republika Srpska. The head of state is the chairman (president) of the three-member presidency, which consists of one Bosniak, one Croat, and one Serb. The joint presidency is elected by popular vote for a four-year term. The office of chairman rotates among the three members every eight months.

Social Control. In the secularized society of the Bosnian Muslims, Islamic law has not functioned as the social control mechanism. Instead, shared values such as egalitarianism accompanied by the controlling mechanism of jealousy, hospitality, and loyalty to the household as a unit and to kin have been important. In modern times Muslims have experienced discrimination from the Christian sections of the population. The long experience of authoritarian governments combined with experiences of harassment and violence have imbued Bosnians with a weariness and distrust of government, and in some cases of strangers, that is expressed through guardedness in speech. Friendship toward loyal friends and allies is correspondingly strong.

Conflict. In 1995 the Bosnian Muslims emerged from the civil war as the victims of genocide and "ethnic cleansing." The primary source of conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is politicized ethnicity and the extreme brand of Serbian and Croatian nationalist ideologies. Not only did tens of thousands of Bosnian Muslims perish in the 1992-1995 period, they were completely driven out of eastern and northern Bosnia. More than half the Muslim population was displaced or became refugees, and mosques and other Muslim cultural monuments were deliberately destroyed. This experience has led to a deeply held sense of injustice and anger. The Dayton agreement remains fragile, and only the presence of a large international peace-keeping force prevents large-scale fighting. The situation is particularly fragile in areas where nationalist separatists are still in power and people who were expelled are attempting to return to their homes. The war left many Bosnians destitute and homeless and without opportunities for employment. This has created tension within families and among Bosnians as they compete for employment and housing. The brutality of the war traumatized many people, particularly young soldiers, women subjected to systematic rape, and children who witnessed the loss of their homes and families. Posttraumatic stress is likely to strain families and be a source of long term tension, health problems, and domestic conflict.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Bosniaks are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school of law. Religion is the main distinguishing factor between Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Islam thus defines and sets apart Bosniaks from Serbs and Croats. Since religion and ethnic identity are intimately interconnected, public displays of religious beliefs were discouraged in socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1990). Membership in the Communist Party, which was a prerequisite for a successful career or for being hired as a state employee, excluded the possibility of practicing one's religion openly. The limitations put on the expression of Muslim religious beliefs was at times particularly vigorous. During this period only a small number of Muslims followed the five pillars of Islam. Toward the end of the 1980s the regime relaxed its attitude towards religion, and many new mosques were built, often with economic sponsorship from Islamic countries in the Middle East. With the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the late 1980s and early 1990s there developed increased popular interest in religion and Islamic practices. The war and the losses inflicted on Muslims have increased awareness of Islamic religious practices. In the nationalist climate of the 1990s Islamic rituals became central to the expression of a Bosniak national identity. Islamic symbols are core elements in the emblems and political rhetoric of the main Muslim party, the SDA, which was elected to power in 1990. In rural areas the Islamic religion was always practiced as part of a body of traditions. This rural form of Islam was less scriptural than that practiced by the devout elite in the cities. Rural religious practices are a blend of orthodox Islam, popular Islam (such as the visiting of saints' graves for good health and fortune), and non-Islamic customs, some of which Bosniaks share with their Christian neighbors. In some regions the influence of rituals and customs characteristic of the Naqshibandi sufi order and religious customs is reflected in local religious practices.

Religious Practitioners. There are both male and female religious instructors. The male instructor is called a *hodža* and the female instructor is called a *bula.* Both are educated at the *Medressa* (a Quaranic school) in Sarajevo. The men and women receive the same education but have different duties once employed by a mosque council. Women cannot lead prayers in the mosque or perform the ritual washing of a male corpse. Bulas engage in leading *tevhids* (social gatherings with collective prayers for the souls of the dead) ; preparing a female corpse for burial; reciting and reading at *mevluds* (a festive gathering where Islamic recitations, songs and poems are performed to honor the birth of the Prophet Mohammad) ; and in some cases they are instructors at children's Quranic schools. On ritual occasions other devout Muslims who are known as good reciters may give a recital. Islamic scholars who know the Quran by heart *(hafiz)*, demand particular respect. Hodžas who are members of a sufi order, are sought by people in times *of* personal crisis.

Ceremonies. In Islam, religious ceremonies accompany life-cycle rituals such as male circumcision, marriage, and death. Among Bosnian Muslims circumcision is rarely an elaborate ritual, although some devout families may organize a mevlud in connection with a son's circumcision. A religious wedding ceremony was rare before 1990 but may be on the increase. Death is the life crisis that receives the most ritual elaboration through various forms of congregational prayers. Here the tevhid and particularly the women's tevhid occupy a central place. Ceremonial holidays follow the Islamic calendar, but some are observed only by the devout, while others have a more popular appeal. Bajram is a three day feast that marks the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting. Only a small number of devout Muslims (primarily women) fasted during the socialist period, but since 1990 the numbers have been increasing. Bosnian Muslims also observe Kurban Bajram, the sacrifice of the ram. In addition, throughout the calendar year, individual Muslim households may host a mevlud, often in connection with happy events such as the birth of a child. Tevhid, or prayers for the dead, is the most popularly held noncalendric ceremony. Muslims are required to pray five times a day and (for men) attend the mosque on Fridays. Devout Muslims do this, but most Bosniaks do not.

Arts. Bosniak architecture is reflected in the style of mosques and houses in the old neighborhoods in cities such as Sarajevo, Travnik, and Mostar. During the 1992-1995 war more than a thousand Muslim religious sites were destroyed, including some of the oldest and finest examples of Bosnian Muslim architecture: The Ferhad Pasha mosque in Banja Luka and the Alada mosque in Foca were among those razed by Serbian nationalist forces. The old Ottoman bridge in Mostar was blown up by Croatian nationalist forces.

In folk music Bosnian Muslims are associated with a particular kind of melancholic love song called *sevdalinka* and a traditional string instrument called *saz.* Islamic calligraphy has been produced by Bosniak artists.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has a rich literary tradition. Internationally acclaimed writers who draw on motives from their Bosniak cultural background include Meša Selimović (1910-1982) and the poet Mak Dizdar (1917-1971). The work of the painter Mersad Berber (b. 1940) is inspired by Bosnian scenery, history and folklore.

Medicine. Before the war Bosnia and Herzegovina had an extensive public medical and health care system with highly educated medical practitioners. Some members of this profession remain, but the public health care system is in disarray and treatment is very costly to the individual patient. During the war, medical personnel left the country or were killed, and those who were educated during the war received incomplete training. A statewide health insurance system was not in place at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and some health personnel expect bribes to treat patients. Bosnians of all three ethno-religious backgrounds seek the assistance of alternative healers as a supplement to conventional medicine. Some Muslims visit hodžas known to posses extraordinary powers that enable them to divine and cure physical and mental afflictions. Certain hodžas write small charms with a Quranic verse that a person carries for healing or protection. The holy text is believed to have healing powers, and the recital of specific verses from the Quran may be used for healing. Many Bosnians have knowledge of the use of herbs and herbal teas and other natural remedies.

Death and Afterlife. At death certain obligatory rituals prescribed by Islamic law are performed by men, such as the ritual washing of a male corpse and the *Dženaza* prayers and burial. Women are not allowed to attend the burial ceremony

and instead participate in tevhid, collective prayers that help the deceased secure a good afterlife. This ritual is not prescribed by Islam and is therefore considered voluntary. The tevhid used to be performed mainly by women, usually in the house of the deceased, but now is increasingly performed by men in the mosque. It is held five times at determined intervals during the first year after a person's death. The prayers are said on behalf of the deceased and are believed to assist him or her by earning him or her religious merit. Those who say the prayers increase their chances of well-being in afterlife. It is also an occasion for remembering and honoring other dead relatives and neighbors. In times of special need people may pray at the shrines of a Muslim martyr *(šehit)* or saint *(evlija)*. Because of their piety during their lifetime and/or their heroic deaths and martyrdom these pious dead are believed to be closer to God and in a position to mediate on behalf of the living.

For the original article on Bosnian Muslims, *see* Volume 4, Europe.

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TONE BRINGA

Chícanos

ETHNONYMS: The term *Chicano* is used to refer to Mexican Americans born in the United States and as a generic ethnic name for Mexicans in general. Regional names include Californios (California), Hispanos (New Mexico), Tejanos (Texas), and Tucsoneses (Arizona).

Orientation

Identification and Location. Chícanos (feminine, Chicanas) are a diverse group of Mexicans born in the United States. Many Mexican immigrants, especially children educated in the United States, identify with the term. However, many people in both populations refuse to self-identify with that label. The term *Chicano* derives from *Mexica* (with the "x" pronounced like "sh" in English). Over the centuries the term came to be associated with the downtrodden, impoverished people in Mexican cities. After large-scale immigration into California beginning in the 1920s, the label became common among newcomers. In the 1960s and 1970s it became a rallying cry at protests and demonstrations. To activists it signified a rejection of a hyphenated label that was selected by non-Mexicans and laid out a non-assimilationist path to becoming American and adapting a bilingual-bicultural ethnic identity.

Most Chícanos are concentrated in the southwestern United States in what was once northern Mexico. Early settlements from Mexico began in the sixteenth century in places such as the present-day New Mexico, and most of those settlers had Spanish backgrounds. Therefore, into the early twenty-first century many people in that region preferred the term *Hispanos* despite the fact that a great amount of intermarriage with Indians had taken place. Throughout the colonial period other settlements were established in Texas, Arizona, and California, and in those areas settlers were mostly mestizos with their own regional labels. With large-scale immigration in the twentieth century that continued into the twenty-first century, the Chicano population spread into other regions of the United States, especially the Midwest and New York.

Demography. The Chicano population increased from approximately three million in 1940 to more than twenty million in 2000 (thirty million when all Latinos are counted), with the sharpest rise coming after the 1970s, when the Chicano movement peaked. Although many Chícanos are descendants of settlers from the early colonial period, the great majority of these people, especially in urban areas, are more recent immigrants or their children. In addition to population increases, the primarily rural character of Chícanos in the early twentieth century shifted to a pattern of residence in towns and cities. Many longtime residents have joined the flight to suburbia in all the major Southwestern cities. Nevertheless, there are still many small towns and *rancherias*, especially in New Mexico and Texas, where Chicano people have stayed put for centuries.

Lingusitic Affiliation. Most Chícanos consider Spanish their mother tongue, and except for recent immigrants most, though not all, also speak English. There are many variations in Spanish dialects among Chícanos. The Spanish spoken in colonial times differs from that of immigrants to the United States in modern times, with regional differences in Mexico adding to the changes over time. In addition, cultural contact and conflict with English-speaking American society has affected Chicanos' speech patterns. With the passage of time and generations spent in the United States, mastery of the English language was achieved. At the start of the twenty-first century a large proportion of the Chicano population spoke primarily English, with many people adhering to a bilingual style. However, large numbers of immigrants have made Spanish the dominant language among themselves. With the introduction of bilingual education programs in the 1970s, the transition to English became slower although much smoother for young newcomers, and it is now much more commonly and publicly accepted to speak Spanish as

well as English. This linguistic model is a style that is emerging among many Spanish speakers in the United States.

History and Cultural Relations

Chícanos claim indigenous roots in Aztlan, the present-day southwestern United States, as descendants of the tribal peoples that resided there hundreds of years before Europeans came to the western hemisphere. According to legend, many Chichimeca tribes from Aztlan, including the Toltecs and Aztecs, migrated to the central valley of Mexico. With the arrival of the Spanish in 1519, a new way of life was introduced through conquest and colonization, a process that was in some respects repeated in 1846 with the incorporation of northern Mexican territory into the United States. Chícanos have been strongly influenced by the 1846 war with the United States and American-Mexican relations and interactions. United States intervention in the 1910 Mexican revolution, continuing immigration from Mexico to the United States sparked initially by that revolution, and numerous border issues revolving around people, resources, law, trade, and the difficulties associated with undocumented immigration have affected Chicano culture.

To understand Chícanos, it is necessary to comprehend their Mexican roots. The Spanish interrupted the evolution of indigenous lifestyles and fashioned a colonial empire that remade the land, people, and culture. Land, labor, and wealth came under Spanish dominance, and debt peonage ensured that Indian laborers and their children would remain in bondage indefinitely. Significant cultural and scientific achievements of the Indians were destroyed, but the cultural and racial mixing that were to define the future Mexican people and nation were initiated. Spanish architecture, religion, language, and other institutions and practices were glorified as Indian culture was denigrated, but many amalgamations led to a new Mexican culture. New foods, religious beliefs and practices, social customs and cultural traditions, and other syncretic developments arose and evolved. Similarly, the colonists imposed a sexual conquest on the vanquished that led to a new hybrid people of all colors and appearances. It also left a sociopsychological heritage in which skin color and physiognomic traits became associated with feelings of inferiority and superiority, with whiter skin hues being privileged. Whether a person appears to be European or Indian, white or dark, still is significant among Mexicans as well as Chícanos.

In the Southwest (Aztlan) for almost five hundred years there have been additional cultural changes and innovations that have affected the Chicano people. Those changes started in 1598 with the first permanent settlement in New Mexico, well before the first English settlements in New England. Over the subsequent centuries, until Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821, a series of excursions into adjacent areas expanded the Spanish/Mexican presence into Texas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, and parts of Utah. The northern Mexican province also experienced rich cultural exchanges and creations and racial miscegenation that made the Southwest a distinct region within the United States. Certain cities, such as Santa Fe, New Mexico, and San Antonio, Texas, have preserved some of that flavor.

With the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848 and the arrival *of* waves of American settlers in the newly acquired territory, a new order was established. In the overall culture conflict and intercultural hostility that followed, control of land resources and the labor structure and the distribution of the wealth favored the Anglo-Americans. After the 1910 revolution large-scale immigration from Mexico began. With ebbs and flows, that immigration has continued to the present time. It has met with periodic anti-immigrant backlashes, such as the repatriation of the 1930s, Operation Wetback in the 1950s, and the anti-Mexican prejudice in the United States since the 1980s that has been characterized by legislation to dismantle affirmative action and bilingual education. Subsequent events showed some improvements in cultural relations,but the historical experiences of tension and hostility have not ended.

Settlements

Initially, the Santa Fe settlement in 1598 was established as a base to seek mineral resources in the area, but eventually it became permanent except during a short period after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Throughout the Southwest missions and small *rancherías* (hamlets) dotted the region. In California an establishment of pueblo, presidio, and mission leaders controlled civil, military, and religious life among the native California Indians as well as the settlers. Towns and regions, as well as rivers, mountain ranges, and other geographic phenomena, still are known by labels imposed in that era, including San Antonio, Santa Fe, Los Angeles, Sacramento, El Paso, San Diego, and Colorado. In the twentieth century, older settlements grew and developed and new communities were founded. In the new locales a common pattern emerged known as the *barrio* (neighborhood) settlement as newcomers moved to empty spaces next to work sites where mines, ranches, railroads, cash crop fields, and light industries needed their cheap labor. The railroads helped create a migrant stream through the Midwest to Chicago and other industrial cities. These barrios of often makeshift residences usually were spatially separate and visually distinct from Anglo-American neighborhoods, commonly on "the other side of the tracks," in both rural and urban regions. They also created a sense of community that helped Chícanos deal with culture shock and eased their adaptation to American life and institutions.

After World War II the Chicano population grew and became increasingly urban, and many Chícanos moved to the suburbs in the second half of the twentieth century. Starting in the 1970s, Chicago and New York became home to hundreds of thousands of Chícanos. In the 1990s many southern states developed Mexican immigrant enclaves. Traditional settlements still exist in places such as New Mexico and southern Texas.

Economy

Subsistence. Self-sufficient ranches and farmlands are owned and operated by small numbers of Chícanos who trace their heritage to the early centuries of immigration. However, the vast majority of Chícanos participate in the industrial and service economy and work for wages.

Commercial Activities. Chícanos are employed as farm workers, construction workers, assemblers in light industry, and increasingly in the service sector. In the last half of the

twentieth century there was a steady but slow movement into skilled and professional positions, and various business enterprises and professions flourished. Overall, Chícanos lag behind Anglos in these higher-status positions. Chícanos, including many immigrants, constitute the largest segment of the American agricultural labor force and were a major factor in the unionization efforts that helped change conditions for farm workers nationwide late in the twentieth century.

Many Chicano entrepreneurs work in the commercial food sector, running restaurants, taco stands, and *cantinas* (bars). Chicano food is a syncretic Spanish-Indian mixture, but corn, beans, and squash still constitute the American trinity that supported tens of millions of Indians for centuries (supplemented with chiles and later rice, pork, beef, and seafood. The impact of Chícanos' success in these enterprises is reflected in the spread of Mexican food throughout the United States.

Industrial Arts. Wood carving, weaving, jewelry, and other artistic traditions derive from the original settlements in New Mexico. Urban Chicano workers in the auto painting and body work, upholstery, and furniture industries have made a craft out of those occupations.

Trade. Chicanos rely on modern malls, but there are also barrio shopping centers and stores that cater to the local population. Many of those centers have become social, cultural, and political meeting places. Also, some of the old, dying Anglo city centers have been appropriated by the largely immigrant population and remade into sites for new retail enterprises; the Mexican outdoor market concept known as *tianguis* has moved products out into the streets. Small family-operated stores *(tienditas)* are still used for immediate needs. With the establishment of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994, trade between Mexico and the United States burgeoned, and many Chicano entrepreneurs have benefited as a result.

Division of Labor. Status distinctions based on traditional "patron-peon" relations have almost disappeared among Chícanos born in the United States but persist among many newcomers. Living in the United States has made Chicanas more independent and educated. Two-wage earner households have become more common as women have broken away from the traditional gender roles defined by Mexican culture, which held women's work as household work. Also, low-paying service sector employment often requires both husband and wife to work. Increasingly, the younger generation of males has grown to accept and champion these changes. Although middle- and upper-class status has become a reality for a growing segment of this group, many first- and second-generation Mexicans still work as dishwashers, gardeners, domestics, and janitors and in other service occupations with low pay and little status.

Land Tenure. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the Mexican-American War was intended to protect Chícanos' land ownership and property rights, but Anglo Americans were able to dispossess them of property ranging from small farms to large ranches. As late as 1966, attempts to bring public attention to the corrupt and illegal way in which those lands were taken were unsuccessful. The only remaining pockets of original real estate are in New Mexico. However, members of the Chicano middle class have followed the exodus to suburbia to purchase homes and they take pride in their new real estate.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Traditionally, descent largely followed the Western European bilateral models, but with a strong emphasis on patriarchy in regard to status, respect, and authority. Kinship practices emphasize family and extended family networks. Despite the influence of generational change in America, these beliefs and customs have persisted. Individualism, although growing, is still typically superseded by family concerns. *Compadrazgo* (coparenthood) stems from the Catholic influence and is practiced in baptisms, where godmothers and godfathers become *comadres* (comothers) and *compadres* (cofathers) of the baptized child's parents. Male dominance sometimes results in a machismo complex that negatively affects male-female relations but more often emphasizes providing care and protection for one's home and family. A gender and age hierarchy of authority usually is headed by the oldest male and female, especially the grandparents, who may take over the primary care of their grandchildren when those children's parents need help.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Romantic love as the basis for marriage has become typical among American-born Chícanos, but among newcomers the choice of a mate still is scrutinized carefully by elders. Socially mobile Chícanos born in the United States tend to intermarry more with Anglos, and exogamous marriages are slightly more common among Chicanas with higher status. The average age for marriage is low compared to that for Anglo Americans. Weddings and the celebrations associated with the marriage are often grand, festive, well-attended affairs catered by the bride's family. Postmarital residence is almost always neolocal. Occasionally financial need necessitates temporary living arrangements with the bride's or the groom's parents.

Domestic Unit. Nuclear family units are more common among acculturated Chícanos, but the extended family is characteristic of most households. Patriarchy traditionally has been the foundation of the household, tempered by Marian Catholic ideology, which places females in an exalted position. However, these customs are being transformed through modernization and Americanization. The sense of obligation and responsibility that a person owes to family elders and parents remains in force.

Inheritance. Most traditional inheritance practices have been replaced by American customs. Although senior females have rights, the general practice is to transfer land and property to the oldest son.

Socialization. Most Chícanos follow American working-class practices in child rearing, with older siblings and parents providing an example and guidance, but among immigrants uncles, aunts, and grandparents also play a role. Class differences account for a considerable degree of variation. Personal honor, respect for the aged, and proper courtship protocol are still stressed. In addition to home influences, children are for-

mally socialized in public or private (mostly Catholic) schools. Especially among newcomers, long work hours have often weakened parental influence. Juvenile and adolescent peers have taken over the tasks of socialization in those circumstances.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Massive immigration has created a large unskilled and semiskilled stratum along with the working-class and middle-class strata. The lifestyle contrasts between these classes are considerable. A small well-off segment is composed of a mix of Americanized Chícanos and immigrant entrepreneurs. Deeply ingrained class, cultural, and racial beliefs and practices from the colonial and contemporary Mexican periods strongly influence attitudes and behavior among Chícanos. Historically, these patterns have generated intragroup difficulties, strains, and conflict. Although it has become more complex in the American context, racism still affects interpersonal relations. Feelings of inferiority and superiority persist and have been strengthened by American racism. This feeling has taken on a cultural and linguistic dimension, with earlier generations looking down on recent arrivals and judging them to be ignorant and backward.

Political Organization. Since the New Deal Chícanos have generally voted for the Democratic Party, but some dissatisfaction surfaced during the late twentieth century. During the Chicano movement a failed third party effort, La Raza Unida, was launched in south Texas. With Chicano social mobility has come more support for conservative causes. A small minority has been won over by the Republican Party because of its focus on family values and abortion. Undocumented and documented immigrants, who are unable to vote and who fear deportation, are limited to publicizing their concerns. Political developments, including changes in Mexico, have made some Chícanos more concerned with events in the homeland, especially with the advent of bi-national citizenship, which grants Mexican immigrants in the United States the right to vote in Mexican elections.

Although Chícanos are still underrepresented in local, state, and federal government offices, many Chicano legislators and other leaders were elected in the late twentieth century. Some organizations, such as the Mexican American Political Association in California, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials nationally, and the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, have helped with registration and campaigning. Affirmative action, bilingual education, educational programs, and job training are key issues in their political agenda.

Social Control. Respect for authority is strong in the family, but poverty and discrimination have taken a toll in many households, leaving the legal system to maintain social order. A sense of instability and uncertainty remains from the colonial period, with racism, cultural marginalization, and other social problems persisting into the present time.

Conflict. Difficulties with educational and policing institutions are common. Police-community relations remain troublesome, as a serious street gang and crime problem is characteristic of inner-city neighborhoods in most Southwestern cities. Similarly, immigration officials and border patrol agents *(La Migra)* are recognized as a source *of* hostility and mistreatment among immigrants and their families. The 1960s Chicano movement was a watershed event in terms of resistance to and efforts to eliminate educational and occupational discrimination against Chícanos. These struggles have led to improvements in bilingual education, increases in public jobs, and a heightening of public awareness of Chicano issues and affairs.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. A Mexican Catholic ideology is pervasive in the Chicano population, a syncretic development that integrates Indian patterns into those of Europeans. The Virgin of Guadalupe, a brown-skinned icon associated with the Indian-mestizo population in Mexico, has become a patron saint and is widely recognized throughout the Americas. Special days of obligation and observance, saint worship, and rituals of baptism, marriage, and death are followed as a matter of habit even among those who are not religious. Evangelical Protestantism has made inroads in Mexico and among Chícanos in the United States.

Arts. Woodworking, sculpture, pottery, and mural and other painting genres are characteristic of traditional and modern Chicano art. Graffiti mural art has become common in cities. Oral lore, music, and poetry have been reinterpreted for modern tastes. Plays, movies, and theater have affected Chicano people in ways that sharpen social and political sensibilities, much as early works such as the Teatro Campesino reflected the United Farm Worker movement in California.

Medicine. Modern medical practices dominate, but traditional folk beliefs have persisted. *Curanderos* (folk healers) and *yerberos* (herbalists) are sought by some people to treat virtually any ailment.

Death and Afterlife. Wakes, funerals, and burials are informed by a Mexican Catholic ideology that stresses social as well as religious practices and beliefs. This is a time to reaffirm ties with family and friends and celebrate the passage to the afterlife. Christian fundamentalism has made inroads among the old and new Chicano population, making religion more literal through the teachings of the Bible. However, it is still common for Chícanos to integrate indigenous customs into their worldview. The afterlife is symbolized in the Mexican-American celebration of *El Dia de Los Muertos* (" The Day of the Dead"). This event features masks, dolls, and sugar figures and cakes in the form of skulls and skeletons. Large gatherings of family and friends join in ritualized funerary rites.

For other cultures in The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10, and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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JAMES DIEGO VIGIL

Chinese Americans

Orientation

Identification and Location. Originating from the southern provinces of China—particularly the Pearl Delta area of Kwangtung Province—Chinese immigrants arrived in California in the nineteenth century, seeking work as miners, general laborers, and agricultural workers. Faced with stiff competition from non-Chinese workers and discriminatory practices, the immigrants moved to other Western states and eventually to the East, where they settled in major cities. In 1980 three major metropolitan areas accounted for over half the Chinese population in America: the San Francisco Bay area, New York City and the adjacent Nassau and Suffolk counties, and Los Angeles and the adjacent Orange County.

Demography. In 1990 there were over 1.6 million Chinese in the United States, constituting 0.7 percent of the population. In 1980 the areas with the greatest concentrations of Chinese population were New York City, 124,764; Los Angeles, 93,747; San Francisco, 82,480; Honolulu, Hawaii, 52,814; and Almeda (Oakland), California, 32,177.

Linguistic Affiliation. The primary dialect spoken by the Chinese Americans is Cantonese. The younger generation of Chinese Americans tend to be fluent in both Chinese and English.

History and Cultural Relations

After the Taiping Rebellion in China (1848-1864), which destroyed commerce and agriculture and brought about a famine in southeastern China, many Chinese emigrated. Those who moved to the United States were peasants and workers mostly from the Toishan, Hoi Ping, Yan Ping, Sun Wei, Shun Tak, Nan Hoi, Pum Yui, and Chung Shan districts in Kwangtung Province. From 1848 to 1882 the greatest concentration of Chinese immigrants was in California and the Rocky Mountain states, where they sought employment in railroad construction, in mines, on farms, and as fishermen. During this period railroads were undergoing extensive expansion and development in the West, and Chinese labor played a major role in their construction. During the decade of the 1870s Chinese immigrant labor constituted one-fourth of those employed in mining in California and Washington, one-fifth in Montana, and more than one-half in Idaho and Oregon. By the 1880s Chinese labor accounted for one-sixth of the farm workers and nearly one-half of the garden workers in California. The Chinese also constituted more than a third of California's fishermen.

Although Chinese laborers were welcomed at first—even praised—and were considered almost indispensable by white Americans, it was not long before white workers began to perceive the presence of Chinese workers as a threat to their economic interests. As a result, the immigrants became the object of mob violence, discriminatory practices, and exclusionary legislation. Robbery and violence directed against the Chinese were commonplace, and the government did not protect them. As a direct result of the anti-Chinese movement, the U.S. government passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which excluded immigrants in certain occupations and professions (e.g., teaching, mining, and manufacturing) from entering the country and denied the Chinese the right of naturalization. This legislation had permanent adverse effects on the Chinese in the United States. For example, legislation severely restricting the immigration of Chinese women created an essentially "bachelor society," resulting in the birth of few second-generation Chinese Americans. Having been denied U.S. citizenship, the Chinese could not vote or hold office, and their employment opportunities were limited. The result was the isolation of Chinese communities into politically disenfranchised and economically stagnant units, with community leadership in the hands of local leaders (generally wealthy merchants). These conditions created a politically powerless Chinese population with little influence in the political system.

After the passage of the Exclusion Act of 1882 anti-Chinese and anti-Asian sentiment persisted on the part of both the American public and the government. In 1888 Congress passed new restrictive legislation called the Scott Act, prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers. In 1892, the Geary Act prohibited Chinese immigration for another ten years; in 1902 that period was extended indefinitely. The Immigration Act of 1924 almost completely excluded all Asian immigration. Although this bill forbade the families of male immigrant workers to join them, it did permit a small number of upper-class families, particularly wealthy merchants and students, to enter the United States.

Anti-Chinese sentiment subsided to some extent during World War II because of the American military alliance with China. The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943, and the wives of male immigrant workers were allowed to join their husbands. Between 1945 and 1959 the number of Chinese immigrants in the United States totaled 36,325, but with the repeal of the immigration quota system in 1965, that number rose to 142,108 for the period 1965-1972. This large influx of new immigrants had important economic, political,

and social effects on Chinatowns in the United States, especially in San Francisco and New York.

Before World War II a number of Chinese students were unable to return to their homeland because of the political situation there. These "stranded" students, who were generally from the upper and middle classes in China, were received with far more respect and hospitality than were immigrant Chinese workers. They formed an emergent middle class in the 1960s, along with the American-born Chinese who had been educated in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s. Many of the children of the student group played an important part in the Asian American movement.

Settlements. In the nineteenth century Chinese immigrants lived in small, dispersed communities in close proximity to the mines, plantations, and farms where they worked. After the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, anti-Chinese sentiment was so intense that it became necessary for the Chinese to leave their jobs and move back to China or into metropolitan areas such as New York, Chicago, Boston, and San Francisco. In the latter case they settled in low-rent slum areas and established Chinese communities, or "Chinatowns," that provided employment opportunities and services denied by the host society, such as police protection and education. The term Chinatown has been used so commonly over the years that it has become a standard term of reference for the Chinese quarter of an urban area composed generally of Chinese-owned residential, business, and, in some cases, industrial structures. As the Chinese population increased and its economic activities became more diversified, Chinatowns began to expand, often occupying several city blocks and functioning as self-contained towns. In the 1980s and 1990s, as an integral part of many major areas of the United States, Chinatowns still were an important part of Chinese social life, especially for the older generation of immigrants, who wanted to maintain their traditional cultural values. The younger educated generation of Chinese who are rapidly being integrated into American society find the need for dependence on the social and cultural values of Chinatown far less compelling than do their elders.

Economy

Commercial Activities. Supplying a cheap source of labor was the primary economic function of the early Chinese immigrants, particularly in railroad construction and agriculture. Racism and discrimination, however, soon placed the Chinese at a disadvantage in the labor market. In the sectors in which they worked they had to settle for lower wages than those of their white American coworkers. As racial hostility and legal barriers made it increasingly difficult to compete in the labor market with white Americans, the Chinese began to retreat into the ethnic business sector, primarily in the service industries (laundries and restaurants), where they avoided competition with white employers and workers. Although the initial investment in a small business was relatively small, many Chinese had to rely on partnerships to finance the operation. The partners worked as a team in running the business, eliminating the cost of hiring other workers. This situation was especially prevalent in the restaurant business. In the post-World War II period, when immigration policies were relaxed, many Chinese brought their families to the United States. These family members provided additional labor in business enterprises, and this often resulted in the breakup of many partnerships as the demographic pattern of the Chinese community changed. In the latter part of the twentieth century the younger generation, with better education and greater access to employment opportunities, was less willing to work in their ancestors' occupations. Many of them sought employment in areas of socioeconomic life that were not accessible to their parents and grandparents.

Land Tenure. Many early Chinese immigrants wanted to save enough money to buy a piece of land in China that they could pass on to the next generation. To attain this goal a large proportion of the immigrants' wages was sent to their families in China, not only to support them but also to be set aside as savings. This resulted in poverty conditions for immigrants who possessed little real property. As anti-Chinese discrimination increased, attempts were made to prevent the immigrants from obtaining property. The Alien Land Law of 1913, for example, prohibited "aliens ineligible for citizenship" from buying or leasing property. In addition, restrictive laws in California prevented Chinese from purchasing homes outside the Chinatown area. In the 1940s the restrictive laws were repealed, as was the Alien Land Law in 1959. As social and economic conditions have improved for the Chinese, movement out of Chinatowns has increased. The purchase of homes and real estate outside the urban area is a reality for many Chinese Americans. Chinese entrepreneurs own a variety of commercial businesses, apartment buildings, and shopping malls, many of which are financed through loans from businessmen in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The two basic units of kinship organization among Chinese Americans are the clan, based on shared surnames, and the lineage. In China lineage organization in which patrilineal descent ties are carefully recorded is very important, but among Chinese Americans this type of organization has far less significance. In the United States, as in other overseas Chinese communities, it is the more extensive clan or surname organization that is important, because it forms the basis of associations that find new arrivals temporary housing, find jobs for their members, and provide a degree of control over businesses in Chinatown.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Because of the view of marriage as a responsibility and obligation of the male to carry on his bloodline, many single immigrants in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries returned to China to find brides. There the traditional wedding arrangement would take place, involving the selection of the bride by a matchmaker, who would investigate the family tree to ensure that it was healthy and sound; the mutual exchange of gifts between the families; and finally the wedding ceremony. After staying several weeks or months with his new bride the husband returned to his job in the United States. Return trips to visit his wife and family took place periodically over intervals of several years, until the husband died or became too incapacitated by age or sickness to travel.

By the mid-twentieth century, under American influence, the traditional marriage patterns and rituals had changed. The younger generation believes in courtship and romantic love as a prerequisite to marriage. They conceive of marriage as a union between two individuals rather than a matter that the family decides and thus reject their parents' efforts to arrange marriages. Parents, however, strongly encourage their children to follow the traditional practice. The younger generation prefers an American-style wedding in one of Chinatown's Christian churches, followed by a Chinese ceremony in a higher-class Chinese restaurant. After the wedding the couple establish a household distinct from that of their parents. The couple's relationships with their parents and in-laws continue to be close, often involving economic cooperation, but in general the newlyweds move into middle-class American life.

Domestic Unit. In China, where kinship ties and relations between family members are extensive, the extended or joint family is the predominant domestic unit. The Chinese family in America differs from that pattern as a result of adaptation to the socioeconomic and political environments in the United States. Chinese American families in the late twentieth century consisted primarily of nuclear families of parents and children, though some young couples lived together without being married. Other variations include the single family (e.g., brothers and sisters living together), the divided family (where children or a spouse live abroad), and female heads of households (widows or divorced women). Wong (1982) classifies Chinese American families into four basic types: old immigrant families, Chinese American families, stranded families, and new immigrant families.

The old immigrant families came to the United States before 1924 and reflect the cultural values and norms of the traditional or extended family in China. Chinese American families are more acculturated second- and third-generation offspring of the original immigrants. Stranded families are those of intellectuals, students, and officials who came to the United States before 1949 and decided not to return to China because of the change in the political regime. The new immigrant families emigrated to the United States largely in the post-1965 period. These families differ from the old immigrant families in their attitudes toward the larger society. They came to the United States of their own volition and intend to make it their permanent home, in contrast to the old immigrant families, which considered the United States a temporary place to live until they accumulated enough wealth to return home. The new immigrant families retain many traditional Chinese values while including many elements from American society in their cultural milieu.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Once Chinese immigrants established themselves in cities, a social structure developed that united all the Chinese in a particular locality, protected them from the outside world, and regulated the internal affairs of the community. This social system involved a number of organizations that not only protected immigrants from white American society but also reinforced ethnic solidarity and mutual dependence among the Chinese and helped maintain their cultural traditions in the face of pressure to assimilate into American society. This social system, often referred to as a "segmentary system," was based on principles of social organization common to the area of southern China from which most Chinese immigrants came. Basically, patrilineal descent—lineage or clan membership—and locality of origin (one's home village or county in China) were the factors determining an immigrant's place in a traditional Chinatown.

Each Chinatown was structurally organized into three major types of associations: the clan or surname associations, composed of individuals bearing the same family name; district associations in which individuals from the same county or community in China were united; and the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), an umbrella-like community organization controlled by the merchant leaders of the clan and district associations. This organization—also known as the Chinese Six Companies—was considered the "inner government" of the Chinese community and frequently was imbued with semigovernmental powers (e.g., the president of the CCBA was often referred to as the mayor or Chinatown). The CCBA continues to mediate disputes between the lower levels, regulate internal commerce, and act as an advocate and go-between for the Chinese community in its relations with the local and national authorities. An additional type of organization existed in the Chinese community, variously called "secret societies," "merchant associations," or *tongs.* These associations provided an alternative for individuals who were not accepted into the other associations. Often tong leaders achieved considerable power in the community through illegal enterprises such as gambling, prostitution, and smuggling. Other secret societies in the community functioned as genuine mutual aid and protection organizations.

Political Organization. Effective leadership in early Chinatowns was traditionally provided by wealthy Chinese merchants who also served as clan or district association heads. The leadership of a clan or district association was a direct route to power and prestige in the community and could lead to the presidency of the CCBA.

Social **Control.** The Chinese segmentary system provides an effective means of social control within Chinatown and an effective mediating structure between the Chinese and non-Chinese worlds. In theory membership in a clan or district association is ascriptive and thus mandatory, but in reality one's status in these organizations is dependent on monetary donations and time spent on association projects. If one wishes to find employment or open a business in the ethnic community, one has to belong to an influential clan or district association that tends to favor its own membership in business matters. A poor relationship with one's association is tantamount to exclusion from the ethnic economy.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Early Chinese immigrants worshiped in Chinese temples, often called joss houses, following the pattern of religious observance in Buddhist and lineage temples in China. Local "gods" were occasionally grouped together under one roof in a religious pantheon that usually included both *Kuan-Yin,* the goddess of mercy, and *Kuankung,* the god of war. Chinese religious festivals and celebrations centered on these temples permitting temple managers to earn income

through the sale of fireworks, good luck symbols, and "proper" prayers. Temples often received donations of money from businessmen and association groups. Temple festivals and celebrations were attended by Chinese from near and far. Temples were sometimes connected to association houses that incorporated religion and superstition in their system of controls. Two of the most important functions of the temples were to integrate the Chinese community (especially during festive occasions) and to provide a place of solace, comfort, and entertainment for immigrants who found security in prayers and other religious beliefs and practices.

By the late twentieth century organized religion was no longer a prominent factor in social organization. For those who are involved in religion, there are a number of Chinese Christian churches that provide religious services. Catholic and Protestant denominations serve as mediating, acculturative institutions melding Asian and Western traditions.

Ceremonies. Perhaps the most widely known Chinese festival is the Chinese New Year, which is based on the lunar calendar. Other important festivals are the *Ching Ming* (a semireligious ceremony to pay honor to the ancestors), the *Chungyung,* the Dragon Boat Festival, and the Mid-Autumn Festival. In the late twentieth century these festivals were not extensively celebrated in Chinese American homes, and recently arrived immigrants did not observe them seriously. Even the celebration of the Chinese New Year became more of a fashion than an opportunity for family reunions and togetherness.

Ancestor worship associated with the Ching Ming festival, although still carried out by the elderly, also lost importance as an expression of kinship solidarity. Despite the fact that the worship of ancestors is no longer an important element in Chinese family life, many homes have family altars or shrines to commemorate the spirits of past ancestors. In general, the celebration of most Chinese festivals is on the decline.

Arts. Urbanization of the Chinese population in the United States was accompanied by the inevitable process of acculturation. The cultural ramifications of this process ran through novels, poetry, films, music, and theater in the 1960 and 1970s. In art and literature, however, cultural adaptation from characteristically Chinese styles to a distinctively Chinese American mode was slow. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Chinese American literature and art were strongly China-oriented. Poetry, fiction, satire, humor, and writing in history and biography that appeared in Chinese-language newspapers and periodicals were as Chinese in their themes as were their counterparts in China. It took the rise of an acculturated generation to bring about the development of art and literature in a Chinese American context. American-born Chinese writers expressed the alienation and anguish of life in America and attacked discrimination and racism, helping to form an ethnic consciousness. Pardee Lowe's *Father and Glorious Descendant* (1937) and Jade Snow Wong's *Fifth Chinese Daughter* (1945) served as vehicles to improve the Chinese image, which had been severely damaged in American popular literature and films.

Chinese opera was centuries old when the first performances were given in the United States (San Francisco, 1852). This form of entertainment was highly popular with Chinese immigrants. The operatic drama was performed largely through a series of vivid pantomimes and stylized gestures by actors trained in this dramatic art form. At first all the roles in the opera were performed by men, but in later years women began to appear. Despite this change, the stories, acting method, and costumes remained unchanged. There were seven different types of plots in Chinese opera: *Fu-Cheng* (historical play or tragedy), *Fai-Wood* (comedy), *Oi-Yue* (platonic love play), *Tai-Mong* (court play), *Hong Koi* (chivalry play), *Yuen-Wang* (persecution play), and *Po-Yeng* (merit-rewarded play). Although Chinese theaters sprang up at different times in Los Angeles, Sacramento, New York, Portland, Seattle, Chicago, and Boston, the San Francisco theater remained the center for Chinese dramatic activity in the United States. However, by the late twentieth century, Chinese opera in the United States was a thing of the past, with only a couple of old theaters still standing.

Death and Afterlife. Traditionally, interment of the deceased took place in Chinese cemeteries. After a period of two or more years, the bones were removed and sent to China, where they would rest in the company of ancestors. Much of the responsibility for removing the bones and shipping them abroad was in the hands of the Chinese associations, which also provided free funerals for indigent Chinese and those without kin. In these cases the customary banquet that followed the burial was greatly simplified. Although the worship of ancestors is no longer an important part of family life, many homes still have family altars or shrines. During the annual Ching Ming festival, many elderly Chinese, often accompanied by their children, visit the cemeteries to make offerings to the spirits of their departed relatives.

For other cultures in The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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JOHN BEIERLE

Chinese Canadians

Orientation

Identification and Location. Originating from the southern provinces of China, Chinese Canadians first came to Canada around 1858. The first settlements were in British Columbia; this was followed by a gradual dispersal to other provinces. Today the greatest concentration of Chinese Canadians is in Ontario and British Columbia.

Demography. The 1981 census reported roughly 290,000 Canadians of Chinese origin—approximately 1 percent of the total population. In the 1986 census, Chinese Canadians were listed at 360,320, or nearly 1.5 percent of the population. In 1981 British Columbia had 34.5 percent of the Chinese population, while Ontario had 40 percent; the two provinces together accounted for approximately three-quarters of the entire Chinese-Canadian population. Among the remainder, 12.8 percent lived in Alberta and 6.3 percent in Quebec, with the other 6.3 percent sparsely distributed in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, the Maritimes, Yukon, and the Northwest Territories. The Chinese have tended to settle in metropolitan areas such as Toronto and Vancouver, in which 60 percent of the Chinese population is concentrated. Other cities with sizable Chinese populations are Calgary, Edmonton, and Montreal.

Linguistic Affiliation. The primary language spoken by Chinese Canadians is Cantonese, with some scattered remnants of the Toisanese dialect of southern China still being spoken by elderly members of the community. This dialect, however, is rapidly disappearing. The educated younger generation (university students and civil servants) is literate in English.

History and Cultural Relations

Chinese immigration to Canada began around 1858 with the discovery of gold in the Fraser Valley in British Columbia. In response to this gold rush many Chinese migrated from the West Coast of the United States, where they had engaged in placer mining. Subsequent groups came directly from China. This was especially true between the years 1881 and 1885, when they were employed in large numbers as contract laborers on the Canadian Pacific Railway. This influx of Chinese migrants caused great concern among governmental authorities as well as politicians, union leaders, white workers, and employers who feared the effects on the economy and the labor market. As a result, various anti-Chinese bills were enacted. This legislation not only denied the Chinese political rights such as the right to vote but also prevented them from owning property and land and denied them entry into certain professional occupations.

Between 1884 and 1923, a number of commissions were appointed by the national government to study the problems associated with Chinese immigration. Their findings resulted in further restrictive legislation and the imposition of an ever-increasing head tax on the immigrants. In 1900 this tax amounted to $100, and by 1903 it had risen to $500. Although the tax did not reduce the number of Chinese entering Canada, it slowed the rate of increase. Nevertheless, in every census year before 1931 the Chinese population increased. The decline after 1931 probably was due in large part to the long-range effects of the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923, which prevented all Chinese from entering Canada. This act, in conjunction with the fact that many of the older immigrants had retired from active work and returned to China, was a primary factor in the reduction of the Chinese population.

The Chinese Immigration Act, along with other discriminatory measures, had a profound effect on Chinese social life, family patterns, economic activities, and community structure. It was not until the post-World War II period that the Chinese population began to show signs of increasing again. Many of the discriminatory laws were rescinded, and the community's civil rights were gradually restored. In 1947 the parliament repealed the Chinese Immigration Act. In that year the Chinese were allowed to vote in British Columbia, a right they gained in 1951 in Saskatchewan. By the late 1950s nearly all the discriminatory clauses had been removed from provincial and federal statutes. The liberalization of immigration regulations brought about a sudden increase in the Chinese population. In the period 1961-1971, there was more than a 100 percent increase in the Chinese population, from 58,197 to 118,815. The removal of voting restrictions gave the Chinese greater access to goods and services, bringing about an unprecedented degree of socioeconomic mobility. With increasing dependence on the social institutions of the host society to meet their needs, reliance on the traditional Chinese community gradually diminished. In the late twentieth century the government's official espousal of ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism has led to the participation of the Chinese in the national sociocultural life.

Settlements

In the nineteenth century, San Francisco, Victoria, and Vancouver were the major Pacific ports of entry to North America from China. As Chinese immigrants arrived in those port cities, they tended to confine themselves to one or two streets, called *tangren jie* (Chinese street). In the gold-mining settlements these living quarters were called Chinatowns. The term "Chinatown" was so commonly used over the years that it has become a standard term and has been used to refer to the Chinese quarter of an urban area composed generally of Chinese-owned residential, business, and in some cases industrial structures. As the Chinese population increased and economic activities became more diversified, the port city Chinatowns began to expand, often occupying several city blocks and functioning as self-contained towns. Chinese settlements or quarters were established in other major metropolitan areas as the Chinese population expanded beyond the port cities. As an integral part of many major urban areas, Chinatowns still function as an important part of Chinese social life, especially for older immigrants who want to maintain

traditional cultural values. A younger, educated generation that is being integrated rapidly into Canadian society finds the need for dependence on the social and cultural values of Chinatown far less compelling than do its elders.

Economy

Commercial Activities. Serving as a cheap source of labor was the primary economic function of early Chinese immigrants, but racism and discrimination placed the Chinese at a distinct disadvantage in the labor market. In the sectors in which they were employed along with white workers, they had to settle for lower wages. As anti-Asian feelings intensified, the Chinese were excluded by law from industries that their labor had helped build. As racial hostility and legal barriers made it increasingly difficult to compete in the labor market with whites, the Chinese began to retreat into the ethnic business sector, primarily in the service industries (laundries and restaurants), where they could avoid competition with whites. These small businesses may be viewed as a method of developing alternative economic opportunities in a hostile labor market. Although the initial investment in a small business was relatively small, many Chinese had to rely on partnerships to finance the operation. These partners would work as a team to avoid the cost of hiring other workers; this was especially true in the restaurant business. After World War II, many Chinese brought their families from the home country to Canada. These family members provided additional labor in business enterprises, often resulting in the breaking up of partnerships. In subsequent years the younger generation, with better education and access to employment, became less willing to enter their forefathers' occupations. Many sought employment in various areas of socioeconomic life from which their parents and grandparents had been banned.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The two basic units of kinship organization among Chinese Canadians are the clan, based on surname commonality, and the lineage. The clan forms an important part of the voluntary organization known as the clan association.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. As a result of Western influence the traditional Chinese marriage ritual has undergone radical change. The modern generation believes in courtship and romantic love as a prerequisite to marriage. Consultation with parents before marriage has been maintained, but arranged marriages through a match-maker are nearly nonexistent. The exchange of rings and the giving of gifts to the bride's family are still practiced, but the payment of bride-price is no longer part of the marriage ritual. Marriages between persons with the same surname are avoided, and cross-cousin marriages (between the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's son), though not forbidden, are not prevalent in the society.

Single immigrants to Canada often return to Hong Kong to look for a wife. Once a man is introduced to a potential spouse, lines of communication between the couple are kept open through an exchange of letters and photographs. If the prospects for a marriage look encouraging, arrangements are made to bring the future bride over for the marriage ceremony. The ceremony is generally performed in the Canadian style, although it may contain elements of the traditional Chinese ritual. Weddings today are performed in a church, with the reception held at home, where the new bride is expected to serve tea to the parents and relatives. Gifts and money wrapped in red paper are given to the couple by friends and relatives. At the wedding dinner, which usually is held in a restaurant, elders make speeches and toast the newlyweds' prosperity, health, and marriage. The bride and groom make their rounds, thanking guests for coming.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. After Chinese immigrants established themselves in an urban environment, they evolved a unique social structure that united all the Chinese in the locality, protected them from the outside world, and regulated the internal affairs of the community. This social system involved the establishment of organizations and associations that acted as a protective barrier against white society and reinforced ethnic solidarity and mutual dependence, helping to maintain cultural traditions in the face of outside pressure to assimilate. This social system was based on principles of patrilineal descent—lineage or clan membership—combined with locality of origin (rone's home village or county in China). Throughout the United States and Canada, clan and district associations, as well as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), were hierarchically arranged, with the clan or surname associations forming the bottom level. In very large Chinatowns these clan associations were further divided into *fongs,* whose members were united by having a similar surname and by the fact that they came from the same village in China. The next level of organization was the district association, whose membership was based on residence in the same county or district in China. District associations might encompass several village and surname groups, although in smaller municipal Chinatowns they often operated independently of or at the same level as the clan associations. At the top was the all-embracing community organization, composed of the leaders of the district and clan associations. Although the name varies with the locality, in North America this organization is often called the CCBA. Variations of this name include the United Calgary Chinese Association in Calgary and the Chinese Community Centre in Toronto. Additional types of organizations in the Chinese community included "secret societies," "merchant associations," and *tongs.* These associations provided an alternative for individuals who were not accepted in the other associations. Often tong leaders achieved considerable power in the community through illegal enterprises such as gambling, prostitution, and smuggling. Other secret societies were genuine mutual aid and protection organizations.

Political Organization. Effective leadership in early Chinatowns was in the hands of wealthy merchants who also served as clan or district association heads. Leadership *of* a clan association was a direct route to power and prestige in the community.

Social Control. Chinese associations provide an effective means of social control within Chinatown and an effective

mediating structure between the Chinese and non-Chinese worlds. In theory, membership in a clan or district association is ascriptive and thus mandatory, but in reality one's status in these organizations is dependent on monetary donations and time spent on association projects. If one wishes to find employment or open a business in the ethnic community, one has to belong to an influential clan or district association that tends to favor its own membership in business matters. A poor relationship with one's association is tantamount to exclusion from the ethnic economy.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. In twenty-first century Chinese-Canadian society organized religion is not a prominent factor in social organization. For those involved in religion, a number of Chinese-Christian churches provide religious services. These churches include the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, Baptist, Gospel, and United churches.

Ceremonies. Customary Chinese festivals are not extensively celebrated in Chinese-Canadian homes today, nor do recent immigrants observe these occasions seriously. The celebration of Chinese New Year has become more of a fashion than an opportunity for family reunions and togetherness. Ancestor worship associated with *ching ming,* a semi-religious ceremony to pay honor to the ancestors, although still carried out by the elderly, has lost importance as an expression of kinship solidarity. The celebration of most Chinese festivals is on the decline. Some of the customary festivals observed by Chinese Canadian families are the Chinese New Year, the Ching Ming Festival, the Dragon-Boat Festival, and the Moon Festival.

Although the worship of ancestors is no longer an important element in family life, many homes have family altars or shrines to commemorate the spirits of ancestors. Some elderly Chinese may observe ancestor worship on a very superficial level by praying to the sky and burning incense sticks. The elders say that ancestor worship is observed in this way because this is not their "home village. " In contrast to their elders, Canadian-born Chinese consider ancestor worship an impractical, superstitious form of religious practice.

Death and Afterlife. Modern Chinese society funerals are conducted in accordance with Western traditions. In compliance with government regulations, some elderly Chinese, although they may not be Christians, have Chinese ministers arrange the funeral service (usually held in a funeral home) and prepare the death certificates. Because of the lack of Buddhist or Taoist priests, the Chinese church minister may be considered a role substitute for these purposes. Soul tablets are absent from the rites, and there are no post-funeral ceremonies. Sometimes a funeral includes Chinese traditionalism and Western symbolism. The selection of a grave-site by means of geomancy (the divination of the appropriate location for a grave by confluence of mountains, waterways, and the direction of the wind) is seldom practiced today, partly because of the shortage of space in Chinese cemeteries. At the turn of the millennium, educated Chinese and Canadian-born Chinese tend to bury their dead in white cemeteries. The elderly prefer a Chinese cemetery, where they may practice traditional funerary rituals and where most of their friends are buried.

For other cultures in Canada, *see* List of Cutures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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JOHN BEIERLE

Chipewyan

ETHNONYMS: Dene, Northern Indians, Yellowknives

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Chipewyan inhabit the central Canadian subarctic region. The Chipewyan people call themselves collectively Dene (The People). Chipewyan, their common English name, generally is regarded as deriving from a pejorative Cree description of the inadequacy of their first attempts to prepare beaver skins for the fur trade. Early Hudson Bay Company records and especially *Hearne's Journaly* written by Samuel Hearne and published in 1791, often refer to the Chipewyan as Northern Indians. The Yellowknives, sometimes regarded as a separate tribe, generally are considered to be a branch of the Chipewyan that merged into other Athapaskan-speaking populations during the fur trade period. The Chipewyan tend to call local settlements and temporary aggregations of people by referring to the activity (for example, those gathered at a particular creek mouth to exploit a late winter fish run), person, or place around which the local group has formed. These names often are recorded by English speakers as if they referred to permanent internal divisions among the Chipewyan. The result is a plethora of Chipewyan temporary epithets fossilized in English and referring to groups that never existed among the Chipewyan.

As the fur trade developed and points of trade were established in Chipewyan territory, there was an increasing practice of referring to groups of Chipewyan trading into or camping near points of trade by the name of the point of trade, again generating names referring to nonexistent political subdivisions. With the stabilization of the fur trade, the identification between the point of trade and how the Chipewyan began to think of themselves and organize themselves became increasingly accurate. By the end of the nineteenth century, most larger-scale internal Chipewyan groupings could be reflected accurately through the name of

the appropriate point of trade. With the increasing popularity of the phrase "First Nation" in the 1980s, group identity began to reflect local designations or the formal band name assigned by the Canadian government suffixed by the First Nation designation.

The contemporary Chipewyan occupy an immense but sparsely settled territory. From Churchill, along Hudson Bay, settlements follow the Churchill River into Saskatchewan and then continue westward to the Athabasca River in Alberta. From the western shore of the river, ending roughly at about Fort Churchill, Chipewyan country extends north-east to the southern shore of Great Slave Lake and eastward along that lake. From there the Chipewyan utilize the forest-tundra interface and the transitional forest to the south all the way to Hudson Bay. There is intermittent occupancy of the tundra even farther north than Dubwant Lake. The area east of Great Slave Lake is seasonally occupied, generally within the tree line, by Chipewyan from villages in the Northwest Territories as well as from Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Details about the homeland of the aboriginal populations are unknown, but this area was centered at and above the tree line between Great Slave Lake and Hudson Bay. With the advent of the fur trade, especially after the arranged peace with the Cree, Chipewyan populations expanded southward and southeastward. They pushed into the boreal forest south of Great Slave Lake and south to the Churchill River. There was a concomitant abandonment of large areas of the inland tundra to the Eskimo. Economic and political influence, achieved through trade and raiding, extended farther west during the fur trade, but this was not coupled with occupancy of the land.

Demography. The aboriginal population is unknown. Chipewyan culture is dominated by life in a vast and harsh land with scarce and irregular food resources. Population densities rarely exceeded one person per hundred square miles, so the figure of 2, 500 to 3, 000 is the best available approximation of the precontact population. Postcontact populations fluctuated wildly between 1780 and 1850 in response to disease and migration. The population of the "contact-traditional" period (roughly 1850-1920) was more stable overall, but local populations were subject to dramatic fluctuations as a result of disease, fire, and changes in animal populations and distribution. Absolute population figures remain unknown. The post-World War I population began a gradual climb, again with local fluctuations, with increased contact with the outside world and slow improvements in health care. The 1950s, with greatly improved health care, resulted in a dramatic demographic explosion that continued through the turn of the twenty-first century. Because of the disparity between ethnicity and the administrative categories used for record keeping, an accurate count of the Chipewyan was not possible even in 1999 but the total population may exceed *30, 000.*

Linguistic Affiliation. The Chipewyan speak a language that is a member of the Northern Athapaskan branch of the Athapaskan language family. Within the Chipewyan language there are substantial dialectical variations in pronunciation and semantics, but all the variants are mutually intelligible with a modicum of effort on the part of native speakers.

History and Cultural Relations

The aboriginal Chipewyan were a people of the tundra and the transitional zone of the boreal forest who specialized as predators of migratory herds of barren ground caribou. Indirect contact with Europeans through trade goods and pressure on their land and economy came primarily from the more southernly Cree, who traded directly with Europeans. Direct contact came in 1715, at which time the Chipewyan entered the fur trade primarily as middlemen between Europeans and uncontacted tribes. Direct fur production was only a secondary aspect of the Chipewyan economy in the period of the early fur trade. The Chipewyan held their land against neighbors to the south and west and along the coast. As the fur trade stabilized, many Chipewyan moved deep into the full boreal forest and into the direct production of fur. Christianization occurred throughout the nineteenth century as an adjunct to the stabilized fur trade, but residential missionaries did not reach a number of Chipewyan settlements until after World War II. Because there has never been appreciable white settlement in Chipewyan country outside the few larger towns, the Chipewyan have retained utilization of control over their lands. Relations between the Chipewyan and whites have not lacked stress and occasional violence, but over all, relations between the two cultures have been remarkably peaceful. Abandonment of bush life for life in towns or villages is a nearly completed process. Chipewyan committed to living primarily in the bush seem to be able to replicate themselves from generation to generation. In contemporary times, as technology has changed at an increasingly rapid pace, the Chipewyan have been able to adapt that technology toward changing their lifestyle and maintaining their traditional lifestyle.

Settlements

Aboriginal Chipewyan culture did not feature permanent settlements. The Chipewyan were intensely social and formed aggregations larger than families whenever circumstances permitted. Early contact reports of the 1770s indicated the presence of seasonal villages of several hundred souls during the caribou-hunting season (late fall to midspring). With the establishment of trading posts, the Chipewyan population began to exploit their posts as seasonal resources. Temporary camps formed around them that then grew into permanent villages and towns. At the end of the twentieth century town life was the normative pattern, with settlements varying from fewer than a hundred to several thousand souls.

Economy

Subsistence. From time immemorial the Chipewyan have been specialists in the pursuit of the barren ground caribou. Human population movements responded to the yearly migrations of the caribou, a pattern of life that required a tremendous degree of mobility. Caribou were consumed fresh and were frozen for later use, but each year a substantial effort was made to prepare dried caribou meat. Light, nutritious, and easily stored and transported, dry meat was the critical capital of survival. Caribou provided the basic raw materials for most needs for shelter, clothing, and bedding and was the source of many tools and implements of daily life.

The Chipewyan made use of all available large animals and of most smaller ones as well. Fish and fowl were impor-

tant food sources, but the use of any particular species tended to be seasonal.

The barren ground caribou was the staff of life for most Chipewyan in the transitional zone of boreal forest at least until the end of World War II. The Chipewyan who occupied the boreal forest proper adopted, in the absence of barren ground caribou, a more diverse animal, bird, and fish subsis-tence base. For both groups, store foods began to replace rather than supplement bush foods in the 1950s. This pattern of diet and subsistence change continued at the turn of the twenty-first century, but bush food of all species, particularly of fish, has remained a critical and substantial component of the diet in all but the largest northern towns.

Commerical Activities» With the advent of the fur trade the Chipewyan assumed a middleman role between European traders and the native peoples to the west and northwest of Chipewyan country. As long as they were able to maintain this role, trade and raiding were more important sources of wealth than was the production of fur for trade. The fur trade provided a variety of ways other than trapping to obtain goods, cash, and credit. Wage labor, market hunting, and transport were important, as was the small market that developed for manufactured goods such as clothing, snowshoes, and decorative items. When the fur trade stabilized and the Chipewyan lost their middleman role, these venues remained and, since much of the aboriginal Chipewyan country is poor in fur-bearing species, were often more significant sources of income than was trapping. The significance of wage labor increased throughout the twentieth century. By the 1980s, income from wages surpassed that from transfer payments from the Canadian government. Entrepreneur ship began to flourish from the late 1970s, with a focus on service industries, transportation, and retail activities.

Industrial Arts. The aboriginal Chipewyan were nomadic hunters. Whatever items they needed, they manufactured for themselves. The primacy in Chipewyan culture was on knowledge: how to make what was needed from what was at hand and how to locate resources as they were needed. Material culture focused on functional but disposable items. Decorative and ornamented items were made for a variety of purposes, but there was little accumulation of artifacts because of the difficulties of transporting them in a highly mobile lifestyle. As some Chipewyan became more settled during the fur trade period, the demand for constant moving diminished. Material culture became a better means to express artistic inclinations as well as a way to produce trade items. Chipewyan technology expanded to meet the demands of the fur trade and has always been innovative and effective in adapting new technologies to meet the needs of The People.

Trade. The Chipewyan are great travelers and journeyers. In aboriginal times families often traveled hundreds of miles a year in the course of their subsistence cycle. Journeys of hundreds of miles were not exceptional. That penchant for travel led the Chipewyan into substantial trade relations with all their neighbors, including tribal enemies. During the early fur trade period the Chipewyan expanded their trading activities in conjunction with raiding and warfare, especially to the west and the northwest. They acted as and jealously guarded their position as middlemen between European points of trade and uncontacted neighboring tribal groups. Intertribal trading and raiding faded after the stabilization of the fur trade and more thorough European penetration of northern central Canada. Trade with Canadians remained a major component of the economy until the 1980s, although it was lessened by increasing involvement in the cash and credit economy of Canada after the 1950s.

Division of Labor. The aboriginal sexual division of labor was based on a distinction of males as food producers, primarily hunters, and females as food processors. The role of the shaman may have been restricted to males, but both genders could possess power, act as healers, and display power in other areas. It is likely that all midwives were female. Warfare seems to have been a male domain. Both genders were sufficiently competent in productive skills that individuals of either sex were able to live in isolation for substantial periods. The production of domestic items such as clothing and tipis was a female domain. After Christianization, the division of labor seems to have become—at least in the realm of power—more restrictive. Microurban life in the last half of the twentieth century led to a relaxation of the rigidity of the sexual division of labor, and after about 1980 many females were able to become economically self-sufficient and removed from the constraints of the traditional division of labor.

Land Tenure. Aboriginal land tenure was that of an open common. The application of the concept of ownership of land was nonexistent. The Chipewyan were subsistence hunters of migratory herds and moved at will in response to environmental factors (primarily the presence of caribou), aesthetic preferences for particular places and types of mocroenvironments, and the presence of kin. With the expansion into the boreal forest and the shift to dependence on nonmigratory forest species, closer ties between specific family groups and specific tracts of land became a more effective means of ensuring subsistence. During the twentieth century, with increasing governmental regulation, the registration of trap lines formalized these specific ties between individuals (and, through them, their families) and specific defined tracts of land. Areas in the north of the Chipewyan range, where the pursuit of barren ground caribou still dominates subsistence, remain largely free of governmental regulation and are treated as an open common.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Chipewyan kinship is bilateral. There is no indication of any other form of kin organization since the time of contact. Mortality has always been high while food resources are erratic and often scarce. The Chipewyan have used their kinship system to establish widespread nets of alliance to distribute food and other resources. The core of kinship is the extended family linked through kinship and marriage to the kindreds of all its members. The result is restricted cognatic descent groups bounded by descent, affinality, residence, economic cooperation, friendship, and other factors that merge to create residential units. These overlapping ties are, in conjunction with residence, economic cooperation, political ends, and other factors, the basis for the interconnectedness of regional populations.

Kinship Terminology. The aboriginal and early contact terminology is unknown. Reliable but incomplete kin terminologies were not reported until well into the twentieth century. Local historical factors and contact with other cultures have amplified the inherent diversity of kinship terminology to the point that few valid statements can be made about it. Using cousin terminology as an example, the Chipewyan have been reported to distinguish cross-cousins from parallel cousins, to group cousins with siblings, to distinguish cousins by age relative to the speaker, to distinguish cousins on the basis of same or opposite sex to the speaker, and to distinguish cousins from each other on the basis of the sex of the parental sibling who forms the connecting kin link.

If the affinal terminology is considered with the kin terminology, there are curious but widespread kin equations that give intimations of a previously existing and more systematic structuring of relations between wife givers and wife receivers. In the face of high adult mortality, kin terminology places emphasis on the creation of multiple kin ties as well as the use of fictive kinship and adoption to extend kin ties to the widest possible social relations.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Early contact marriages were arranged, sometimes involving the betrothal of young girls to grown men, with the primary concern being to place a daughter into a situation where she would be economically secure. Polygny was practiced, but only by exceptionally successful men. High adult mortality rates wreaked havoc upon the longevity of marriage. Multiple marriages during the life cycle were common. Divorce was common, as was spousal abuse—by spouses of both genders—and mechanisms for ending established marriages, including wife wrestling, existed. After Christianization, monogamy became prescriptive and formal divorce was extremely rare. Over the last three decades of the twentieth century the pattern of marriage and divorce, especially with the advent of marriages in which the partners are self-selecting, has come to reflect the trends and patterns in the rest of Canada.

Domestic Unit. The aboriginal domestic unit was a contained subsistence unit that could range in size from a single couple housed within a single tipi to a polygynous grouping of the wives, children, and dependents of a single husband housed in several tipis. Commonly, two to several domestic units camped together. The domestic units within a single camp were interconnected by kinship and marriage. Subsistence and economic goods moved between the domestic units in a very complex series of interchanges. These camps have been described as unitary bodies rather than separable aggregations of domestic units. With microurbanization, the domestic unit has tended to correspond to the single-dwelling household.

Inheritance. Aboriginal and early patterns of inheritance are unknown. The Chipewyan generally place little intrinsic value on possessions but highly value the exchange of objects as a means of creating or reaffirming individual relationships. The Chipewyan are not fond of the possessions of the dead. After the advent of Western technology, high-value items and irreplaceable tools probably were dispersed before death. After death, items *of* lesser value most likely were abandoned. The pattern of inheritance of goods in response to changes at the end of the twentieth century is still an emerging phenomenon that has escaped systematic characterization. Now that life is more settled, the patterns that emerge for the inheritance of government-built housing probably will be the lead element in the generation of patterns of inheritance for the twenty-first century.

Socialization. Chipewyan culture places a high value on individual autonomy and the individual assumption of responsibility for the course of one's life, even for children. The Chipewyan teach through stories and by example, encouraging the individual to observe the actions and the consequences of the actions of others and to learn from those observations. Child rearing involves a great deal of peer raising in which slightly older siblings and cousins assume responsibility for the care of a growing child.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Chipewyan were an acephalous tribal entity bounded by language, custom, an economy, and the defense of a common homeland rather than by formal institutions or offices. Extended families were linked by kinship and affinity in conjunction with ties of friendship, trust, and the shared exploitation of resources and particular geographic locales. Leadership was vested in influential males who demonstrated competence in specific activities (a mark of supernatural power) and occupied strategic positions within extended nets of kinship and marital alliance. Groups formed for specific tasks, such as berry picking and raids, around individuals who had the desire to lead and the requisite characteristics to draw people into association with them. This pattern was intensified during the early fur trade period as opportunities for long-distance trading and raiding became partial substitutes for routine subsistence activities. With the stabilization of the fur trade, leadership revolved increasingly around the possession of supernatural power as expressed in trapping, hunting, and income-generating labor.

Political Organization. Political activities centered on established figures with demonstrated supernatural power, such as those capable of ensuring adequate supplies of caribou and other subsistence items, those capable of defending the local population from enemy raids, and healers capable of protecting people during epidemics. The Chipewyan organized and defended their territory and its economy without recourse to institutionalized offices or leaders. This acephalous pattern remains the norm for ordinary Chipewyan life even though interaction with Euro-Canada has led to the adoption of the formal structures and offices embedded in Canadian law and governmental practice.

Social Control. The normal means of social control are gossip and the intensive observation of each individual's behavior in a small-scale society that is extremely dense in overlapping roles and social relationships. Internal conflicts were individual and did not lead to institutionalized mechanisms such as feuds. Excessively violent or disruptive individuals may have been removed through murder in remote areas, but there is no evidence of this practice being formalized into any form of collective reaction.

Conflict. The Chipewyan had a long history of conflict with neighboring tribes. Small-scale warfare through planned

raids and violent accidental encounters was a necessary aspect of maintaining a homeland free from alien occupation. The fur trade first aggravated raiding and then led to its cessation.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Chipewyan were, and generally still are, animists. Animals, spirits, and other animate beings existed in the realm of *inkoze* simultaneously with their physical existence. Humans were part of the realm of inkoze until birth separated them from that larger domain for the duration of their physical existence. Knowledge of inkoze came to humans in dreams and visions given to them by animals or other spirits. While the quality and quantity of human knowledge of inkoze varied greatly from person to person, it was always less than that held by animals. Inkoze provided the Chipewyan with a systematic and comprehensive philosophy of causality that is an effective and reliable means for organizing human life. Before the arrival of missionaries, the most effective practitioners of inkoze were regarded as shamans. Less skilled or less powerful practitioners were regarded for their power but were less capable of translating their knowledge into leadership.

Inkoze established a paradigm in which more powerful animals/spirits sacrificed their physical forms for human use. This paradigm of sacrifice was compatible with the conventional Christian concept of the sacrifice of the God and allowed an easy integration of Christianity into existing religious belief. Most Chipewyan are now both Christian and animist, although public recognition of those who possess significant amounts of inkoze is a troublesome issue.

Religious Practitioners. Traditional Chipewyan life, at least through the middle of the nineteenth century, centered on shamans as healers, sorcerers, finders of game, and protectors from physical and spiritual enemies. Female midwives functioned, largely within each practitioner's kin group, until the middle of the twentieth century. Christianization altered the role of native religious practitioners largely by driving them underground.

Ceremonies. Aboriginal and early contact period religious life is unknown. Shamans gave public performances in the open or hidden in small (shaking) tents. The Chipewyan are not given to public ritual or ceremonial performance, and there is little or no indication of public ceremonial performance. The social context for secular ceremonial performances (the Tea Dance or the guessing game) is fragmentary and poorly known. The Chipewyan have taken to religious ceremonial after Christianization and engage in secular ceremonial activities at events such as Treaty Day. A number of Western practices, such as the wedding dance and banquet, have been adopted, although the increasing size of Chipewyan villages is making these increasingly family rather than community activities.

Arts. The arts were never a separate category in Chipewyan culture but were integrated into other aspects of life. Drama was poorly developed, but oral performances (myth, storytelling, singing) were well developed. Material expression of the arts was more highly developed among females than among males, especially in the decoration of functional objects, clothing, and tipis. With microurbanization has come a flourishing of the arts. Music has grown in breadth and depth, and a number of bands have achieved semiprofessional status. Males have entered the practice of the arts in unprecedented numbers, and both commercial and private production now include painting and the creation of commercial, decorative, and religious objects.

Medicine. Knowledge of inkoze was integral to healing and medicine. Practical knowledge of healing gained through observation and stories was combined with dream-revealed knowledge about the cure for particular cases of illness or injury. The medicine revealed in these dreams was based largely on plants but included other organic materials and minerals. The Chipewyan experimented with an immense quantity of materials for curing as well as a wide variety of combinations of the medical materials revealed in dreams. Individuals made careful observations both of the results of their attempts to cure and of the context in which each cure was attempted. Individually, each healer developed a practical body of material and supernatural knowledge; collectively, at least a part of the experience of each healer passed into the public domain. Some, particularly plant-based, cures were so successful that they escaped any tie to the supernatural and were treated as simple technology. Practical treatments for ordinary injuries and illnesses were present, but little is known about their specific nature. Most of this cumulative body of knowledge has been lost, and the remainder is fading quickly.

Death and Afterlife. Conceptualization of death, spiritual life, and the afterlife are poorly understood or little known. Death was often thought to result from sorcery or another form of supernatural agency. The Chipewyan believe in reincarnation (although what is reincarnated is not a soul in the Western sense) and conceptualize the spirit as an aspect of Inkoze. The soul is not considered a single entity; the Chipewyan believe that ghosts remain earthbound and that aspects of the spirit can separate from the self before death to visit places that were significant in a person's life. The dead retain a recognizable identity and may visit the living in dreams or visions. The Christian concept of the soul has been added to traditional beliefs about the spiritual construction of the person without displacing them.

For the original article on the Chipewyan, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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HENRY S. SHARP

Cochin Jews

ETHNONYMS: Cochin Jews, Cochinis (Israel), Malabar Jews, Paradesi Jews, Black Jews

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Cochin Jews constitute one of the smallest Jewish communities in the world. They originate from the Malabar Coast in India and traditionally were divided into two caste-like subgroups: "White" (Paradesi) and "Black" (Malabari, although this entire group of Jews is from Malabar) Jews. The term "Paradesi" means "foreigner, " and the "White" Jews are the descendants of Spanish, Portuguese, Iraqi, and other Jews who arrived on the Malabar Coast from the sixteenth century on. The "White" community has all but disappeared; a total of fifteen Paradesi Jews resided in Kerala in 2001. Almost all of the "Black" community has been transplanted to Israel, where these people have integrated successfully into Israeli society. Less than forty Cochin Jews live in Kerala.

Demography. When the traveler Benjamin of Tudela visited India in about 1170, he reported that there were about a thousand Jews in the south. In 1686 Moses Pereira de Paiva listed 465 Malabar Jews. In 1781 the Dutch governor, A. Moens, recorded 422 families or about 2, 000 persons. In 1948, 2, 500 Jews were living on the Malabar Coast. In 1953, 2, 400 emigrated to Israel, leaving behind only about 100 Paradesi Jews on the Malabar Coast. In 2001 there were only about 80 "White" Jews in the world, in Israel, the United States, and elsewhere. Conversely, the "Black" Jews in Israel are increasing in numbers by marrying Jews of other origins and accepting them within their community. There are approximately 8, 000 Jews of Cochini origin in Israel and less than 50 in all of India.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Cochin Jews, like their neighbors, speak Malayalam, a Dravidian language. In Israel they also speak modern Hebrew.

History and Cultural Relations

The settlement of Jews on the Malabar Coast occurred in ancient times. One theory holds that the ancestors of today's Cochin Jews arrived in southern India as King Solomon's merchants, who brought back ivory, monkeys, and parrots for his temple. Sanskrit- and Tamil-derived words appear in I Kings. Another theory suggests that Cochin Jews are descendants of captives taken to Assyria in the eighth century B. C. E. The most popular and likely supposition is that Jews came to southern India some time in the first century C. E., after the destruction of Solomon's second temple. This theory is confirmed by local South Indian Christian legends.

Documentary evidence of Jewish settlement on the southern Indian coast can be found in the Cochin Jewish copperplates in the ancient Tamil script *(vattezuthu).* These copperplates are the source of numerous arguments both among scholars in regard to their date and meaning and among the Cochin Jews in regard to which particular caste-like subgroup of Cochin Jews are the true owners. Until recently, the Jewish copperplates were dated 345 C. E., but contemporary scholars agree on the date 1000 C. E. In that year, during the reign of Bhaskara Ravi Varman (962-1020 C. E.), the Jews were granted seventy-two privileges including the right to use a day lamp, the right to erect a palanquin, the right to blow a trumpet, and the right to be exempt from and to collect particular taxes. The privileges were bestowed on the Cochin Jewish leader Joseph Rabban, the "proprietor of the 'Anjuvannam', and his male and female issues, nephews, and sons-in-law. "

The meaning of the word "Anjuvannam" is also the subject of controversy. The theory that the word refers to a kingdom or a place has been superseded by theories that it was an artisan class, a trade center, or a specifically Jewish guild.

From the eighteenth century on, emissaries from the Holy Land began to visit their Cochin Jewish brethren. Indirectly, they helped Cochin Jewry to align with world Jewry and to become part of the "ingathering of the exiles" and request a return to Zion.

In 1949 the first Cochin Jews—seventeen families in all—sold their property. Urged on by religious fervor and deteriorating economic conditions in postindependence India, community elders wrote to David Ben-Gurion, prime minister of the newly established state of Israel, requesting that the whole community be allowed to emigrate to Israel. In 1953—1954, 2, 400 Cochin Jews, the vast majority of whom belonged to the "Black" or Malabar subgroup, went to Israel. A small number stayed behind on the Malabar Coast, and at the beginning of the new millennium, very few remained there.

Settlements

In India the Cochin Jews lived in several towns along the Malabar Coast in Kerala: Attencammonal, Chenotta, Ernakulam, Mallah, Mala, Parr, Chennemangalam, and Cochin. Today, individual Jews remain in Ernakulam and in "Jews Town" in Cochin. In Israel, Cochin Jews have settled in *moshavim* (agricultural settlements), the largest of which is Nevatim in southern Israel. Other large agricultural settlements exclusively inhabited by Cochin Jews are Mesillat Zion in the Jerusalem corridor and Kfar Yuval on Israel's northern border. Other Cochin Jews live in small urban concentrations in Ramat Eliahu, Ashdod, and Jerusalem.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. In India the Cochin Jews mainly engaged in petty trading in the towns in which they lived on the Malabar Coast. They often traded in food goods, such as eggs and vinegar, although they rarely grew their own produce. In general, the Paradesi Jews had a higher standard of living and numbered among their ranks several merchants, including international spice merchants, and professionals (lawyers, engineers, teachers, and physicians).

In Israel the Cochin Jews are employed largely in agriculture. The first of these Jews to arrive in Israel were herded from place to place. In an early attempt to isolate them (for fear of contagious diseases), they were taken to outlying moshavim such as Nevatim. Their attempts to make a success of Nevatim failed. By 1962, when a Jewish Agency Settlement Studies Center sociologist conducted a survey of the moshav, he described the situation as one of "failure" and "economic and social crisis" manifested in declining output and emigration from the moshav.

Industrial Arts. The Cochin Jews did not tend to sell or trade industrial goods but did make ritual objects.

Trade. In the 1970s, Nevatim turned into a thriving moshav, producing avocados, olives, citrus fruits, pecans, cotton, potatoes, flowers, and chickens. Today Nevatim (with over six hundred Cochinis) is one of only fifteen successful Cochini moshavim. Some of these, such as Mesillat Zion (with over two hundred Cochin Jews), are populated by a majority of Cochin Jews, while smaller settlements, such as Fedia and Tarom, are heterogeneous.

Division of Labor. In Cochin, men usually had small shops that carried various goods. These shops were situated on the verandas of their houses. The women engaged in domestic pursuits. In Israel the Cochin Jews have taken professional or clerical jobs and are evenly distributed in a variety of occupations. In the younger generations both men and women work to contribute to the family income and work in many different professions.

Land Tenure. In Cochin, families owned their own land and built houses on it. The synagogues also owned large tracts of land, which were share-cropped. The moshavim in Israel are farming communities where each family owns its own plot of land.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Cochin Jews observed strict caste endogamy, marrying only other Jews. However, there was no intermarriage between Paradesi and other Malabari Jews. Even within the "White" Jewish subgroup, the "White" *meyuhasim* (privileged), who claimed direct descent from ancient Israel, did not accept their *meshurarim,* or manumitted slaves, as marriage partners, although such unions did take place. In the twenty-first century in Israel more than one in every two Cochini marriages is contracted between Cochin Jews and other Israeli Jews.

Kinship Terminology. Each person's name was made up of the first initial of the *chamullah,* the first initial of the father's name and the individual's first name. Kinship terminology reflects local Malayalam terminology, while in Israel *DOM* (uncle) and *Doha* (aunt) refer to one's mother's and father's siblings without specification.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In the past Cochin Jews tended to encourage cross-cousin marriage. Marriage is the most important Cochini social occasion and is celebrated in India for a complete week. In Israel celebrations are shorter due to the demands of the working week. Cochin Jews build a *manara,* or aperion, for the wedding, usually at the groom's house. After a ritual bath the bride receives a *tali,* an Indian pendant, in imitation of local Nayar practice. The groom enters the synagogue on a white carpet —a custom apparently observed by Malabari but not Paradesi Jews—and sits near the podium until the bride's procession arrives. The groom himself—not a rabbi, as in other Jewish communities—announces his betrothal and marriage to his bride.

Domestic Unit. The basic domestic unit is the patrilineal joint family.

Inheritance, Inheritance is patrilineal in accordance with Jewish law and local custom. The family name is passed on through the father.

Socialization. The young couple sets up a new household and in Israel attempts to socialize their children to become Israelis who are proud of their Cochini heritage.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. "Black" Jews claim that they were the original recipients of the copperplates, proving their high status in the South Indian context. However, the copperplates are kept in the Paradesi synagogue.

After the "White" Jews built the Paradesi synagogue in 1568, no "Black" Jews were qualified to pray there. The "Black" Jews had several synagogues that no "White" Jew would enter.

One "White" Jew who rose to prominence under the Dutch, who had taken over in 1668, was Ezekiel Rahabi (1694-1771). For forty-eight years he acted as the principal merchant for the Dutch in Cochin. He had contacts all over the East as well as in Europe, and he signed numerous memoranda in Hebrew.

Political Organization. The Jews' lives on the Malabar Coast were centered on the synagogue, which corporately

owned estates in each settlement. The congregation was known as the *yogam* and administered communal affairs collectively.

Prominent Cochin Jews in Israel have been among the leaders of the moshav movement.

Social Control. The yogam acted as a social control device that determined the fate of its members. In extreme cases, where social taboos were ignored, the congregation could excommunicate a member.

Conflict. One of the earliest records of the division in the community was recorded in 1344, when some of the Jews of Cranganore moved to Cochin, three years after the port of Cranganore was silted up and Cochin was founded. But it was only after Vasco da Gama's expedition, when the Portuguese came to rule Kerela, that some European Jews settled in Cochin. They became the first "White" Jews. By the time Pereira de Paiva visited Cochin in 1686 on behalf of Amsterdam Jewry, he could report that "the 'White' Jews and the 'Malabarees' were neither intermarrying nor inter-dining. "

A famous conflict was the case of A. B. Salem, a lawyer who became the leader of the meshurarim in his fight for equal rights for his group. As late as 1952 the "White" Jews would not let his son marry a "White" Jew in the Paradesi synagogue. When his son and new daughter-in-law returned from their marriage in Bombay, all the women in the ladies' gallery of the Paradesi synagogue walked out in protest. Divisions between Cochin Jews all but disappeared after the transplantation of the community to Israel.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Cochin Jews believe in a single deity. Their religious observances conform in every way to the Jewish norms established by the *halacha* (Jewish legal code), and they kept contact with mainstream Judaism through many generations. While they were fully integrated into Kerala society, they were influenced by Hindu (and Christian) practices and beliefs (e. g., the emphasis on purity of descent, the wedding customs and canopy, and the "asceticism" associated with Passover preparations). The Cochin Jews have never suffered from anti-Semitism on the part of their Hindu neighbors.

Religious Practitioners. Cochin Jews never had any rabbis, but several men served as *shochetim* (ritual slaughterers) and *hazanim* (cantors) both for their own communities and for another community of Indian Jews, the Bene Israel in Bombay.

Ceremonies. Both the "White" and the "Black" Jews perform their ceremonies separately in their own synagogues and homes. However, the ceremonies are similar and distinctly Cochini, according to the Shingli (Cranganore) custom. Daily prayers were chanted according to the Shingli custom, a unique version of the standard Jewish prayers. Cochin Jews have incorporated many unique customs into some of the universal Jewish holidays. For example, the festival of the Rejoicing of the Law, which celebrates the conclusion and new beginning of the annual cycle of Torah reading, is celebrated with special liturgy and a majestic procession with the Torah scrolls.

The various stages of the lifecycle are also marked with ceremonies. The circumcision ceremony takes place on the eighth day after the birth of a baby boy. The father carries his son to the main synagogue, where he is circumcised and named after one of his grandfathers. When a baby girl is about six months old, she is named after one of her grand-mothers during a Sabbath or festival service. At the age of eight or nine, Cochin boys read the weekly section from the Prophets and at the age of thirteen a boy attains religious majority.

In Israel, the Cochin Jews enact their religious ceremonies according to Cochin custom, but also are influenced by general Israeli Jewish trends.

Arts. The Cochin Jews have a large number of folk songs that the women in particular sing regularly. Some are sung at weddings, some are lullabies, and some specifically recall the return to Zion. In 1984 the Cochin Jews in Israel staged a huge pageant, relating in song and dance the story of their emigration from India and their integration into Israeli society.

Death and Afterlife. The Cochin Jews belief in an afterlife has been influenced both by Jewish and Hindu beliefs. Many of their death and bereavement customs are also connected to Hinduism as well as Middle Eastern Sephardic traditions. The family surrounds the deathbed to witness the departure of life and then the oldest son closes the eyes of the deceased. The dead body, although impure, is respected, and burial in a special Cochin Jewish cemetery takes place within half a day. In Israel the Cochin Jews are buried in regular Jewish cemeteries.

For the original article on the Cochin Jews, *see* Volume 3, South Asia.

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SHALVA WEIL

Comanche

ETHNONYMS: *Numunuu* or *Numu*(self-name), Padouca, Ietan. All these names have alternative forms.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Comanches are an American Indian ethnic group of Shoshonean stock. In their native language Comanches call themselves "Our People." The name *Comanche* entered English from Spanish, derived from a Ute term signifying "other." The Siouan *Padouca* was applied by the French and the Americans to Comanches and Apaches in the 1700s and 1800s. *Ietan,* usually considered a derivative of *Ute,* also appears in French sources. Other names from neighboring tribes are recorded, many corresponding to the sign language designation "snake." The historical Comanches occupied the southern Great Plains grasslands across southeastern Colorado, eastern New Mexico, western Oklahoma, and western Texas. Some traveled widely beyond this range. In the year 2000 the tribal headquarters was north of Lawton, Oklahoma; tribal members lived in this vicinity and in several U.S. cities.

Demography. Prereservation population estimates by Spanish and American observers are questionable and vary between 6,000 and 20,000. The population declined markedly under the American advance, reaching 1,382 in 1884 and 1,171 in 1910, after which the population rebounded. In 2000 the tribe counted about 11,000 members.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Comanche language is in the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan family in the Aztec-Tanoan phylum. Comanche and Shoshone are similar enough to be considered dialects of the same language; among Comanche bands there is dialectal variation. Supplemented with sign language, Comanche was a regional trade medium in the 1800s. Spanish and English loan words reveal a Comanche interest in trade and technology. Comanche speakers served as U.S. Army Signal Corps "code-talkers" in Europe during World War II. About eight hundred fluent speakers, mostly elderly, remained in 2000. In 1989 the tribe mounted vigorous language preservation efforts.

History and Cultural Relations

The first historical reference to the Comanches appears in a Spanish source from 1706. The Comanche earlier separated from the Wyoming Shoshones and spent several generations adapting to the plains, initially as pedestrian hunters. In approximately 1650 they acquired horses from Spaniards and Indians around Santa Fe and quickly developed a classic horse culture. Through the 1700s they alternately fought and allied with the Spanish while displacing the Apaches. Moving southward and eastward ahead of enemies and in search of horses and trade, Comanches entered Texas by 1743. During that era they also made contact with French traders from the east and then with Anglo-American horse dealers and established friendly relations with Caddo and Wichita farmers on the Red River drainage. Competitors included Kiowas and Cheyennes who followed from the north and Pawnees and Osages to the east. Hostilities with the Kiowas and Cheyennes ended by 1840 in a lasting alliance against encroaching Anglo-Americans and supplanted eastern Indians. Comanches increased their raiding in Texas and Mexico after 1840 to obtain livestock and captives for trade. Those raids also stalled Anglo expansion. In 1855 a small reservation was made in Texas for the southernmost Comanches, but settlers drove out the inhabitants in 1859. U.S. military control of the Comanche homeland was not secured until after the Civil War. The 1865 Treaty of the Little Arkansas bound Comanche signatories to a reservation that included much of the Texas panhandle. The Medicine Lodge Creek Treaty of 1867 involved more Comanche leaders and superseded the previous agreement, providing instead for a joint Kiowa-Comanche-(Kiowa) Apache (KCA) reservation in southwestern Oklahoma. Resistance continued, notably in the ill-fated 1874 attack on the Adobe Walls trading post in the Texas panhandle. Many Comanches avoided the reservation until they were forced to move there by a concerted army campaign in 1874-1875. Under the Dawes Act, from 1901 to 1906 the KCA Reservation was allotted to the Indians in severalty and the "surplus" was opened to white settlement. Gradual if incomplete incorporation into the Euro-American economy and culture followed in the twentieth century. In 1969 Comanches formed a sovereign tribal government, the Comanche Nation, separate from the KCA coalition.

Settlements

The nomadic Comanches did not maintain settlements before the reservation era. They frequented campsites in the Texas panhandle and central hill country, southwestern Oklahoma, and elsewhere. Reservations were established in Throckmorton County, Texas, from 1855 to 1859 and over present Comanche County, Oklahoma, and adjacent areas from 1868 to 1906. Oklahoma Comanche town centers include Apache, Fletcher, Cyril, Lawton, Cache, Indiahoma, Geronimo, Faxon, and Walters. Dwellings were hide, and later canvas, tipis. By 1890 canvas wall tents were prevalent, and after about 1920 wood frame houses were the norm.

Economy

Subsistence. Plains life was predicated on the great bison herds. Buffalo provided muscle and organ meat; leather for rawhide, tanned robes, and tipi covers; and bone and horn for implements. Buffalo were stalked or driven en masse, on foot or horseback, and killed with a bow and arrow or a lance thrust underhand. Seasonal movements and congregations of the buffalo determined the location and size of camps. Another determinant was forage for the large horse herds that enabled hunting and raiding and provided trade stock. Individuals amassed herds numbering in the hundreds. Mustangs were captured and broken, using ingenious methods; domesticated animals were taken from other Indians and Euro-American settlers. Comanches made rope from horsehair and ate horse flesh, particularly in times of scarcity and on raids. Thus, although Comanches were technically hunter-gatherers, they resembled pastoralists. Other animals important in the diet included elk, deer, pronghorn, and small mammals. Comanches disdained fowl, fish, and reptiles but ate whatever necessary, except that canines were taboo in deference to the mythological Coyote. They thought beef inferior but came to depend on it as a buffalo substitute. Before the reservation era Comanches did no cultivating and depended on trade for corn, beans, and squash. A wide range of wild fruits, nuts, and tubers supplemented the diet. During the reservation period the hunter-gatherer lifestyle faded. Indian travel was inhibited, game was exterminated by encroaching whites, and dependence grew on government-

provided rations such as flour and beef on the hoof. Those rations were meager, and hunger was rampant through the 1880s. Cultivation of vegetables in household gardens and cattle raising became common in the 1890s to supplement rations. These practices, however, were largely forsaken after allotment, as the area market economy grew; after about 1920 store-bought foods purchased with cash from tribal distributions, leases, or wage work were the core of Comanche subsistence. By 2000 few Comanche pursued any of the earlier practices.

Commercial Activities, Gift exchange, barter, and redistribution were traditional modes of transaction. In the period 1885-1901 reservation leaders leased grazing to Texas cattlemen for "grass money. " Agriculture was begun on the reservations as a civilizing measure, but cultural attitudes that disfavored sedentarism, environmental conditions, and lack of capital hindered its direct adoption. Comanche instead often leased their lands or hired out to white farmers, practices that continued in the 1990s. Oil and gas production has yielded royalties for some landowners, notably around 1980. Urban migration for blue- and white-collar work began during World War II and continued under federal relocation programs. Bingo became an important source of tribal revenue after 1983.

Industrial Arts. Comanche have excelled in fashioning clothing and containers from rawhide and buckskin. This craftwork remained a component of some household economies in the 1990s. Wood crafting was involved in bow, arrow, and saddle making. Basketry and pottery were not practiced.

Trade. Comanche inherited a prehistoric trade network when they occupied the Southern Plains. Continuing the established pattern, they brought hides and meat to Puebloan and Caddoan villages in exchange for corn and pumpkins. By 1800 Comanche were major distributors of horses north-ward to other tribes and also had begun moving stock eastward to supply settlers. After 1786 New Mexican borderers carted meal, trinkets, and hardware onto the plains to trade for Indian horses, hides, and meat. These "Comancheros" later supplied guns and whiskey, receiving contraband cattle and human captives in return. French and Anglo-American traders established posts. Trade was disrupted after the Civil War as Comanche were driven to the reservation and the buffalo were exterminated.

Division of Labor. Women collected plants and small animals and took the primary role in child care. They were mainly responsible for butchering and cooking, processing hides, and fabricating tipi covers, clothing, and containers. Women owned and erected the lodges and organized the transportation of households. Men pursued large game, managed horse herds, and conducted raiding and trading expeditions. They crafted tipi poles, weapons, and tack. Cooperation and overlap were not unusual. Children, adolescents, and elderly people aided in household work and tended livestock. Captives were made to herd horses and repair equipment and were taken on raids, contributing to their acculturation. In 2000 many traditional labor patterns continued in modern form, as women were expected to cook and keep house, men worked outdoors, and grandmothers cared for children. After allotment, however, adults and older children of both sexes all might provide household income as opportunities allowed.

Land Tenure. Land use was corporate until the KCA Reservation was opened to white settlement, after which time each Comanche was given provisional ownership of 160 acres in severalty. These parcels often were sold to non-Indians or fragmented through inheritance and sometimes recombined.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Comanche reckon descent bilaterally and do not recognize clans. Kin ties generally reach horizontally though two marriage relationships from ego. Flexibility in the extension of terms allows the construction of networks involving consanguines, affines, and fictive kin, formerly including captives.

Kinship Terminology. The kinship system is a bifurcate merging type but does not distinguish between cross cousins and parallel cousins. Ego extends the spouse term to his or her spouse's unmarried siblings, foreshadowing plural marriage, the levirate, and the sororate. Formulations such as mother's brother with father's sister's husband reflect the possibility of interfamilial exchange marriage. Siblings are distinguished as older or younger. Terms cover relatives three generations above ego and three below; reciprocal terms are used beyond one generation. Address terms are employed creatively to negotiate social distance.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Polygyny was the idealized form, with monogamy a realistic option. Polygynous households promised greater security for all their members and testified to the man's abilities as provider. Sisters were said to make the best co-wives. A favorite wife, often the first or oldest, supervised the others. Both the levirate and the sororate were present to perpetuate family structure and interfamily ties. The custom of addressing unmarried siblings of spouses as spouses was sometimes the basis for a man's sharing sexual access to his wife with his younger brother, a practice that has been called "anticipatory levirate. " Thus, polyandry has been reported. Courters met outside of camp or crawled between tents at night. Older relatives might serve as go-betweens. Comanche marriages have been characterized as alliances between fraternal cores. Relationships thus required sanction from the woman's brothers, something that was desirable even in cases of elopement. Arrangements were confirmed by the giving of horses by the man to the woman's male guardians and were sustained with bride service. Marriages were publicized through cohabitation and only rarely with a ceremony such as a blessing from a shaman. Postmarital residence was normally neolocal, though it could be virilocal in interband marriages. Marriages between individuals with any recognized degree of genetic relationship were prohibited. Plural marriage ceased in the early 1900s, and the predominant pattern became serial monogamy. Christian or civil wedding ceremonies occurred frequently in the twentieth century. Divorce was pursued in cases of abuse or adultery. Men ended their involvement with a verbal proclamation. They also had latitude for physical coercion, including mutilation of the wife's nose for adultery. Women divorced by seeking protection

with their brothers or a prospective alternative spouse who might fight or pay compensation to the prior husband.

Domestic Unit. With the basic family consisting of a man and one or more wives, plus their dependents (parents, children, captives), households included one tipi or more set up adjacently. The male occupied one lodge with the favorite wife and their offspring, with secondary wives and their offspring living next door. Boys had their own lodges after puberty to avoid their sisters and establish independent identities. Such multiple-dwelling households could be compounded bilaterally. Twentieth-century households in permanent dwellings replicated prior patterns to some extent.

Inheritance. Apart from the custom of redistributing any property not left with the decedent's corpse, rules for inheritance were indefinite until about 1900, when land ownership necessitated recognition of U. S. inheritance laws.

Socialization. Children were valued and indulged and were subject to little corporal punishment. Supervision was light and fell mostly to the oldest sister. Experimentation and individualism were encouraged, although children rehearsed adult tasks in standardized play and were taught by their grandparents. A male or female child could be deemed the favorite by its parents and distinguished with gifts and privileges. At puberty boys began avoiding their sisters, and both sexes were expected to primp and strive for chances at adult distinction. Adulthood came for boys with sufficient raiding experience—the qualification for marriage—and for girls with marriage and childbearing.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Five age grades defined the life course, equivalent to baby, child, adolescent, adult, and elder. The ideal adults were dependable providers and honorable. Status in old age depended on adult achievements and the extent of one's kin support. Horse wealth prompted a distinction between rich and poor families. Individuals and nuclear and extended families affiliated at will in bands, with the size of the unit varying according to current conditions. Men's military societies fostered some cross-kin solidarity. Reservation authorities discouraged band formation, but after allotment smaller kin-based residence groups became important organizing features. In 2000 some general continuities were obvious. Class distinctions based on factors such as wealth, educational level, and commitment to traditional values were recognized, as were roles associated with age grades, and sodalities continued to promote interfamilial cooperation.

Political Organization. Comanche never constituted a single political unit in prereservation times. Bands combined into larger autonomous units that scholars have termed divisions. Divisions sometimes achieved tribal functions and degrees of integration. Three divisions are known in the 1700s: Jupe (Timber People), Kotseteka (Buffalo Eaters), and Yamparika (Root Eaters). In the 1800s there were six: Kotseteka and Yamparika plus Kwahadi (Antelope), Nokoni (Wanderers), Penateka (Honey Eaters, Wasps), and Tenewa (Down-stream People). Band leadership was a matter of charisma, and leaders could be changed; a pattern of inherited authority was at best incipient. Prominent males met in council to forge a consensus. Division leaders were band heads who could marshal and reward wider collective activity in the face of shifting external circumstances. On the reservation prior political methods initially applied as leaders mediated the distribution of annuities and rations to band subunits, but these leaders were co-opted or bypassed by Indian agents. After allotment an elected joint Kiowa-Comanche-Apache business committee represented local interests before the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Corporate political activity was discouraged by agency superintendents to further assimilation, but eventually the KCA committee assumed the profile of a tribal government such as those promoted under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Support for a discrete Comanche political organization grew in the 1960s. The resultant modern Comanche Nation consists of an elected business committee (tribal council) with legislative and executive functions and a supporting staff. This body regulates tribal membership, administers federal programs, and pursues tribal land claims and economic development.

Social Control. Internal conflicts were mediated through communal pressure invoked by leaders. The kin of a wrongdoer might handle punishment and restoration. Alternatively, cases of sorcery, wife absconding, adultery, and homicide were pursued by the aggrieved parties and the supporters they could muster, who would demand damages. Penalties included fines and corporal or capital punishment, administered in accordance with precedents drawn from collective memory. Communal pressure was sufficient to curb blood feuding. Military societies sometimes assumed police power during marches and hunts, but not to the degree characteristic of other Plains Indian groups.

Conflict. A war ethos pervaded Comanche culture, defining male roles and shaping female roles. Martial training began in boyhood. Combat was waged for territory, trade access, livestock, and revenge. Small-party raids were conducted continually, and large campaigns periodically, all organized by individuals seeking honor. Early Comanche fought in formation with hide armor and long shields. With the introduction of firearms and more horses, combat became individualized, stylized, and even paradoxical. Scalps were taken as trophies and torture and battlefield atrocities were employed to humiliate the enemy, yet great prestige was gained by simply touching a live opponent in defiance. Attackers sought to minimize their casualties above all, but self-sacrifice was celebrated and death in battle was considered the greatest honor.

Religion *and Expressive Culture*

Religious Beliefs. Traditional belief posits a creator deity termed "Big Father" and associated with the sun. This being is largely disinterested in human affairs, and supernatural agency is more a matter for spirits that manifest themselves to humans as animals, miniature people, or ghosts. The spirits impart supernatural power, equated with the life force, which can be manipulated and transferred by humans for their own welfare. Cosmogony is transmitted in tales featuring the trickster Coyote. Christian missionaries began to work among the Comanche in 1881. Many Comanche affiliate with Methodist, Dutch Reformed, and other denominations, practicing these religions exclusively or syncretically.

Religious Practitioners. Specialists in the manipulation of power cure and advise fellow tribe members. These shamans are called "power possessors" in Comanche and "medicine men or women" in English. Their vocation comes in a series of involuntary dreams or sought visions and is legitimated by success in curing. Women can take this role only after menopause. Christian clergy, including some of Comanche extraction, have played an influential role in community life since reservation times.

Ceremonies. The vision quest conducted by individuals in isolation is the scene of active power acquisition. Ritual then centers on the transmission of power between individuals, including doctoring. Communal ceremonies are less characteristic and are best understood as elaborations of shamanic process. Individuals who share power from one spirit benefactor dance together to acknowledge their affiliation. A group curing ceremony harnessing beaver power was staged in some bands until the 1930s. Sun dances were held at least occasionally until 1878. Comanches developed and taught peyotism, which has been practiced intertribally since the 1870s. From 1900 on Christian services have steadily supplemented traditional practices; these services often include native-language hymns and Indian symbolism. In the twentieth century powwows, often deemed "secular" dance events, became major venues for sacred activity.

Arts. Visual art involved pictography and the decoration of leather goods with painted geometric designs and intricate beadwork. Since the mid-1800s Comanches have participated in the development of engraved nickel silver "peyote" jewelry and have led in the growth of powwow dancing and singing traditions. Bead work and feather work displayed on dance regalia were major artistic media in 2000. In the twentieth century some Comanches pursued sculpture, Southwestern-style silversmithing, and fine art painting.

Medicine. The English word "medicine" evokes two Comanche terms, one referring to therapeutic substance and the other to spiritual power, indicating a connection between physical and metaphysical treatment. The Comanche pharmacy contains numerous plant and animal materials, including prickly ash, sneezeweed, milkweed, peyote, and lard. Cedar and sage are used as ceremonial fumigants. Ocher paint is applied to the body for protection. To cure witchcraft, shamans suck on the patient's afflicted body part to extract a harmful object that has been magically injected. After about 1900 scientific medicine was used conjointly or alternatively.

Death and Afterlife. Mortality rates were formerly high owing to the hardships of nomadism, warfare, smallpox, and cholera. Infanticide, suicide, euthanasia, and suttee have been reported. Those surviving to old age were left alone as they became infirm. Burial was in a crevice (ideally on a hill west of the death place) and less commonly in a tree or scaffold. Women mutilated themselves in mourning. Concepts of the afterlife as reward or punishment are not central in traditional theology; some notions of paradise as a pleasant campground were promulgated. Since reservation times Christian ideas and funerary practices have been adopted.

For the original article on the Comanche, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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DANIEL J. GELO

Creek

ETHNONYMS: Muskogee, Muscogee, Muskoke, Mvskoke Creeks, Coweta, Caveta, Talapoosa, Tallapusa, Talaposa, Apihka, Abehka, Arbeka, Coosa, Cosa, Alabama

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Creek are a multiethnic American Indian nation living primarily in central Oklahoma, with a small remnant population in Alabama. The name "Creek" derives from the eighteenth century British usage 'Ocheesee Creek Indians," referring to those Creeks then resident on the Ocheesee (now Ocmulgee) River. They call themselves "Muskogee" or "Muskoke," which is of foreign origin and unknown meaning. The tribal government prefers Mvskoke Creek in the twenty-first century. Important tribal divisions are referred to as the Lower and Upper Creeks, by British and American sources, or Coweta (Kawita), Cosa (Kusa), Talapusa, and Alabama by the Spanish and the people themselves.

The Creeks aboriginally claimed most of the modern state of Georgia and the eastern portions of current Alabama in the southeastern United States. This territory largely lay in the Appalachian piedmont between *30°* to 35° N and 82° to 87° W.

Demography. No reliable overall population estimates exist from the early contact period (c. 1540) for the groups who later constituted the Creek Confederacy. Based on the fragmentary evidence, their number was at least ten times as high as during the eighteenth century. In 1715 the Creeks numbered about 8,500 persons and reached their nadir in the 1720s and 1730s with only about *4,000-5000* people. By 1764, their population rebounded to about 10,500. By 1798 there were about 16,000 Creeks and they numbered 21,792 just prior to removal in 1832. In 1859, their population had declined to 13,573. In 1890, the Creek population stood at 9,639 Indians and 4,203 freed slaves. In 2001, the tribal enrollment had grown to 51,152 persons.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Creeks spoke several related languages of the Muskogean language family, mostly belonging to the Eastern Branch. Upper Creeks living on the Tallapoosa and Coosa rivers and a few Lower Creek towns spoke Muskogee proper, the dominant language of the Creek Confederacy. About ten thousand people in Oklahoma spoke this language as of the beginning of the twenty-first century. Most Lower Creek towns spoke Hichiti, also of the Eastern Branch of the Muskogean language family, but this language became extinct in the early twentieth century. The Alabamas and Koasatis spoke different dialects of Alabama, related to Choctaw, belonging to the Western Branch of the Muskogean language family. Both dialects were nearly extinct in Oklahoma in the late twentieth century. Several towns incorporated into the Creeks originally spoke other poorly known languages belonging to the Eastern Branch of the Muskogean language family, including Yamasee, Guale, Apalachee, Chacto, Oconee, and Apalachicola, but all became extinct in the eighteenth century. The Creek Confederacy also incorporated several Yuchi towns in the seventeenth century, who spoke their own language, an isolate. Only a few elders spoke this language at the beginning of the twenty-first century. A number of Algonquian-speaking Shawnees also merged into the Creeks during the eighteenth century, but quickly lost their language.

History and Cultural Regions

The Creek Confederacy emerged from the political and social chaos precipitated by the collapse of the earlier paramount chiefdoms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Four regional confederacies or chiefdoms emerged in eastern Alabama and western Georgia by 1680: the Kusa, the Talaposa, the Alabama, and the Kawita. These groups also absorbed remnants of the Apalachee, Chacto, Pensacola, Mobila, Yamasee, and Oconee during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the early eighteenth century, these four groups forged an alliance, creating the Creek Confederacy. Originally a military alliance, designed primarily to deal with the European colonial powers, the Confederacy grew in power and significance over the course of the century. Each of the groups remained internally self-governing and often pursued independent foreign policies in regard to other Indian tribes during much of the eighteenth century.

The Creeks became actively involved in the deerskin and Indian slave trades after the founding of Charleston in 1680. They also had routine contacts with the Spanish in Florida and with the French in Louisiana. The Creeks used their position to play each against the others and maintain their independence, dominating the balance of power for most of the century.

Relations with the Americans after the Revolution remained strained. The nativist Red Stick movement precipitated a crisis, resulting in the Red Stick War of 1813-1814 with the United States and extensive land cessions. In 1832, the Creeks acquiesced to American pressure and signed a removal treaty, exchanging their lands in the east for land in Indian Territory and emigrated there in 1836-1837.

The Creeks reestablished their towns in Indian Territory and enjoyed relative prosperity until the outbreak of the American Civil War. The Creeks participated in the war, which divided the nation. The restoration treaty with the United States in 1866 forced the tribe to cede the western half of their reservation. After the war, the Creeks again reestablished their lives and prosperity until the United States forced the tribe to accept allotment and the dissolution of the tribal government after 1898. In 1907, the state of Oklahoma was established and the Creeks became citizens of the state.

Settlements

The Creeks occupied permanent nucleated villages strung along rivers and streams during the eighteenth century and earlier. At contact, large vacant buffer zones separated chiefdoms and some buffering between regional groupings continued through the eighteenth century. Within groups, 1-5 miles (1. 6 to 8 kilometers) typically separated villages, though out-settlements on tributary streams might be more isolated. Rivers connected settlements, as did an intricate network of trails. The central village of each *italwa* (group of villages) served as a capital and contained the chief's residence and a central ceremonial plaza and rotunda, which served as the center of political and ritual activity for all of the villages of the italwa, as well as a chunky yard and ball field.

The number of villages varied through time, with about thirty to forty in the early eighteenth century and over eighty at the end of the century. The Kawitas and Kusas contained the most villages, with about a dozen each early in the eighteenth century and over thirty each later. The Alabamas only had about four to six villages throughout the century. The Talapusas numbered eight to fifteen villages at this time. Towns varied between thirty and three hundred early, averaging about one hundred to two hundred. In the 1790s, they ranged between seventy and one thousand, with most between two hundred and three hundred. Houses consisted of two to four rectangular wattle and daub buildings arranged around a central yard. The suppression of warfare after the American Revolution led to a greater dispersal of the population into more but smaller villages.

After Removal to Indian Territory, the Creeks reestablished their towns, with most Lower Creek towns settling along the Arkansas River and the Upper Creek towns along the Canadian, North Canadian, and Deep Fork Rivers to the west. The Creeks maintained forty-eight tribal towns in Oklahoma during the nineteenth century. Log cabins replaced older structures by mid-century. They also developed several Euro-American style towns such Muskogee, Okmulgee, and Holdenville. During the latter nineteenth century, the Creeks adopted a more dispersed settlement pattern, with more isolated homesteads, but continued the central towns with its square ground or later, church. All tribal towns were broken up in the early twentieth century, though dispersed rural communities remain in some areas. Large numbers of Creeks now live in the white towns and cities of Oklahoma.

Economy

Subsistence. The Creeks were farmers raising maize, beans, squashes, and other crops by intensively farming the river levies, supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering. Several varieties of each of the major crops were raised. The

Creeks maintained an in-field/out-field system, with small garden plots near the houses and large town fields some distance away along the river levies. The women of each household individually farmed their in-fields. The town fields, which contained individual plots for each household, were worked by communally organized work gangs of men under the command of the town chief.

The chief game animals were the white-tailed deer, raccoons, and turkeys. Men hunted primarily during the late fall and winter (October-March), with both communal drives and smaller parties. Men often left the villages for weeks or months at this time. Meat from these hunts was dried and smoked for future use. Men only hunted close to the villages during the agricultural season.

Commercial Activities. During the eighteenth century, the Creeks adopted cattle, horses, hogs, and chickens from the Europeans, along with a number of vegetable and fruit crops. They also became heavily involved in the European deerskin trade at this time and grew increasingly dependent on European manufactures, particularly edged tools, cloth, and firearms. The trade collapsed at the end of the eighteenth century and some Creeks shifted to selling cattle and working in intensive, commercial agriculture.

After Removal, most Creeks continued their earlier patterns in Oklahoma, though livestock became increasingly more important, while hunting declined. Some expanded their commercial farming and cattle raising operations during the nineteenth century. Later in the century, the Creeks moved to more dispersed individual fields, though some communal labor continued until the early twentieth century. After allotment, most large operators went out of business, though many Creeks continued to practice diversified subsistence agriculture until after World War II. Few Creeks farm today, though many maintain gardens and a few livestock, mostly hogs and chickens. Most Creeks rely on cash incomes from wage labor, leasing, and government assistance. Unemployment is high and employment tends to be concentrated in the service industry, oil field related industries, and construction.

Industrial Arts. Aboriginal crafts included metalworking in copper and later brass and silver, shell working, ground and chipped stone, and wood working by men. Creek women spun cordage and wove cloth, made baskets and mats from split cane and hickory, and made pottery. Weaving, shell working, and much of the stone industries largely died out during the eighteenth centuries when European trade goods replaced native manufactures. Only a little finger weaving of sashes and some traditional woodworking remain in the twenty-first century.

Trade. Extensive trade networks linked the Creeks to much of the continent prior to contact and large chiefdoms emerged to control the flow of goods. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this aboriginal trade was highly disrupted and trade with Europeans was not well developed. After the founding of Charleston in 1680, the deerskin trade became central to the Creek economy. During the nineteenth century, trade shifted to livestock and agricultural produce and the Creeks became major exporters throughout the century.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, men hunted, fished, farmed the town fields, and traded; they also produced most stone, bone, wooden, and metal implements. Women gardened, gathered wild plants, assisted in communal fishing and cultivation, processed all foods and textiles, prepared hides, and manufactured pottery, basketry, and mats, and cloth and clothing. Women also had primary childcare responsibilities. Men heavily dominated ritual and medicinal activities, and politics and warfare were exclusively male activities. In the eighteenth century, women also tended fruit orchards and raised hogs and chickens. Men primarily herded the cattle and horses, though a few women also owned these animals. In the late eighteenth century, some women also began selling food, agricultural produce, and manufactures to resident traders, but women's trade generally remained a minor activity. While many Creek women in the twenty-first century remain at home, poverty dictates that many must seek employment, primarily in the service industry.

Land Tenure. Aboriginally, each town maintained a separate territory and all land belonged to the town. Allied towns often shared hunting territories. The chief apportioned agricultural lands among the clans, which then distributed them to their members. Clans and households retained use rights to these lands so long as they were used and rights to land passed through women. Owing to pressure from whites to cede lands, the Creeks passed laws in the early nineteenth century vesting title to all lands in the national government and making unauthorized sales treason. Between 1900 and 1906, the federal government allotted the Creek lands in Oklahoma and most passed into white ownership. The tribe retains a few scattered acreages and some individuals also retain allotted lands, all of which is held in trust by the federal government.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. More than fifty nonlocalized, exogamous matrilineal clans are reported for the Creeks. Not all clans were present in all towns and a single town rarely had more than twelve. The most clans recorded for a single town was twenty-eight. All localized clan segments contained unnamed lineages and some had named sub-clans. The clans were grouped into exogamous phratries of variable composition, typically with six to eight per town. Clans further were grouped into two moieties *(Hathakaki* and *Cilokaki)*, which served primarily ritual functions in the nineteenth century. Other than establishing mutual obligations of hospitality and regulating marriage, clans had no corporate identity outside of the individual towns. All local descent groups were internally ranked on the basis of seniority. Local clan segments and phratries also had formal leadership consisting of the senior man from the senior internal segment. Clans regulated marriage and served as political and jural units within the towns. Clans remain ritually significant to the Creeks and most still know their clans.

Kinship Terminology. The Creeks kinship terms traditionally followed the Crow system.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The Creeks traditionally prohibited marriage within one's own clan or phratry and one's father's clan. Par-

ents or clan elders normally arranged first and sometimes subsequent marriages, giving their children only the right of refusal. Older individuals might exercise greater choice of mates. Little ceremony, other than nominal gift exchange, marked marriage. Newlyweds typically lived with the wife's parents for the first year or two, after which a separate house was constructed nearby. Adultery was severely punished and women could be beaten and have their hair and ears or noses cropped and men could be beaten senseless by their wives' female relatives. At the death of a spouse, the survivor entered a period of mourning during which he or she remained largely secluded and unkempt, cared for by the deceased's female relatives. This period lasted four months for men and four years for women, though the deceased spouse's female relatives could shorten that period. At the end of the mourning period the clan of the deceased was expected to provide a replacement spouse, who could be refused by either men or women. Divorce was common and could be initiated by either party. Men became free immediately, but women had to wait until the next Green Corn Ceremony. No stigma was attached to divorced persons, except in cases of adultery. These practices continued into the early twentieth century, but were subsequently abandoned, though a preference for matrilocality still exists among social conservatives.

Domestic Unit. Traditionally Creeks lived in nuclear family houses comprising two to four buildings around an interior courtyard. Houses were arranged in matrilocal extended family clusters and clan wards. Each household was economically independent, though some labor pooling and resource sharing existed within the extended family and clan. During the twentieth century the economic and social conditions produced trends toward dispersed nuclear family households. Some extended family clusters characterize more conservative rural communities and three generational families are common, owing to poverty and the prevalence of single mothers since the late twentieth century.

Inheritance. Aboriginally inheritance passed from mother to daughter and mother's brother to sister's son, though fathers could bequeath some limited property to their own children by public declaration. During the nineteenth century the Creek Nation permitted general patrilineal inheritance, but required public testament. Matrilineal inheritance remained the default rule until the twentieth century and the conflicting rules provided a major source of legal disputes. Since 1907, Oklahoma statutes governing intestate inheritance have prevailed, though there is some tendency to ultimogeniture in actual practice.

Socialization. Aboriginally mothers had primary responsibility for socializing children, aided by their brothers and clan elders. These latter also supervised the education of boys from about five or six. Socialization was and is generally permissive, with ridicule and ostracism used to discipline the children. Clan uncles punished more severe or repeated infractions by scratching the arms or legs with a gar tooth or sewing needle. Since the 1930s, fathers have assumed a more active role in socializing children along with other trends toward Euro-American practices. Maternal uncles often retain an active interest in socially conservative families.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Hereditary ranking and seniority played a central role in aboriginal social organization. All of the descent groups were ranked, with the Hathakaki superior to the Cilokaki. One clan within each phratry and one lineage within each clan acted as "elder brother" or "mother's brother, " providing group leadership. Despite matrilineality and matrilocality, marked male dominance characterized gender relations, though women retained important property rights and unmarried women enjoyed complete sexual freedom. Interaction and intermarriage with white traders led to the emergence of a new mercantile class in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which came to dominate the tribal government. This class adopted many elements of Euro-American culture and became distinct from the mass of the people.

Political Organization. The town or italwa, which comprised one or more villages *(talofa),* was the primary sociopolitical unit. Each town was a quasi-independent political, ritual, and social unit and one village served as the capital with a ceremonial plaza or square ground where public political discussion took place. A hereditary chief or *mikko,* advised by a council of hereditary and appointive officials, clan heads, and other prominent men, governed each town. Each town also had a military organization, subordinate to the civil authorities, headed by the *tastanakaki* or war chiefs. Town membership was inherited matrilineally, but individuals could be adopted in with the mikko's permission.

Towns were grouped into four named regional groups organized as confederacies of paramount chiefdoms, each with a council of town officials and a paramount chief. In the early eighteenth century, these region groups joined together to form the Creek Confederacy under the leadership of Coweta. By the late eighteenth century, the Coosas, Talapusas, and Alabamas had merged to form a single "Upper Creek" council and the Confederacy had evolved into a true national government. Separate Upper Creek and Lower Creek (Coweta) councils continued until after the American Civil War. The Creek Nation adopted written laws in 1840 and a written constitution in 1859. Under the constitution, the government consisted of the "principal chief from Coweta, a "second chief from the Upper Creeks, and National Council consisting of the mikkos (the House of Kings) and the head warriors (House of Warriors) of all the towns. A new constitution after the Civil War provided for elected officials, but the Lower Creeks continued to provide most principal chiefs and hereditary officials continued to represent many of the towns. The tribal government was dissolved in 1906 by the federal government following allotment and antecedent to creating the state of Oklahoma, but was reestablished in 1971, under provisions of the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. The current tribal government consists of a principal chief and second chief, elected at large, and a council of representatives of each of eight districts.

Social Control. Much behavior was regulated by gossip or by fear of divine retribution for violations of sacred law. Clans also regulated the conduct of their members and elders could punish members for infractions, typically by fines or scratching. Clans also sought direct remedies for personal injury to the members by beatings, confiscation of property, or by re-

taliatory killing for homicide. The mikko could intervene and adjudicate conflicts between clans within the towns. The tastanaki enforced his edicts by fines or whippings. The national government settled disputes between towns, and the national council served as a court of appeals in the nineteenth century. The tribal courts were dissolved along with the tribal government and the Creeks placed under federal and state courts.

Conflict. During the eighteenth century, the regional groups often pursued independent policies. In the late eighteenth century, a new mercantile class, mostly of mixed ancestry, emerged, dividing the nation. In the 1820s conflicts between Lower Creek members of this class and conservatives erupted over removal. Conflicts between the Lower Creeks, dominated by the mercantile class, and the more conservative Upper Creeks characterized the nation after removal, culminating in the civil split. These conflicts continued until allotment. In the twentieth century, conflicts emerged between Christians and traditionalists, as well as between social conservatives and more assimilated tribal members.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Aboriginal religion is polytheistic, with several gods who reside above, and a multitude of spirits, who primarily reside under the earth. They also believe in a pervasive spiritual power *(hiliswa)* that permeates the universe and inheres to varying degrees in persons, places, and objects. Ritual and political office derives from possession of this power, which is inherited, primarily in the female line. Animate beings possess two souls: the vital force *(hisakita* or breath) which dissipates at death and the eternal spiritual soul *(poyifikca).* Even inanimate objects may possess this soul. Individuals can capture the soul of another, including those of under-earth spirits, and harness its power for their own use. The creator, *Hisakita Imissi* (Master of Breath) heads the pantheon, followed by the Sun and the Sacred Fire. The latter is the tutelary deity of the town and the creator's representative. Other deities include the Moon, Thunder, Corn, and the Four Winds.

While about 20-25 percent of the Creeks still follow the traditional religion, most are Christians, primarily of the Baptist or, less commonly, Methodist denominations. The Creek Baptists and Methodists maintain their own churches with a native clergy and native language services, which are associated with the tribal towns. The Baptists are totally independent of other church associations and heavily influenced by native belief and practice.

Religious Practitioners. Native priests supervised most ritual activity and all public celebrations. Candidates were chosen on the basis of inherent sacred power and served a prolonged apprenticeship that was required to memorize the ceremonies. Some candidates only completed part of the training or only took specialized courses. Those who completed the full course helped conduct the public ceremonies and became eligible to succeed as head priest of the town. The Creeks also had specialized diviners and a separate war priesthood. Ordination of native preachers played an important role in converting Creeks to Christianity. Native Baptist preachers often function in a similar manner to native priests.

Ceremonies. The Creek ceremonial cycle focused on four calendrical ceremonies marking the agricultural cycle. Each town held its own ceremonies. A planting ceremony in late April or early May opened the ceremonial season. Following at approximately monthly intervals came Little Green Corn and Green Corn or Apuskita. This latter was the most important and marked the new year, with the rekindling of the sacred fire and general world renewal. The harvest ceremony occurred between late August and early October, depending on the town. Some towns continue to celebrate this ceremonial cycle, but most Creeks have converted to Christianity.

Arts. The Creeks once had a highly developed decorative art tradition in several media, but most has disappeared. Only a small amount of finger weaving of sashes remains. Sewing of ribbon shirts, decorative vests, and special women's dresses and blouses emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Music, central to native religious practice, remains a vital tradition. In addition to sacred and secular songs in the native tradition, there is also a Western-derived gospel music tradition in the native language.

Medicine. No real separation existed between religion and medicine in the native system and most curers were priests or had received some priestly training. Disease derived from violations of sacred law or spiritual pollution or from the malevolent actions of another. Curing consisted of ritual purification and driving out of evil influences. Witches and animal spirits were commonly cited as causes of disease and some diseases were associated with particular animal species. Herbalists also practiced and most people knew curing rituals for minor afflictions. Native Christian preachers and deacons also often work as curers in this native tradition. Most Creeks now receive Western clinical treatment, but many also rely on the native curers who are numerous in many areas.

Death and Afterlife. In native belief the afterlife generally resembles earthly life, but without suffering. At death, the life force dissipates and the soul travels to the land of the dead in the west along the Milky Way. The soul remains around the grave for four days after death and may return to it at various times. Both traditionalist and Christian Creeks maintain low grave houses over the graves for the use of the returning souls. Some classes of the dead, such as women who died in childbirth or unavenged murder victims, were considered unable to complete the journey and to wander lost or become malevolent ghosts at the site of their death. The body is buried with personal possessions and food offerings for the journey and monthly offerings are left at the grave for the first year. The spirits of the dead are believed to appear in dreams to advise the living. Dead bodies were considered polluting and only members of the immediate families traditionally touched them. Among traditionalists, no one who has attended a funeral can participate in the ceremonies.

For the original article on the Creek, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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Crow

ETHNONYMS: The Crow often refer to themselves as the Apsaalooke or Absaroka, which are commonly translated as "Children of the Large-Beaked Bird. " Although this bird probably was a raven, a misinterpretation by early Euro-American trappers led to their addressing the Apsaalooke as the Crow.

Orientation

Identification and Location« The historical homeland of the Crow was in south-central Montana and north-central Wyoming, along the Yellowstone and Big Horn river drainages, north to the Musselshell River, east to the Powder River, south to the Wind River Mountains, and west to Yellowstone Lake and the Rocky Mountains. Located in the heart of former Crow territory in south-central Montana near Billings, the Crow Indian Reservation is close to 2. 3 million acres (5. 7 million hectares) in size, of which nearly a third is owned by non-Indians. The environment is a mixture of grassland prairies, cottonwood-treed alluvial river valleys, and deciduous and coniferous foothill and mountain forests rich in edible roots and berries and suitable for grazing herd animals.

Demography. In 1833 the Crow population was estimated to be 6, 400. After smallpox epidemics, the loss of the buffalo, confinement to a reservation in 1868, and the allotment process, by the early 1930s the population had decreased to 1, 625. As a result of improved health care and economic opportunities, the 1998 Crow population approached 10, 000 enrolled individuals.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Crow language is part of the Siouan linguistic family, with close affiliation with the Hidatsa of North Dakota. In the 1990s up to a third of the population continued to speak the native language.

History and Cultural Relations

A historic migration of the Crow from the Lake Winnipeg region of Canada into the Bighorn and Yellowstone river drainages of Montana and Wyoming predated the arrival of the horse. After their acquisition of the horse as early as the 1730s, Crow life was socially, politically, and religiously transformed. Among the enemies of the Crow were the Blackfeet, Cheyenne, and Dakota; the Hidatsa and Shoshone were allies. With the signing of the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868, the Crow entered into a trust relationship with the U. S. government and were confined to a reservation. Catholic missionary activity and schools were established, under-mining many aspects of tribal culture, particularly ceremonialism. With the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and other subsequent federal legislation, the Crow began reasserting their sovereignty and entered into government-to-government relations with the United States.

Settlements

Before the acquisition of the horse the Crow lived among the Hidatsa in earthen-lodge sedentary farming communities along the Missouri River. After the Crow became bison hunters, the four-pole-styled, buffalo-hide conical tipi was adopted. The tipis could be moved easily, becoming horse-dragged travois on which family property and provisions could be transported. Noted for their long poles up to twenty-five feet in length, Crow tipis were typically unpainted. During the 1990s much of population lived on the reservation in rural homesteads or in Crow Agency, Lodge Grass, Pryor, and Wyola. A significant Crow population lives off-reservation in Billings, Montana.

Economy

Subsistence. After the acquisition of the horse, a sedentary horticultural-based economy revolving around the cultivation of crops such as maize was transformed into a transhumant buffalo-hunting economy. Large game animals such as buffalo, elk, and deer were hunted using communal and individual techniques and bow and arrow technology. Coinciding with the destruction of the bison herds in the 1860s and 1870s and the implementation of the Dawes Act of 1887, sedentary farming, cattle raising, and a cash-based economy were encouraged by governmental and missionary agents.

Commercial Activities. During the 1990s, while unemployment rates remained high, job opportunities were found primarily in education and health care delivery and in local, tribal, and federal government agencies. Cash income is acquired by leasing land to white farmers and ranchers and from a tribal severance tax on coal mining. With the location of the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument on the reservation, limited income is obtained through tourism.

Industrial Arts. Using buffalo or mountain sheep horn, a composite sinew-back bow was made for both hunting and warfare. Women's dress styles included a distinctive elk-

tooth front and back decoration. Although elaborately beaded articles of clothing and other objects continue to be produced by many families, this craft seldom is commercialized and the products are not sold publicly. Basketry, pottery, weaving, and intricate woodcarving were not practiced.

Trade. During the era of the buffalo-hunting economy an annual rendezvous with sedentary horticultural tribes such as the Hidatsa and Mandan occurred. Balanced, reciprocity-based exchanges included Crow buffalo hides and meat for Hidatsa maize and other cultivated foods.

Division of Labor. Men were primarily responsible for game hunting, ranching, and tribal governmental and military activities. Women were primarily responsible for household, child rearing, food preparation, and wild plant food collecting activities. Because they owned tipis, women erected and took down the lodges. These dichotomized roles were replaced during the late twentieth century with greater opportunities for women to become involved in political and economic affairs.

Land Tenure. While pursuing a horticultural economy, it was likely that women had a significant influence on land use and inheritance decisions. After the advent of a transhumant buffalo-hunting economy, there was no individual ownership of land. Crow hunting territories were defended against enemy use. Individual land tenure was promoted by the imposition of the Dawes Act.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Crow maintain a matrilineal clan structure with thirteen named clans. The clans are grouped into six unnamed and loosely organized phratries as well as into two primary bands, the Mountain and River divisions, along with a third minor band, the Kicked-in-the-Bellies. The bands are composed of all thirteen clans. Within the clans and extending into the phratry and band groups, members recognize mutual obligations to assist one another.

Kinship Terminology. A "Crow kinship" system is practiced. Cross-generational equivalence is extended to the males in both the matrilineal clan ("older" and "younger brothers") and the father's mother's clan ("fathers"), while sisters within the matrilineal clan are classified as "mothers." The *aassahke* ("fathers" or "clan uncles") continue to provide a pivotal kinship relationship. A clan uncle is any male member of the father's mother's clan. Such individuals are to be respected like "medicine," with gifts of food and blankets provided to them during give-aways. In turn, aassahke bestow on a child an "Indian name," sing "praise songs" for one's accomplishments, and offer protective prayers.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Exogamy extended to the members of both the matrilineal and the father's mother's clan. There were no proscriptive marriage rules. In seeking a marriage, a groom would give a bride-price of a horse to the bride's family. Although parents had considerable influence over a young daughter, a woman was not coerced to marry someone she disdained. Matrilocal residence, polygyny, mother-in-law avoidance, and the levirate generally were practiced. No ceremony marked a marriage union, with either a husband or a wife able to secure a divorce easily and free to remarry. Under Christian missionary influence, polygyny is much less frequently practiced and a formal wedding ritual has been introduced.

Domestic Unit. During prereservation times the primary household structure expressed matrilineal, multigenerational influences. This extended family unit typically included maternal grandparents, sisters and their spouses, and the children of those sisters. During the 1990s it was not uncommon to see grandparents residing with their children and multiple sibling marriages with the children living together in a single household, though not necessarily following matrilineal influences.

Inheritance. In a matrilineal society material property and spiritual possessions typically pass along the female line to brothers and sisters and their heirs. Honoring the specific requests of a dying person, property also could go to nonkinsmen and to all the members of the immediate family. On occasion spiritual objects such as medicine bundles might be ritually deposited into a river instead of being passed to a relative.

Socialization. Early child rearing was performed by the women of the family. A descriptive name would be ceremonially bestowed, with the name's attributes influencing the child's life. Few constraints were placed on children. Pre- and early teens began imitating adult camp activities. No formal puberty rituals were conducted for boys or girls, though girls were prohibited from interacting with others during their first and all subsequent menstruations. Vision questing by male youth helped secure a guardian spirit that would guide a young man throughout his life. Berdaches were not discouraged and were relatively common in prereservation times. Public and Catholic boarding schools have assumed much of the responsibility for socialization.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Crow society continues to be nonstratified and equalitarian. Complementing the kinship-based clans are reservation district-based groups. A central organizing principle around which much of Crow society revolves is understood in the Crow term for clan, *ashammaleaxia,* literally meaning "as driftwood lodges." As an individual piece of driftwood may not survive the powerful eddies and boulders of the Yellowstone and Bighorn rivers, an individual Crow may have difficulty surviving the river of life with its potential adversaries, whether the Blackfeet or unemployment and discrimination. By tightly lodging itself with other pieces of driftwood along the river's bank, the driftwood is protected. Individual Crow are protected and nurtured when lodged securely in the extensive web of mutually supportive kinship, social, and economic ties.

Political Organization. After the acquisition of the horse male leadership roles such as the "chief came to be based on achieving a series of war deeds or coups. Four generally recognized coups signified chiefly status: touching an enemy during combat, taking an enemy's weapon, taking a tethered horse, and leading a raid on an enemy known as a "pipe holder." The Crow did not adopt most of the specific provisions

of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and wrote their own constitution in 1948. It established a general-council government made up of every adult member of the tribe. The council elects four officers, a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, and a vice-secretary. Both men and women have served in these offices. Various governing committees oversee activities such as land purchases, industrial development, housing, education, and tribal enrollment. Tribal police and court systems are under the jurisdiction of the council.

Social Control. Conflict within the tribe could erupt between rival suitors or take the form of renewed long-standing feuds involving members of clans or military sodalities. In addition to the counsel provided by clan elders and chiefs, the threat of an escalation of fighting could mediate or resolve a conflict. Nevertheless, conflict between tribal members could end in armed fighting. In the 1990s tribal police and Federal Bureau of Investigation agents enforced laws and attempted to prevent intratribal conflicts. Tribal courts oversee tribal law codes and misdemeanors, and felonies are handled in U. S. federal courts.

Conflict. Conflict with another tribe could result from the desire for revenge, to gain honor (coups), or to capture a horse. Warfare did not result from attempts at territorial expansion by the Crow. During combat with another tribe much of the coordination of the warriors was orchestrated through the military sodalities, such as the Foxes and Lumpwoods. Each sodality had its own regalia and songs and exhibited intense rivalry as it attempted to outdo the others in combat. Ad hoc war parties could be organized to seek limited ends. During the twentieth century Crow men and women regularly served in the U. S. military and were honored publicly as veterans of foreign wars.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Although addressed by a number of names, an omnipresent though nonanthropomorphic creator is understood to be ultimately responsible for the animation of the world. Direct spiritual access is mediated through "medicine fathers" or guardian spirits. Often expressed as an animal such as an eagle, buffalo, or elk, medicine fathers are sought in vision quests. If the quest is successful, the vision seeker is "adopted" by the medicine father and given a "medicine, " a spiritual power known as *baaxpee*. Represented in a medicine bundle, the baaxpee helps guide one's life and is applied when one is ill. The Crow attribute their origins and the creation of the world to the trickster Old Man Coyote. Old Man Coyote is traveling alone in a cold and wet world. As four ducks fly over, he asks each to dive beneath the waters and bring up some earth so that he can make the land. The first three ducks dive unsuccessfully. Old Man Coyote asks the fourth duck, Hell-Diver, to bring up some earth. The duck dives deep and finally surfaces with a small piece of mud. With this earth Old Man Coyote travels from east to west and makes the mountains and rivers and the animals and plants. As it is still a lonely place, he molds from the earth an image he likes and blows a small breath into it. The first man is made, but Old Man Coyote is not satisfied. He tries again and prefers his second attempt, the first woman. Old Man Coyote is no longer alone. He teaches the people how to live and pray and gives them their language and clan system and many of their ceremonies.

Religious Practitioners. A variety of individuals perform different religious functions. Herbalists have extensive knowledge of plant remedies to treat specific illnesses. Certain medicine men and women with baaxpee conduct hunting and healing ceremonies, foretell the future, locate lost items or individuals, and officiate over Sun Dances and Peyote Meetings. Although access to and the acquisition of medicine were widespread among the adult population in former times, being a medicine person continues to entail having a variety of medicines and being publicly acknowledged by other members of the community. Christian practices are co-ordinated by priests and ministers.

Ceremonies. Ceremonies permeate all aspects of Crow life. Individual family medicine bundles are opened throughout the year, and prayers for the family's welfare are offered. Sweat lodge rituals involve prayer, ritual cleansing, and healing. Youths seek their medicine during a summer's vision quest. Unique to the Crow is the Tobacco Society. The sacred tobacco seeds are planted and harvested by its adopted members. A bountiful tobacco seed harvest foretells a success year for the entire tribe. After the acquisition of the horse the summer's Sun Dance became a prominent ceremonial expression, helping to unite the tribe and providing a means to obtain baaxpee to avenge the death of a relative. Although the last "buffalo-days" Sun Dance was held in 1875, Sun Dancing resumed in the 1940s, though with a different motivation. As many as 120 men and women participate in the dance. Each dancer pledges to go without food and water and "dry up" to help a relative who may be sick or in need. Typically, the dances last three days. During the Sun Dance individual participants offer prayers for family members and the welfare of all peoples, the sick are "doctored" by medicine men, and individual dancers may be given a vision. Other forms of ceremonial expression are found in Native American Church Peyote Meetings as well as Catholic, Baptist, Mormon, and Evangelical Christian services.

Arts. Made with Crow-stitch and overlay-stitch techniques, geometric and floral beadwork designs adorn powwow dance regalia, belts, vests, pipe bags, and horse trappings. A characteristic Crow beadwork and painted raw-hide parfleche design is the "hourglass" formed by two isosceles triangles joined at the apex. Powwow dancing and singing occur throughout the year, culminating in the annual Crow Fair, which involves up to twenty thousand participants attending the weeklong celebrations in August. Among many families the winter is a time for telling Coyote stories and maintaining other oral traditions. The story of Burnt Face is an important oral tradition. A young boy is badly scarred and subsequently ostracized. He fasts from food and water for several days in the Big Horn Mountains. While on the mountain he assembles the "Big Horn Medicine Wheel" as a gift to the Sun. Having given of himself, Burnt Face is "adopted" by the Little People, who remove his scar. He returns to his people and becomes a great healer. Using Euro-American painting techniques and Indian subjects, several Crow artists have gained an international reputation.

Medicine. Illness and misfortune can be attributed to both natural and spiritual causes. A variety of plants were and

continue to be used for medicinal purposes. An example is "bear root, " which is used as a tea to treat sore throats and colds, made into a poultice for swelling, and burned as incense during sweat bathing. Ritual healing during a sweat bath, Sun Dance, Peyote Meeting, or medicine bundle opening also be applied to effect a cure. A "jealous" individual may use "bad medicine" to "shoot" an object into a person. The ritual healing can involve a medicine man "sucking" the object out. Sickness also can be treated with an eagle feather fan. The fan and baaxpee are applied to the afflicted area of the patient and then removed, pulling out the sickness. The application of scientific medicine typically is viewed as complementary to the use of tribal healing practices.

Death and Afterlife, Upon death an individual traditionally would be wrapped in a blanket with his or her favorite possessions and placed either on a burial scaffold or in a tree. After decomposition the bones and remaining articles would be buried in the earth or a rock crevice. After death the kinsmen of the deceased would begin a period of mourning lasting up to a year, refraining from participation in most social events. Immediate family members, both male and female, would cut their hair short, gash themselves with knives, and often cut off finger joints. While the spirit of the deceased may remain close to the corpse, it eventually moves on to a camp of the dead. During this transition period the ghost of the deceased may visit its living relatives or may be heard in the call of an owl. If death came in a violent fashion, the ghost may continue to visit relatives until a ceremony placating it is performed. In most families there was little concern with or articulation of the nature of life after death. In the twentieth century Christian practices and ideas increasingly were integrated into wakes and burial ceremonies and in the conceptualization of an afterlife.

For the original article on the Crow, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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RODNEY FREY

Cuban Americans

ETHNONYMS: Cubans, cubanos

Orientation

Identification and Location. Cubans living in the United States originate in Cuba, the largest island in the Caribbean Sea and the one closest to the North American continent. Two-thirds of Cuban Americans live in Florida and over half in Miami-DDE County. Elsewhere in the United States, Cubans live almost exclusively in large metropolitan areas, especially Greater New York City-New Jersey and Los Angeles. Those two metropolitan areas, together with Miami, contain more than three-fourths of the Cuban American population.

Demography. According to the 2000 census there were 1, 241, 685 persons in the United States who identified themselves, in accordance with the terminology of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, as being of Cuban "origin or descent. " By far the bulk of that population was born in Cuba and migrated to the United States since 1960. Cubans represent the third-largest single national-origin group within the Hispanic or Latino population of the United States, outranked only by Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. According to the 2000 census, 74. 2 percent of Cuban Americans lived in the South (833, 120 in Florida), 13. 6 percent in the Northeast (139, 927 in New Jersey and New York), 8. 5 percent in the West (72, 286 in California), and 3. 6 percent in the Midwest.

Although immigrant populations tend to be young and composed primarily of men, this does not apply to the Cuban American population, which is characterized by high proportions of the middle-aged, elderly, and women. The median age of Cuban Americans (40. 7 in 2000) far exceeds that of the general U. S. population. The ratio of women to men among Cuban Americans is also higher than in the rest of the population. These age and gender characteristics are understandable only in the context of the special conditions of Cuban migration. The Cuban government has largely prohibited the emigration of males of military age. That restriction had a particular impact on the age and gender composition of the migrants arriving between 1965 and 1973 through the airlift. It resulted in an extraordinarily high ratio of women to men among those who were between 25 and 40 years of age in 1980. The high proportions of elderly and middle-aged persons are also rooted in the conditions of migration. During the 1960s, young families, with household heads in their late 20s and early 30s, predominated in the exodus from Cuba. This is a large cohort that was in their 50s and 60s at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Additionally, the elderly represented one of the groups most alienated by the sweeping

changes introduced by the Cuban revolution. Because this age group was largely a dependent population, the Cuban government facilitated its departure, especially during the airlift. The high percentage of elderly and middle-aged among Cuban Americans is also boosted by a birthrate (16 births per 1000 people) significantly lower than that of other immigrant groups.

Linguistic Affiliation. Cubans speak Spanish. Cuba's non-Spanish immigrant populations in the twentieth century undoubtedly retained their native languages for use in private settings. But every indication seems to point to a widespread adoption of Spanish for public use, so that multilingual ism has not been an evident feature of Cuban society in this century. The importance of the United States in the economy of the Cuban Republic, especially tourism and corporate investment, resulted by the middle of this century, in a noticeable use of English as a second language, especially in the capital and among the upper socio-economic sectors. Cuban Spanish is also peppered with words and idiomatic expressions that are clearly African in origin. The Yoruba language of West Africa is reportedly spoken as a second language among some descendants of African slaves and is also used in religious rituals of African origin.

Among Cuban Americans there appear to be substantial differences between generations in the use of Spanish. Those born in Cuba and who arrived in the United States as adults are more likely to have Spanish as their primary language. In Miami's large Cuban enclave, in which the first generation still predominates, Spanish is a very public language, widely used in business and the media. The size and importance of the Miami enclave has also affected the second generation, which exhibits a tendency to acquire Spanish and to speak it at home with their parents. Research shows, however, that despite the second generation's ability to use Spanish, their language of preference is English.

History *and Cultural Relations*

From the early nineteenth century through the beginning of the twenty-first century, the United States has been the principal country of destination for Cuban emigrants. The development of close economic, political, and cultural relations between the two nations when Cuba was still a Spanish colony attracted to the Unites States Cubans who felt compelled to leave the island, especially those who left for political reasons. By the 1820s there was a significant community of Cubans residing in New York City, the center of Cuban emigration activity throughout the nineteenth century. Most were intellectual and political figures who lived in exile due to their support for Cuban autonomy from Spain. The most important figure of the early New York community was a Catholic priest, Félix Varela y Morales, who arrived there in 1823 and remained there almost until his death in 1853. He became an important leader and builder of the Catholic diocese of New York.

Cuban emigrants who supported annexation of the island to the United States formed a small but politically active community in New Orleans during the 1840s and 1850s. The growing North-South conflict in this country fueled support among Southern planters for the annexation of Cuba, since it would have entered the Union as a slave state. The planters supported efforts by the Cubans in New Orleans to prepare insurgent activities against Spanish control of the island. The intensification of the Cuban independence movement after 1868 increased the number of Cuban exiles residing in the United States, especially in New York. That movement culminated at the end of the century with the war against Spain and the end of the colonial era in 1898. During the 1880s and 1890s New York was the center of the movement led by José Martí to take the struggle for Cuban independence to the island. Mart, regarded as the most important forger of the Cuban nation, lived in New York for nearly fifteen years in a fairly large community of fellow expatriates.

The turmoil caused in the island by the independence movement compelled many cigar manufacturers to move their operations to Florida. They relocated their factories to Key West, only 90 miles north of Cuba. In 1886, Vicente Martínez Ybor, manufacturer of the "Prince of Wales" brand of cigars, opened his factory in the outskirts of Tampa, Florida, in what become known as Ybor City. Other manufacturers followed him, so that by the 1890s, Ybor City grew to become the largest community of Cuban Americans in the nineteenth century. The cigar factories in Ybor City depended on the importation of both tobacco leaves and cigar workers from Cuba, and the community, founded entirely by Cuban immigrants, flourished. The manufacturers did not just build factories, but also housing for the workers and infrastructure, and supported the active social life of the community. By the 1920s, however, Havana regained its position as the center of cigar manufacturing, and many manufacturers and their workers returned there. Ybor City declined in importance as a Cuban American community.

The decades of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s witnessed a tremendous movement of people across the Strait of Florida between the United States and Cuba. The close economic and political ties between the two countries during the first half of the twentieth century had profound cultural and social implications. Havana became one of the foremost foreign destinations for U. S. tourists. At the same time, many Cubans traveled to the United States on a temporary basis. Some did so as students at American universities and others were businessmen involved in the growing flow of capital and goods to Cuba. Others, professionals in sports or music, sought to develop their careers in the United States. The presence in the United States of Cubans among the ranks of professional boxers and major league baseball players became notable. Exponents of Afro-Cuban music, especially percussionists, had a significant influence in the development of both "Big Band" music and jazz in the United States.

In 1959, a process was initiated that in a few years would totally alter Cuba's social, economic, and political institutions. The government which rose to power that year rapidly transformed a dependent capitalist economic system, closely intertwined with the United States, into a centrally-planned system presumably guided by Marxist-Leninist principles, in conflict with the United States and in close alliance with and dependence on the Soviet Union. Such a radical transformation prompted an unprecedented exodus from the island to the United States. Never before in the long history of Cuban migration to this country had the flow of persons attained the levels reached in the four decades that followed 1959. Four major waves took place during four distinct time periods. The

first was from 1959 to 1962, when regular commercial air traffic still moved between the United States and Cuba and brought approximately 200, 000 people to this country. Next, between 1965-1973 260, 500 Cubans arrived through an air-lift, or "freedom flights, " sponsored by the U. S. government. These flights operated on a regular basis during those years from Cuba to Miami. The third wave occurred during nine months in 1980, when the notorious Ariel boat lift brought some 125, 000 Cubans to the United States in a dramatic fashion. The most recent wave of migration was during the 1994 rafter crisis, when nearly 36, 700 persons left Cuba for the United States, most of them in makeshift rafts. Migration from socialist Cuba to the United States has been viewed as heavily influenced by social class and described as a successive " p e e l i n g off, " starting at the top, of the layers of the pre-revolutionary class structure. This was especially evident in the first migration wave, which was characterized by the exodus of the island's elite. That elite possessed a set of abilities, attitudes, qualifications, and orientations that formed the basis for the relatively successful socio-economic adjustment of Cubans in the United States in recent decades.

Settlements

The settlement of Cubans in the United States has occurred almost exclusively in large metropolitan areas, with Miami, New York-New Jersey, and Los Angeles accounting for three-fourths of the total Cuban-origin population of the United States. Miami is the undisputed "Mecca" for Cuban Americans: over half (52. 4 percent) live in Miami-DDE County, Florida. In 1970, only 40 percent of Cubans in the United States lived in Greater Miami. The concentration of Cubans in Miami originated in the initial dispersion caused by the U. S. government's Cuban Refugee Resettlement Program. With the goal of easing the pressure of Cuban immigration on Miami, the program scattered some 300, 000 Cubans throughout the United States in the period from 1961 to 1978. Families arriving from Cuba were given assistance if they immediately relocated away from Miami. The assistance included transportation costs to the new destination, help in finding housing and employment, and financial assistance until such time as employment was secured. The bulk of the resettlements took place during the early years of the airlift in the 1960s. Almost immediately after the inception of the program, a "trickle-back" to Miami was underway, and the concentration in Miami continues to this day. The data show that the communities outside of Florida that received the largest number of resettled Cubans are precisely the communities that have recently been losing a large number of Cubans to Florida.

Economy

Commercial Activities. Miami's Cuban community is regarded as the foremost example in the United States of a true ethnic enclave. The basis of the enclave is highly differentiated entrepreneurial activity. Miami is the U. S. metropolitan area with the highest per capita number of Hispanic-owned businesses. The community's entrepreneurial base was established largely by the Cuban immigrants who arrived in the 1960s, the entrepreneurial class displaced by the socialist revolution. They possessed the skills and attitudes that eventually made possible their successful entry into a wide-range of self-employment. There are three sectors of Miami's economy in which Cuban American entrepreneurship is especially evident and which represent the principal spheres of Cuban American economic participation: construction and real estate development, professional services, and international trade and commerce. Strong and diversified entrepreneurial activity is responsible for the enclave's most important feature: institutional completeness. Cubans in Miami can literally live their lives without leaving their ethnic community. The wide range of sales and services, including professional services, available within the community makes this possible. In terms of economic activities, the completeness of the enclave means that many recent Cuban immigrants enter the U. S. labor market through the large number of businesses that are owned and operated by members of their own group. Compensation is usually not higher in the enclave, but ethnic bonds provide for informal networks of support that facilitate the learning of new skills and the overall process of economic adjustment. The enclave's positive implications for economic adjustment are seen as a factor that has maintained the relatively high socio-economic position of Cuban Americans.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The marital status composition of Cubans in the United States shows a relatively high proportion of married, divorced, and widowed persons, with a correspondingly low percentage of persons who have never married. This is not surprising given the relatively high numbers of persons who are elderly and middle-aged among Cuban Americans. Cuban American marriages may be subject to particular pressures that lead to higher rates of marital conflict and dissolution. One pressure originates in the success orientation and family work ethic that have resulted in high rates of female participation in the labor force. The definitions of the male role have not totally adjusted to the realities of female employment so as to permit greater sharing of household tasks. Consequently, Cuban women have the double burden of employment and domestic responsibilities. The high divorce rate is most evident among women. The usual gap between the genders in the percent who are divorced is especially pronounced among Cuban Americans. Although this may well be the result of a high divorce rate, it may also reflect the relative disadvantage that a divorced Cuban American woman faces if she wishes to remarry within the group given the relative abundance of women in cohorts that have recently passed through the prime marital ages. That numerical imbalance between the sexes may have also influenced the incidence of intermarriage. Studies have shown that Cubans, in comparison with many other immigrant groups in the United States, are more likely to marry outside their particular group.

Domestic Unit. Among Cuban Americans the high proportion of divorced women does not translate itself into household characteristics usually associated with a high divorce rate. Among Cubans, a relatively high proportion of children under age 18 live with both parents, and there is a fairly low number of families headed by women with no adult male present. The divorced Cuban woman tends to return to her parents' household and, given the relatively low birth rate, she is not likely to have children, a factor that favors her return to the parental home.

One of the most distinctive features of the Cuban American household is the relatively widespread existence of the three-generation family. Compared with other populations in the United States, the Cuban elderly are not likely to be heads of households and much more likely to live with their children. They also tend not to live in nursing homes, especially in comparison with the total elderly population of the United States. Many Cuban Americans believe it is disgraceful to have a widowed parent living alone or in a nursing home. Furthermore, because many of the Cuban elderly arrived in this country past their working ages, they were in an especially vulnerable situation in adjusting to life in this country, both economically and culturally.

Sociopolitical Organization

Political Organization. The Cuban American community, especially in Miami, is highly politically active. Although more than four decades have passed since the Cuban Revolution, many Cuban Americans remain "exiles, " focused on the political status of the homeland. The principal focus of political discourse and mobilization is still Cuba, and the goal is the overthrow of the current Cuban government. Consequently, the principal voluntary associations within the Cuban community are usually centered on organizing opposition to the Cuban regime through tactics aimed at isolating the Havana government. One paradox of Cuban American political organization is that despite the manifest emphasis on the affairs of the homeland, the community, especially in Miami, has developed a strong participation in the U. S. political system at the state and local levels. Starting in the late 1970s Cubans started occupying important elected and appointed positions in various government entities in southern Florida. By the middle and late 1990s, Cuban Americans represented the predominant force in the political landscape of the region. Most of the mayors and commissioners of the cities located within the Greater Miami metropolitan area were Cuban Americans. The public school system, the county administration, the largest institutions of public higher education, and the county police were all headed by Cuban Americans. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the majority of Florida's state legislators from Greater Miami were Cuban American, and three persons of Cuban origin served in the U. S. Congress (two from Florida and one from New Jersey).

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. As in most of Latin America, the predominant religion in Cuba during the last five hundred years is Roman Catholicism. Throughout most of its history in Cuba, however, the Church has not had the influence it enjoyed throughout the rest of the area. Cuba's role in the Spanish Empire was almost exclusively centered on Havana as a pivotal port city in Spain's trade system. Since its establishment, the Cuban capital has had a distinctly secular character, and observers have long noted the lack of religiosity among the inhabitants of the island. Most Cubans, therefore, can best be described as nominal Catholics.

The influence of Catholicism was further weakened in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the entry of large numbers of non-Catholics. Of special importance were the large migration flows of African slaves during the first half of the nineteenth century. The cults from West Africa eventually blended their traditions with many Catholic practices, resulting in a religious syncretism that is the basis of the religious beliefs of many Cubans, especially in the lower socioeconomic sectors. Religious heterogeneity was furthered by U. S. influence early in this century as a number of Protestant denominations made successful inroads in the island. During the twentieth century there were sizable migration flows to Cuba from China, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and the English and French Caribbean, all of which served to increase the non-Catholic population. Cubans in the United States reflect the island's religious traditions. While most are nominal Roman Catholics, there is also evidence of substantial heterogeneity in religious beliefs. The Cuban tradition of secularism continues in the United States. Religion does not constitute the basis for the principal organized voluntary activities among Cuban Americans. The principal institutions in the community are almost exclusively political and economic, not religious.

Arts. Drawing upon a dynamic artistic and cultural tradition that flourished in Havana during the first half of the twentieth century, Cubans in the United States have made important contributions in the arts. A sizable group of Cuban American painters have produced works that are in high demand in the art world. These painters span several generations and include the established artists that migrated from Cuba in the early 1960s as well as a younger generation that left the island in the 1980s and 1990s. In Miami, Cubans have made an indelible mark on the artistic and cultural programs of the city. This is true not only in painting, but also in film, theater, dance, and architecture.

For other cultures in The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures by country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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LISANDRO PÈREZ

Cusabo

ETHNONYMS: The term "Cusabo" refers to nineteen independent American Indian tribes. The name means Kussah-River. The five principal tribes were the Kussoe, Edisto, Escamacu (Saint Helena), Kiawah, and Etiwan. The smaller tribes were the Ashepoo, Bohicket, Combahee, Hoya, Kussah, Mayon, Sampa, Sewee, Stalame, Stono, Toupa, Wando, Wimbee, and Witcheaugh.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The name "Cusabo" was used between 1707 and 1720 as a convenient designation for small tribes living in and near English settlements in South Carolina. Earlier and later, these tribes usually were referred to individually or by general designations such as the Settlement Indians, Neighboring Indians, and Parched-Corn Indians.

From 1562 to 1685 the French, Spanish, and English recorded information about nineteen separate tribes living on or near the South Atlantic coast between the Santee and Savannah rivers. The Kussoe and Kussah occupied much of the interior of this area, which generally is referred to as the Lowcountry. In 1675 the "great and the Lesser Cassoe" were forced to cede their lands at the headwaters of the Ashley River. In 1684 eight separate cessions cleared the title to most of the land from the Stono River south to the Savannah River. The eight tribes ceding land were the Ashepoo, Combahee, Edisto, Kussah, Stono, Saint Helena (Escamacu), Wimbee, and Witcheaugh. Although the western boundaries of these cessions extended to the Appalachian Mountains, none of these tribes is known to have occupied land more than about fifty miles from the coast, and the Piedmont was occupied by unrelated tribes. Other tribes that were probably indigenous to the Lowcountry were the Bohicket, Etiwan, Hoya, Kiawah, Mayon, Sampa, Sewee, Stalame, Touppa, and Wando. None of these tribes is known to have lived outside the Lowcountry, with the possible exception of some "Coosa" who had united with the Catawba by 1743. The Sewee are the only one of these tribes definitely known to have spoken a language different from the principal one.

The total area occupied by all nineteen tribes was about 5, 000 square miles (8, 000 square kilometers), and different parts of it were occupied seasonally. During the summer most of these tribes lived on or near the coast. In other seasons they lived inland on freshwater rivers and streams in the lower coastal plain. This maximum height of the land within about fifty miles (80 kilometers) of the coast is around 70 feet (21 meters) above mean sea level. The soil is generally sandy except where deltas existed during earlier geological periods. This area includes few natural ponds or lakes. With one minor exception, the rivers between the Santee and the Savannah do not extend into the Piedmont, and an area with a relatively short river system and numerous sea islands provided the geographic isolation needed for a distinctive culture to develop.

Demography. The population in 1562 is unlikely to have been more than 1, 750. In 1562 the chiefs of the Edisto and Escamacu were accompanied by at least 200 men, implying a combined population for these two tribes of about 800. In 1579 the Coçapoy (probably the combined village of the Kussoe and the Kussah) had about 400 people. The Kussoe later claimed to have had as many as 1, 000 people; this is not possible but is otherwise undocumented. By 1682, the date of the earliest census, the Cusabo had been so reduced that the number of bowmen for each tribe was Kussah, 50; Kiawah, 40; Saint Helena, 30; Etiwan, 20; Stono, 16; and Edisto, 10. Multiplying these totals by four produces an estimated population of 664. This estimate is close to the totals in a census conducted in 1715, shortly before the Yemassee War began: Etiwan, 80 men and 160 women and children; Corsaboys (five villages), 95 men and 200 women; total, 535. The substantial reduction in population was caused primarily by disease (principally smallpox) and by attacks by the Spanish and by Indian allies of the French.

At least eleven other tribes occupied the Lowcountry that are not known to have lived there before 1684. In 1685 the Yemassee (a Muskogean people with a population of about 800) arrived suddenly, and in 1716 they were forced out. No other tribe is known to have lived in the Lowcountry until around 1721, when the remnants of various tribes began moving into the area, and in nearly all cases they were present for short periods. Some Natchez lived with the Kussoe, but they were probably the Natchez who later united with the Catawba.

In 1969 the principal Indian community in the Lowcountry was in the Four Holes vicinity near Ridgeville in Dorchester County, and it had a population of 271 Indians and four whites. The nearby community of Creeltown across the Edisto River in Colleton County had 78 Indians. In 1975 both groups formally adopted the name Edisto Indian People, but for their tribal government they retained the name Four Holes Indian Organization, Inc. By 2001 the tribal roll had increased to 784. These Indians consider themselves descendants of the "Kusso-Natchez" and have lived for at least 170 years in the vicinity of a reservation that was surveyed for the Kussoe in 1711. The Kussoe were last mentioned as a tribe in 1743 and were then living in Saint Paul's Parish. Although the land records for the district have been destroyed, ancestors of a number of families have been traced to the 1830 census; and before 1830 they are likely to have been exempt from taxation as Indians and consequently were not listed. Ridgeville was settled by families from Creeltown, and at least some of the families of Creeltown had earlier lived at Osborne and attended an Indian school on Edisto Island. The 2000 census listed a total of approximately 3, 000 persons who identified themselves exclusively as Indians living between the Santee and Savannah rivers within about *50* miles *(SO* kilometers) of the coast, and most of them lived in the vicinity of the last known locations of the principal Lowcountry tribes.

Linguistic Affiliation. The use of translators indicates that one language was spoken at least from the Port Royal River to the Cooper River. A different language was spoken south of the Savannah River, and yet another was spoken on the Santee River. The principal language was spoken by the Escamacu and was understood by the Ashepoo, Combahee, Kiawah, and Etiwan. The Sewee spoke the language of the Santee River, which was unintelligible to the Escamacu speakers and was probably a Catawban language. The Guale

tribes to the south of the Savannah River spoke a Muskhogean dialect that also was untelligible to the Escamacu (who were referred to by the Guale as "Chiluques, " that is, non-speakers of Muskhogean). Even though the Sewee did not speak Escamacu, they shared cultural traits with the Cusabo.

Escamacu may be an otherwise unknown language. About a hundred place names, a dozen personal names, and a dozen other words have survived. Meanings or probable meanings are known for 10 percent of these words, and no word with a known meaning has been matched with a known language. Nearly one-third of all surviving place names begin with a W.

History and Cultural Relations

Most tribes of the Cusabo were probably among the peoples who occupied the Southeast before the arrival of the Creeks (Muskhogean speakers) from the west and the Cherokee (Iroquoian speakers) from the north. The Cusabo were protected as fully as possible by the English to provide a warning against invasion and to keep slaves from running away. The only alliance they are known to have formed with a tribe outside the Lowcountry was a temporary one in 1576 with the Guale to drive out the Spanish, but earlier and later the Cusabo and Guale raided each other. The tribes of the Cusabo often intermarried and are not definitely known to have intermarried with any tribe outside the Lowcountry.

After the Escamacu War of 1576-1579 the Edisto moved from south of the Port Royal River to Edisto Island. In 1598 the Escamacu and Kiawah formed a temporary alliance to raid the Guale. In 1670 the English were welcomed as allies because the Lowcountry had been raided by the Westo (meaning "enemy" in the Escamacu language). When the Spanish attempted to destroy the English settlement, the Wando, Etiwan, Sewee, and other tribes came to their defense, while the Ashepoo, Escamacu, and Combahee initially preferred the Spanish. After the Kussoe War in 1674 the Kussoe and Kussah moved from the head of the Ashley River to the Edisto and Combahee rivers, respectively. Their allies the Stono moved south to Seabrook Island. Before 1700 most Sewee men attempted to sail to England to open direct trade and were never heard from again. The "Corsaboy" were represented by a small contingent in the South Carolina troops that fought in the Tuscorara War in 1711. During the Yemassee War from 1715 to 1716 the Kiawah and Etiwan fought with the English against the Yemassee, Creeks, Cherokee, Catawba, and other nations that revolted after long abuse by traders. The Sewee sided against the English, and the remaining fifty-seven Sewee were enslaved and sold outside the province, along with the Santee and Congaree. Some Cusabo joined an expedition against the Yemassee and Spanish in 1719. The latest known reference to any of the nineteen tribes was in 1751.

Land was reserved for the use of various tribes, but no reservation survives in the Lowcountry. In 1680 land is said to have been reserved for neighboring Indians on the Wando River beyond three miles (five kilometers) of where it enters the Cooper River. By 1711 land had been surveyed for the Kussoe near the Edisto River. In 1712 the state legislature returned Polawana Island in Beaufort County to the "Cusaboe Indians" after it had been inadvertently granted and in 1738 offered it to the Natchez "now Encamped at the four Holes, " but the offer was not accepted. Polawana Island continued to be a reservation at least until 1762.

Settlements

A seasonal pattern of existence was preferred rather than necessary. The Cusabo could have lived inland year-round as the Catawba and Cherokee did but preferred to plant in the less fertile soil of the coast in order to be able to gather food there while the crops were growing.

A 1570 account of the Edisto stated that the residents of its twenty houses were divided into about a dozen small groups and lived separately most of the year within the areas from about 10 to 50 miles (sixteen to eight kilometers) inland. A 1682 account stated, "[N]or dwell they in Towns, but in straggling Plantations; often removing for the better conveniency of Hunting.... " These two accounts indicate that the Lowcountry tribes were able to live safely in small, widely scattered groups for most of the year. Even in the summer their houses were in their fields rather than being in a town. A 1689 account by a Virginian noted that "in the rest of ye plantations they the Indians have Towns, except in Carolina. " Few other environments in the eastern United States provided the safety of islands surrounded by broad marshes and the mainland divided by extensive swamps.

The summer settlement consisted of little more than a town house and playing fields. Large, circular town houses are known to have existed at Escamacu, Sewee, and Edisto, and every town probably had a similar building. The town house at Escamacu was 200 feet (61 meters) around, had walls 12 feet (3. 7 meters) high, and was thatched with palmetto. Its roof was almost certainly domical, and a single door was the only opening in walls probably made of wattle and daub. In front of this town house was a cleared area prepared to play chunkey (a game in which spears were thrown to where a rolled disk was expected to stop). The town house at Edisto was referred to in 1666 as "their generali house of State, " implying that every tribe had a similar structure. These buildings were primarily an arena for entertainment rather than council houses but had some ceremonial functions, such as receiving visitors. In the center a fire was kept burning on a large mound of ashes. The chunkey field in front of the Edisto town house had mature trees that had been planted in rows along its sides, and nearby a smaller field was set aside for children. A contemporary observed: "The Towne is scituate on the side or rather in the skirts of a faire forrest in wch. at several distances are diverse fields of Maiz with many little houses straglingly amongst them for the habitations of the particular families. " Although palisaded villages frequently were depicted and mentioned on the coast of North Carolina, none is known to have existed on the coast of South Carolina.

Economy

Subsistence. The subsistence pattern of the Cusabo was unusual in the Southeast, where most tribes relied primarily on agriculture and secondarily on hunting, with relatively little fishing and gathering. The Cusabo relied about equally on agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering. They fully utilized the natural products of nine ecosystems: ocean, beach, barrier island, marsh, swamp, grassland, pocosin or Carolina Bays (ponds with no outlet), pine forest, and climax forest.

During the three or more months the tribes spent on the coast, they planted corn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons, muskmelons, and squash; while the crops were growing, they relied primarily on fishing and gathering shellfish and wild plants. They fished with nets, weirs, hooks, and arrows and caught sturgeon, catfish, and numerous other species. Fish were boiled, roasted, and smoked. Oysters were gathered in large quantities from tidal creeks and clams from the seashore. Indians gathered the root of a marsh plant to use for making bread and thickening stews that were boiled in earthenware vessels. They also gathered strawberries, persimmons, grapes, and other wild fruits. Two crops of "six-week" corn were planted, sometimes three. Corn was half dried over a low fire, and the kernels were pounded into flour. The tribes seem to have come to the coast in the spring and to have returned as early as July but sometimes stayed until the crops ran out or until acorns were ripe. They planted only enough to supplement other food sources and saved only enough seed to replant. When a missionary offered them enough seed for a crop to last year-round, they refused.

In the interior they lived primarily by hunting and gathering acorns, hickory nuts, walnuts, and roots. They gathered large quantities of nuts, stored them until they were needed, and generally reduced them to oil. They hunted deer, bear, turkeys, raccoons, bobcat, and other game. Hunting tactics included firing cane swamps and pocosins to drive out game. Meat was often barbecued on a gridiron of wood above a bed of coals, and meat dried in this way could keep for up to six weeks.

Commercial Activities. The larger plantations paid wages to an Indian hunter to supply deer and turkey. By the middle of the eighteenth century most surviving Cusabo probably lived mostly by planting. Like other farmers in the Lowcountry, they undoubtedly grew cash crops such as cotton. Most members of the existing Edisto Indian People work in the construction industry at building sites or in factories that make building components. One member is a physician. Some Indians elsewhere in the Lowcountry continue to farm.

Industrial Arts. A seventeenth-century contract exists for individual Indians who agreed to construct a house. Canoes (dugouts or "trough boats") were made by hollowing out logs through the repeated application of fire and scraping charred wood away with shells. At least two sizes of canoes were made for as few as two persons or as many as ten. The Sewee made sails of mats, but this was probably after European contact. Ceramics were fired well enough to be used for boiling over an open flame. Baskets were made of split and painted cane or palmetto. Skins were tanned softer than European leathers, but were less durable. Arrows were made of reeds, and projectile points of stone or fish bone. Clothing included skirts made of Spanish moss and did not include shoes. Ceremonial costumes were trimmed with multicolored feathers, and both men and women wore necklaces made of beads. Cord was made from the bark of trees.

Trade. The Sewee supplied inland tribes with salt, fish, and cassena in return for metals (probably native copper). The principal trade item during the eighteenth century was deerskins, which were one the main exports of the English colony. Oil from hickory nuts was traded for beads and other goods.

Division of Labor. In agriculture everyone, including chiefs, assisted at least in the planting stage. The participation of chiefs indicates that men as well as women were involved, but women are likely to have performed most of this work.

Land Tenure. Land belonged to the tribe as a whole, and the approval of male and female tribal leaders was required for a cession. The "Cassoe" cession of 1675 was signed by about twenty-nine Indians, at least eleven of whom were women. The signers included two great chiefs and two other chiefs, and all the other men and the women were designated as captains (presumably heads of extended families since the nation is unlikely to have had more than several hundred members). Some women also signed the 1684 cessions.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. No explicit evidence is available, but the existence of female leaders may imply that descent was patrilineal. No women leaders are known to have existed among the matrilineal Muskhogean and Iroquoian peoples of the Southeast during this period, but women leaders were not uncommon among the usually patrilineal Algonquian and Siouan peoples.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The Edisto practiced monogamy, but nothing else is known about marriage customs.

Domestic Unit. In 1570 the Edisto summer settlement had a population of about four hundred persons divided among twenty houses, and each house must have been used for an extended family with an average of about twenty people. In 1666 the Edisto were said to have many small houses for individual families. Family size was kept small through late marriages at about age twenty-seven and through abortion. Women are said to have had no more than two or three children during their lifetime, and the small size of nuclear families is confirmed by the 1715 census.

Socialization. A missionary wrote that the Etiwan "were wery desirous they children should learn, but they generally leave them to their own wills.... " When he offered to teach a chief's son to read and write without charge, the chief replied that he would consider it.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Chiefs had to speak at length to persuade the men of their tribe to do anything, and this indicates a pervasive equality among men. In 1562 the chiefs of the Escamacu and the Edisto spoke separately to their followers to get them to help the French. This was in sharp contrast to the power of the nearby chief of the S antee, who had the highly unusual power of life and death.

Men or women could be chiefs and heads of families. Some tribes had four or five chiefs, and one in every ten or twenty persons was a captain or leader. At least two tribes had female chiefs. The Escamacu chief signed a 1684 cession and was designated as "Queen of Saint Helena. " The husband of the Ashepoo chief is known only from a passing reference. Men alone seem to have participated in religious

ceremonies, but men, women, and children used the town houses, a place from which women were ordinarily excluded elsewhere in the Southeast. The status of women was extraordinarily high.

Before public schools were integrated, the Edisto Indian People were not permitted to go to schools for whites, refused to go to schools for blacks, and were assigned separate schools. The school at Creeltown closed in 1966, and the Four Holes Indian School closed in 1970. Elementary students attend Harleyville-Ridgeville School, and most middle school and high school students attend school in Saint George.

Political Organization. Although Europeans often referred to chiefs as kings and queens, this was a reflection of their autonomy rather than their power. The tribes were small enough for democracy to be practical. There is no evidence of the use of representatives for any kind of confederation and no direct evidence that any chief had authority over the members of another tribe.

All members of the Edisto Indian People meet annually, and they elect a chief every four years. A council meets monthly.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The religion of the Cusabo consisted chiefly of the worship of the sun and moon. They expressed gratitude to the sun for causing everything to grow but also considered it the source of disease and thus needing to be placated. They regarded the sun and the fire in their state houses as symbols of "the Great Spirit. " At the end of each day they washed their faces and waited for the sun to set before eating. They believed that gods determined the outcome of events and had to be placated. They did not worship idols. They believed in a demonic spirit who urged them to take just revenge, and the Edisto refused to listen to missionaries after being told that the Devil was bad. They believed in an afterlife that included rewards and punishments. Good people went to "a place of rest, pleasure & plenty"; bad people went to a cold place with nothing to eat but nuts and acorns.

The Edisto Indian People have four churches. Three are Penticostal Holiness, and one is Penticostal. The Four Holes Church was formerly a Church of God.

Religious Practitioners. Traditionally, physician-priests interceded with gods, foretold events, interpreted dreams, found lost objects, and rationalized defeats and incurable illness. They claimed to be able to see gods and talk with them, particularly with the demonic spirit. Some priests are said to have had the power to make rattlesnakes travel miles to bite someone. They had a wide knowledge of the use of plants for effecting cures, and they carried some dried plants strung around their necks and found others as needed. The treatment included singing, dancing, and anything else that might "fill the patient with courage and confidence. " They pretended to drive out illness by making their mouths bleed before sucking out bad blood. They ordinarily passed along their secret knowledge only to relatives, but some were willing to sell information.

Ceremonies. On the appearance of a new moon the members of a tribe assembled and feasted. Even after dividing into small groups for the winter, these groups are said to have come together for ceremonies every two months. One of their ceremonies was an offering of first fruits, undoubtedly a version of the Busk Ceremony observed throughout the Southeast. The Edisto had a feast of Toya in which three priests called Iawas danced in a circular ground and ran into woods, where they consulted with the god Toya for two days. Everyone fasted, and women cut the arms of girls. When the priests returned, they danced again, and afterward a feast was held. In a separate ceremony by the Etiwan three young men danced "near a little hut Supported upon Pillars all painted and adorned" and were said to represent a story about brothers, while the hut represented a ship. The ceremony to confirm an alliance included the presentation of a symbolic bow and arrow.

Arts. The only known example of Cusabo literature is their myth of the origin of all Indian tribes. It stated that two persons in a canoe discovered a dead red bird, and from his individual feathers came diverse tribes and languages.

Platted basketry was painted. Skins sometimes were painted with red and black squares. Dancing was part of ceremonies such as Toya and in the Etiwan ceremony, and rattles were used to produce music.

Medicine. Sassafras (also called pauame) was introduced to Europe from Santa Elena and Saint Augustine. The sixteenth-century medical writer Nicolas Monardes recommended the "Beades of Sainct Elen" (the American potato bean). Cassina was used as a stimulant, boiled walnut or hickory nut for stomachaches, and rattlesnake root for snakebites. Indians sometimes cured the sick who had been given up by European physicians as incurable, generally using roots, bark, berries, and nuts.

Death and Afterlife. Belief in an afterlife is implicit in the offerings the Cusabo made to the bones of their ancestors. The bones of the dead were cleaned and kept in chests that were raised on scaffolds and thatched. A portion of their best food was "always" offered to the dead. When a tribe relocated, it carried its bones with it or buried them only when necessary to prevent them from falling into the hands of enemies.

For other cultures in The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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GENE WADDELL

Dinka

ETHNONYMS: Muonjang, Jieng

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Dinka belong to a larger group known as the Nilotics. The term "Dinka" was invented by outsiders and no one knows the origin of the word. The people now known as the Dinka actually call themselves *Muonjang* or *Jieng.* Among the Dinka, only an educated minority knows that they are called Dinka. Dinkaland lies in the province of Bahr al-Ghazal and extends east into the savanna and swamplands around Lake No and Bahr al-Jebel in Upper Nile province, approximately 500 miles south of Khartoum, the capital of Sudan. Their territory is so vast, their settlements so widespread, and divided by many rivers that many of them do not know all the sections of fellow Dinka.

The part of Sudan that the Dinka occupy is landlocked. It is surrounded by Arab pastoralists in the north, the Nuer to the east, the Fertit to the west, and a variety of smaller ethnic groups to the south. Traces of influence from each of these groups can be found in language, economic activity, and culture of the inhabitants of Dinkaland. Dinkaland and Dinka people have been politically under the modern state of Sudan since the formation of the polity in the 1820s, when Muhammad Ali, the Viceroy of Ottoman Sultan in Egypt, invaded Sudan in search of slaves. However the Dinka, the largest ethnic group in Sudan, and many of the other peoples of South Sudan remain resistant to that polity. As a result, Sudan is generally referred to in terms of north and south as culturally and politically as well as ecologically distinct regions.

The government whose center is located in the north is in the hands of Arabicized Muslims, while the Dinka and the rest of South Sudanese view themselves as African. The Arab north assumes the position of power through a long history of alien intrusion. The Arabs were succeeded by the Turks, whose rule was followed by British colonial occupation. After independence, the Arabs again took control. All of them had their own interests at heart in controlling Dinkaland rather than the interest of the Dinka, and all have concentrated education development and other services in the north to the total neglect of the south.

This pattern of concentration of services in the north has continued since independence in 1956, resulting in southern rebellions. Two north-south civil wars have ensued, the latest of which continues unresolved at the beginning of the twenty-first century. This Arab/African divide is the main cause of the Dinka resistance to the encompassing authority of the Khartoum government. Other causes include religious-cultural differences between Islam in the north and Christianity in the south, and the differences between the economically marginalized in the south and the better developed areas of the north.

Demography. The records of the first post-colonial government indicate that after the first north-south civil war (1955-1972) the Dinka numbered nearly three million in a country of only fifteen million. That number was estimated to have gone up to four million when the second round of civil war resumed in 1983. Over the eighteen years of the war, half of the two million estimated deaths are thought to be Dinka, bringing their current population to approximately three million out of Sudan's total estimated population of twenty-six million.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Summer Institute of Linguistics lists Dinka language as belonging in a sub-grouping, Nilo-Saharan language, that includes Nuer, Luo, Shilluk, Anyuak, and a number of others. Within this group there appears to be a special relationship between Dinka and many languages of the Upper Nile. The vocabulary shows a considerable degree of borrowing between these languages.

History and Cultural Relations

The origin and history of the Nilotics, the group to which the Dinka belong, is widely contested. Historians suggest that Nilotics were a group of agriculturists who settled in the Bahr al-Ghazal region of South Sudan, where they acquired the techniques of domesticating cattle. With a predominantly cattle economy, the Nilotics began to migrate from the Bahr al-Ghazal during the fifteenth century. The Dinka did not move far. They remain in the area where they continue to eke out their existence by cattle herding; their system and area are now part of what is referred to as the "cattle complex."

The Dinka are divided into about twenty-five mutually independent tribal groups. But despite the heterogeneity among these sections, they remain united by their physical characteristics, their pride in being Dinka, and their remarkable cultural similarities. The most important of these similarities is the Dinkas' love for cattle. They have numerous myths that explain their acquisition of, respect for, and devotion to cattle. Cattle provide the Dinka with much of their worldly needs. Cows provide dairy products that the Dinka consider the best and most noble food. The Dinka do not slaughter the animal solely for meat, except in sacrifice to

God, spirits, and their ancestors, but they also keep the animals for meat since every animal is eventually eaten no matter what the cause of death may be.

Cattle are of supreme importance to the Dinka, both symbolically and practically. These animals form the basis of Dinka livelihood, religion, and social structure. The importance of cattle in the Dinka economy has had great influence in the politics of contact between the Dinka and other pastoral peoples neighboring them. This contact was initially based on exchange, but has gradually developed into hostility, as Dinka's herding neighbors started to desire access to Dinka cattle and the grazing plains of Bahr al-Ghazal. Cattle have been both directly and indirectly a major cause of the rise of conflicts in that they represent social, cultural, and economic security. This security came under assault when the nation-state began to view cattle as an important economic asset to be incorporated into the national economy through commercialization and commodification. These economic factors have been important in the Sudanese civil war (which resumed in 1983 after the first conflict of 1955-1972). The war pits the north and various southern groups, especially the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA), against each other.

Shared economic resources, similarities in language and cultural norms, and myths of genealogical connection between all the different sections of Dinka create a sense of collective identity. This identity is built on the self-identification as "blacks" and "Africans" who are marginalized by "Arabs" and "Muslims. " Their collective identity also depends on the cultural patterns that distinguish them from other "Africans. " Nonetheless, the Dinka are not the homogeneous and static group that ethnologists often portray. They are composed of many sections with remarkable regional variations, especially between western and eastern Dinka or between the Dinka of Upper Nile and the Dinka of Bahr al-Ghazal.

Settlements

Because much of Dinkaland is flat and susceptible to flooding, they tend to pack their villages into the few elevated areas, and therefore there is no particular order to the settlements. Roads that could attract people to build their settlements in relation to traffic are almost non-existent in Dinkaland. The elevated dirt roads that were built during the colonial times, and which have historically connected the villages to the towns, have now given way to disrepair due to the war. Soil erosion has been a major cause of frequent movement of villages and one often finds many disserted villages that have been taken over by bush. Over the last two decades movement of villages has also been prompted by war and population displacement. A large number of Dinka currently live in refugee camps inside Sudan as well as in the neighboring countries. Much of Dinkaland gets flooded during the rainy season, but western Dinka becomes extremely dry during the months of November through April when there are no rains. Consequently, a pattern of seasonal migration occurs to areas near the rivers and swamps. Access to clean drinking water during the dry season is rare and such seasonal movement is the solution to this problem. It was only as recently as the 1980s that the United Nations responded to this crisis by erecting water hand pumps, which reduced the movement of people in search of water. Now the Dinka can devote their time to clearing cultivation fields in anticipation of rains.

Economy

Subsistence. Dinka economy can be characterized as standing on four main pillars. These are, in the order of their perceived importance, livestock (especially cattle), agriculture, trading, and wild foods (including fishing, fruits, and wild nuts). The importance of wild foods and fishing became magnified during the last two decades of the twentieth century because of the war-provoked destruction of assets and the ensuing famines. For this reason, the Dinka could be characterized, instead of as "pastoralists, " as "agro-fiscatorial pastoralists. " Although these economic activities operate concurrently throughout time and space, there are certain times of year when one of these components is more functional than the others. It is, therefore, safe to describe Dinka economy as a food economy since the main goal of activity is not so much to maximize profit and accumulate material wealth as it is to sustain a subsistent existence.

A majority of households in Dinkaland keep varying sizes of cattle herds and maintain gardens that supply their staples (sorghum grain, maize, groundnuts, sesame, and assorted vegetables). Historically, the soil had been a deep black cotton soil. But due to overgrazing during the last three decades of the twentieth century, the soil in large parts of the land has turned to sand, making it only suitable for some of the staple crops. However, households with large herds of livestock usually fertilize their gardens with manure, making cattle herding and horticulture interdependent. The Dinka feel that success of agriculture largely depends on cattle ownership, and although agriculture occupies a central position in food sources, it also plays into mechanisms of cattle acquisition, circulation, and redistribution. Dinka agriculture is similar to horticulture. It uses multi-cropping and rotation of fields rather than rotation of crops. The Dinka use the hoe and slash and burn techniques, and rely exclusively on human labor. The hoe and axe are the primary implements of gardening; pork hoes were recently introduced through international disaster relief. A Dinka household plants an average of two acres with most of the area devoted to sorghum, depending on land fertility. The soil that turns sandy becomes suitable for groundnuts, sesame, and beans.

Commercial Activities. Apart from forming the staple foods for the rural folk, crops such as sorghum, groundnuts, sesame, and millet, which are grown in most areas of western Dinka, provide a medium of exchange for livestock, as well as acquisition of town items such as cloths, medicine, salt, and sugar. Economic changes however, have been very rapid. In the past, for example, the sale of cattle was considered shameful. But each of the successive governments has attempted to get the Dinka to sell their cattle because livestock are a major part of the national economy. When the colonial administration imposed a poll tax and insisted that taxes and fines be paid in cash, the Dinka had no choice but to sell their livestock.

Traditionally when people were short of grain, they collected wild grain and nuts or went fishing. With the advent of the modern market, grain became available in the shops owned by Arab traders. It was however, procurable with cash,

which the Dinka did not have, and could only obtain by the sale of cattle. Over time, the Dinka themselves slowly got into trading. Many Dinka sell several cows in order to procure salt, cloths, and medicine from the city and exchange them for grain in the country, only to sell the grain back to other Dinka for more cattle during a lean season. This has added to the usual Dinka mechanisms of cattle circulation and redistribution through marriages.

Industrial Arts. Dinka produce a variety of industrial arts including clay pots, mats, and baskets. Mats are particularly important for Dinka since they are the main items of bedding. These are made from papyrus cut from the Sudd, the largest swamp in the world. The Dinka also engage in elaborate bodily beautification arts, making beads that they wear around their necks and waists, as well as elephant tusk bracelets, anklets, and earrings.

Trade. Words such as "trade, " "market, " and "profit" have no direct translations into Dinka and one may find that the word used for "buy" has the same origin as the word for "sell": *hoc* and *hac* respectively. This suggests a short history of trading as a primary occupation. Arabic words may be used even among people who do not speak Arabic, because of the historical association through trade between the Dinka in South Sudan and Arabs. However, informal market exchange has always played a large role in resource distribution. Despite the civil war, which has crippled the local economy, trading remains a strong pillar of Dinka economy and involves long distance travel between Dinkaland and northern Sudan, and between South Sudan as a whole and the neighboring countries of Uganda and Kenya to the south. International humanitarian aid, which has been going on since 1989 to relieve the war-provoked famines, has also added to the feasibility of trade. At times relief items make up the only trade goods in South Sudan.

Division of Labor. Division of labor among the Dinka is not very different from that of many other East African peoples. In general, women work around the homestead, managing the household, farming, and preparing food. Men's labor takes them farther away from home, since much of it involves grazing cattle. Women, in addition to sharing food production with men (they both grow crops and women do the weeding), are responsible for childcare, preparing and serving the family meals, cleaning the homestead, and milking the cows. Men take primary responsibility for harvesting the sorghum. Construction of houses is shared as the men prepare the walls and put up the frame and women thatch the grass roofs. Gender division of labor is flexible, however, and couples generally help each other when need be. The exception is in the area of cooking and milking the cows. Men never cook and initiated adult males never milk cows. There is so much rigidity in these two areas that when a man is forced to milk the cows when no one else can do it, he cannot drink the milk as it is believed that act would bring calamity to his herd.

Land Tenure. All the land in Dinka country is under communal ownership. It is free and individuals only own it through continual use. Few disputes arise over land use, as the territory is expansive and population is sparsely distributed. At times land may be sold for an ox if the person who has worked the land and tamed it moves to another location and another person desires to take over. The sale is not for the value of land itself but for the labor expended in taming it. The only land that seems to cause occasional disagreements is the grazing plains near the main tributaries of the Nile, called *toc*. Here, the grazing plains are used daily by all without segregation, but the camps to which the herds return every evening and where the grazers reside during the dry season are divided among different clans and Dinka subtribes. Such a camp is called *wut* and each one of these camps has a leader who regulates things and keeps order. The camp is particularly desirable because it is often more elevated than the rest of the area, which is swampy.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Dinka are patrilineal. The term *dhieth*, in its most general sense, refers to all kinds of relationships that can be established through bloodlines. People establish blood relation by reference to clan names. Those who share the clan are considered relatives no matter how distant from each other. Members of a clan share a totem and believe in their common descent from that totem. This is the basis on which strong prohibition against marriage between people of the same clan is enforced. But individuals are considered to be related equally to other kin through both the mother's and the father's sides.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology is strictly enforced in addressing each other. For example, children have to address their older relatives with the appropriate kinship terminologies and are prohibited from using personal names, at least to the elders' faces. Dinka kinship terminology is classified as bifurcate collateral.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage in Dinka is exogamic up to several generations. Traditionally, marriage is everyone's goal and having a family is regarded as the ultimate fulfillment in life. Men seek women through courtship. A man may create songs in which he praises his intended bride and her relatives and urges his own relatives to support him. Most marriages are through consent of the couple. When a man is regarded as eligible for marriage by his family, they sit with him to decide which, among the girls he has courted, he loves the most. He could also make suggestions and the family chooses from his list. Once an agreement is reached on the bride, his family makes a visit to her home to announce their intention and to discuss the number of cattle to paid in bride-wealth. Sometimes disagreements may arise and the man and woman may decide to elope. Once married, the couple may reside with the man's family for some time before they move out and establish their own home. They are free to live anywhere they desire, but newly-married couples generally reside with the man's family.

Dinka marriages are quite stable; divorce only occurs when the woman is unable to conceive. The bride's family usually makes sure the chances of saving the marriage are exhausted before agreeing to divorce, as termination of the union would mean return of the bride-wealth. If the union has produced children, part of the bride-wealth is kept by the bride's family as payment for the children who remain with the man.

Socialization. It is preferred for a family to raise children within their patrilineages, although many households send newly weaned children to their maternal clan, where they may remain for as long as one year. Children are cared for by both parents, grandparents, elder siblings, and any other relatives who can spare their time. The socialization of Dinka children differs according to gender. Boys are concerned with livestock and with serving the adults. Both genders are expected to identify more with the fathers than with the mothers, although it is realized that girls are generally closer to their mothers than sons are.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Dinka society is generally organized around sub-section (wut), clan (dhieth), family, or patrilineage *(mac thok)*. While the clan is used to recognize blood relatives throughout Dinkaland, the patrilineage dictates village structure. Although people who belong to different clans may share a village, the most common structure is for people of a lineage to occupy their own village. Every clan has a head– man known as *nhomgol*. These men are expected to exercise leadership roles in support of the sub-chief who sees over a section of Dinka.

Political Organization. The traditional Dinka political system is structured around the concept of clan headman. A collection of clans headed by clan leaders form a higher political body known as the sub-chief, and several sub-chiefs fall under the position of the executive chief, who serves as the liaison between the government and the people. Throughout Dinka history, the position of highest "tribal" administrator has changed from "paramount" chief to court president to executive chief. Ideally, the paramount chief presides over regional courts, which stand above the executive chiefs, the sub-chiefs, and clan leaders.

Before the second civil war (beginning in 1982), the lowest political organization revolved around the authority of elderly community men who were respected because their roles as politicians involved religious leadership. These men managed the community with little opposition. Such people remain at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and their authority extends into control over decisions regarding cattle movement and fishing of dry season pools. But their main political role is participation in the chief's decision-making body. The chief has to work together with community elders over matters of political following, security and war, poll tax collection, and inheritance of political leadership.

Social Control. There exists a strong socialization emphasis on self-control, respect for others, and adherence to basic Dinka norms. Dinka also instill fear in everyone about the supernatural wrath against social offenders. Mocking the sick or the poor, or failing to help at times of dire need are all punishable by gods. Gossip and the importance of reputation serve as mechanisms for sanctioning deviation, but the most powerful deterrent to anti-social behavior is the fear of punishment for wrongdoing by supernatural forces.

Conflict. Although Dinka are a gentle people and attempt to avoid conflicts with neighbors, they have been under constant attack by northern Arabs since the first half of the nineteenth century. The last fifty years of the twentieth century have seen so many wars that Dinka youth are now almost conditioned to violence. Serious crime, especially homicide, was rare but is becoming more common.

The neighbors of the Dinka, the Nuer, although the most intimate in their dealings and the mostly closely related, have often waged war against the Dinka mainly for the purpose of cattle raid. These have been disastrous to Dinka lives and property, and have worsened over the last decade of the twentieth century because of the increased prevalence of small automatic arms which the Nuer have acquired from Ethiopia.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The majority of Dinka practice traditional religions whose central theme is the worship of a high god through the totem, ancestral spirits, and a number of deities. The high god is called Nhiali and he is the source of sustenance. Deng is the most noteworthy of the lower gods and Abuk is a female god. Educated Dinka tend to conceive of Deng and Abuk as the equivalents of Adam and Eve.

Ancestral spirits are presumed to be able to increase productivity of the land, multiply cattle, and provide safety for all. They are thought to watch over the living, to reward good behavior with fortune, and punish wrongdoing with a calamity brought upon the individual, family, or whole group. They are the mediators between the people and the high god. Many of the gods and spirits are considered good natured and capable of being appeased when angered by human behavior, but there are also a number of free-roaming, largely malevolent spirits, who can be deployed by individuals with special capabilities to do evil.

When Christian missionaries first came in contact with the Dinka, they concluded that the Dinka were worshiping idols and ancestors. From the Dinka point of view, this was untrue, as these objects and locations are merely places of worship, analogous to the church, mosque, or synagogue. For this apparent misunderstanding, Christianity was resisted vigorously throughout the nineteenth century. It was not until the late twentieth century that large numbers of Dinka were converted. Dinka Christians comprised about 20 percent of the population at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Christianity plays a vital role in the lives of many people, including non-believers, because of the Islamic extremism in the north, and also because of increased church--related aid.

Religious Practitioners. The central figure in Dinka religious practice is the master of the spear. He has proven to possess certain powers to heal and bring fortune through his prayers to God, and whose prayers for good health, cattle safety, and fertility are met. Many Dinka believe that this aspect of their religion does not contradict Christianity, and so continue to believe in both.

Ceremonies. Many elaborate ceremonies take place around the social life of Dinka. Year-end celebrations, healing ceremonies, entertainment, dance, and singing are all part of an expressive culture for which Dinka are famous. Animal sacrifices are important rituals and are held at designated times of the year, such as at the beginning of the rainy season, at the blessing of the crops, and at harvest and end of the year celebrations. The sacrifices are usually conducted

at the location of the totem such a fig tree, river, or at a shrine. At these prayers, spiritual leaders call for adequate rains, cattle and human health, and peace.

Funerals of spiritual leaders are elaborate affairs where men and women engage for days in dance, singing, and mock battle. In earlier times, well-known spiritual leaders were buried alive. When he was thought to be dying, cattle camps moved into the leader's village. He was then placed in the grave, and people danced around it until his final breath. This practice was prohibited by the British colonial government to no avail and continues to this day, though on a limited scale.

Medicine. Dinka traditional therapeutic practices include bone setting, various kinds of surgery, and dispensing medicinal plants. Such treatments are straightforward and can be learned by anybody. Other kinds of practitioners who derive their skills from special unworldly efficacy are found throughout Dinkaland. These include diviners who hold possession sessions and are thought to receive their special powers from God. Biological medicine, especially injectable modern antibiotics, has largely replaced many of these practices, although many forms of divination remain strong.

Death and Afterlife. A person's soul is thought to move to a special world to meet all the dead relatives already there. Before death, when one is seriously sick and seems to be dying, the Dinka believe that the soul is negotiating with the relatives who have gone to the other world. When he or she recovers from sickness, it is usually presumed that the spirits of the deceased relatives have won and chased back the sick person's soul to the world of living; thus the phrase "our fathers have refused to take him away." Stories of those returning from the dead abound. They usually report a stiff struggle between the dead and the dying. Death means the defeat of a sick person's soul, while recovery from illness implies victory of the ancestors. Dinka bury their dead inside the house, and their ghosts are presumed to roam the air around the living.

For the original article on the Dinka, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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JOK MADUT JOK

Eastern Toraja

ETHNONYMS: Bare'e, Oost-Toradja, Poso-Todjo, Re'e speakers, To Lage, Toradja Timur

Orientation

Identification and Location. The name *Toraja* is derived from a term meaning "people of the mountains" or "highlanders" that is applied by lowland populations to indigenous inhabitants of the high mountain ranges and interior valleys of central Celebes (Sulawesi). The Eastern Toraja live primarily around Lake Poso and the valleys of the Poso, Laa, and Kalaena rivers. They are bounded by the Western Toraja to the west, the Mori and Loinang tribes to the east, the Gulf of Tomini to the north, and the Buginese (Makassar) kingdom of Luwu to the south, at approximately latitude 1.5 to 2° S to longitude 120 to 122° E. Customarily, they are divided into three major branches: the Western, Eastern, and Southern Toraja. These divisions reflect different degrees of exposure to the old Hindu-Javanese states of Southwestern Celebes and nearby Borneo.

The Eastern Toraja are composed of numerous local groups that share a relatively homogeneous language and culture. These groups form several regional clusters: the Poso-Todjo groups along the Gulf of Tomini and the neck of the eastern peninsula, the Poso Lake groups, those of the upper valley of the Laa east of Lake Poso, and the groups of the upper Kaleana south of Lake Poso. The (To) Wana and the (To) Ampana people living to the east of Lake Poso probably should be considered separate groups because of certain linguistic (they speak the Taa or Tae' language rather than Bare'e), physical, and cultural characteristics.

Demography. The 1961 population estimate for the Eastern Toraja was 100,000, compared with a 1935 estimate of 60,000 and a 1930 census figure of 30,000. If these estimates are accurate, they indicate a steady increase in population. The 1995 population figure for all Torajaland was 367,371.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Bare'e language, which is spoken by all the Eastern Toraja with only dialectical differences, belongs to the Toraja language group. Voegelin and Vogelin (1977) place the Toraja languages in the Central and Southern Celebes (Sulawesi) cluster, which is defined as a geographic rather than a linguistic unit. They suggest that all these languages form a Celebes subgroup of Hesperonesian languages within the Austronesian language family.

History and Cultural Relations

It is believed that the Toraja migrated to Celebes from Southeast Asia four thousand years ago. There is evidence of relations with the coastal Buginese and Luwunese as early as the sixteenth century. Trade relations between the Toraja and the Muslim lowlanders intensified in the late nineteenth century, with coffee and slaves being exchanged for guns, salt, and textiles. It was not until the arrival of the Dutch in 1905-1906 that the Toraja were united under a single political authority. Calvinist Reformed Church missionaries arrived in the area around 1913, precipitating dramatic sociocultural changes in Toraja society. It has been suggested that the activities of these Protestant missionaries were major factors in stimulating a unifying sense of Toraja identity. During World War II the area was occupied by Japanese forces. In 1949 the region was declared part of the new nation of Indonesia.

Settlements

Precontact settlements were found near lakes and rivers but were sited on well-fortified hilltops and mountain ridges because of the danger of headhunting raids. The villages were unoccupied except during raids. Generally, the people lived on their farms. There were forty to two hundred inhabitants per village living in two to ten houses. Each house usually contained four to six nuclear families, although houses with sixteen families have been mentioned. Some groups, including the Onda'e and Lage, built single-family dwellings. Each village consisted of dwellings laid out in a random pattern as well as rice barns and a temple. The water supply was usually at the bottom of the hill; this meant that a siege could not be withstood for very long. Under Dutch control the Eastern Toraja were forced to move their settlements to the valley floors along the roads.

Economy

Subsistence. The Eastern Toraja are primarily dry rice cultivators. Wet rice was introduced by the Dutch after 1905 but did not become a significant crop. Maize is the second most important crop, but it is eaten only when the rice supply is low. Millet and a variety of fruits and vegetables also are cultivated. All these crops are produced by means of swidden agriculture. Hunting and fishing, especially around Lake Poso, are also of economic importance.

Industrial Arts. Although the art of weaving is not very well developed among the Bare'e-speaking Toraja, those people are highly skilled at making cloth *(foeja* or *fuya)* from tree bark. Other crafts include basketry and mat making, pottery manufacture, dugout canoe construction, and the working of copper and brass. Ironworking is a well-developed craft among the Eastern Toraja, with every village having at least one forge and a blacksmith. The Toraja attribute great magical force to iron, and so annual ceremonies are necessary to neutralize the force and prevent the spirit of the forge from causing illness in the village.

Trade. Although there are no professional traders among the Eastern Toraja, there is much intertribal trade. Traveling for the purpose of trade occurs mostly in the period between the harvesting of the rice crops and the time when the new rice begins to sprout. The main products exchanged are rattan, beeswax, and damar. Under Dutch influence, the growing of coconut trees increased, along with the exportation of copra.

Division of Labor. Generally, women make tree-bark clothes (foeja), manufacture pottery, and raise pigs and men work metal, hunt, do the heavy work in the fields, and prepare salt from seawater. Both sexes are involved in basket and mat making.

Land Tenure. Land has clearly defined boundaries among the Eastern Toraja; each "tribe" (a group of neighboring villages) has its own land to allocate. Each village uses as much land as it needs to feed itself, moving to another part of the tribal territory when that land becomes exhausted. Annually, the villages distribute land to individual families for cultivation, although the families retain certain rights over any virgin land outside the tribal territory that they have cleared. The virgin forest, called *pongale,* is open to everyone for hunting, collecting, and tilling, but it is considered advisable to ensure the cooperation and friendship of the nearest tribe by giving of small presents. Land also can be acquired by a tribe through purchase or the presentation of a gift.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. All the families in a village form a localized corporate kin group, with all the members being related by blood or marriage. Descent among the Eastern Toraja is bilateral. One can affiliate with one's mother's, father's, or spouse's village. This principle also seems to apply to extended families—corporate kin groups headed by a chief or headman who looks after family property. This extended family traditionally acted as a ceremonial unit as well as a source of the bride-price, although in the case of the bride-price nonlocalized personal kindred also played a significant role.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology is mainly generational, with no distinction made between matrilateral and patrilateral kin (Hawaiian type).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Premarital sex is permitted among the Eastern Toraja. Marriage is generally endogamous, being contracted with someone within the village or no farther than a neighboring village. The boy informs his parents about the girl of his choice, but generally both the boy and the girl accept their parents' decision if there is a difference of opinion. Marriage arrangements are undertaken by a "go-between. " The marriage ceremony consists of a festive procession of the groom to the bride's house, the deliverance of the *aoe-papitoe*—consisting of seven objects that form the nucleus of the bride-price —and a joint meal. The bride-price is paid by the groom's family to the relatives of the girl but may not exceed the amount paid for the girl's mother. Until the bride-price is paid, any children produced by the couple belong to their mother. Polygyny was traditionally rare, but in areas influenced by Islam it became more common. Each wife had a separate house. Divorce is uncommon, and the party that initiates it has to pay a fine; the families of both individuals work hard to prevent the separation. First-cousin marriages once were forbidden but now are fairly common, especially when accompanied by a ritual offering. Postmarital residence is primarily matrilocal.

Domestic Unit. The basic domestic unit is the extended family, which usually is headed by the senior male member of the household. This extended family usually consists of four to six nuclear families.

Inheritance. Property among the Eastern Toraja is owned primarily by the kin group and distributed to its members according to need. This would also include the use of land for agricultural purposes. Personal property, such as domestic animals and cotton goods, may be inherited by family members. The inherited distribution of goods is rarely equal; those individuals who are the most aggressive and demanding generally get the bigger share of the inherited property than those who are more passive.

Socialization. Children are pampered to an extreme degree. There is no conscious guidance of the child because

parents are unable to impose their will on their children. A child raises itself by listening to adult conversations and imitating adult behavior, learning the things that it must know and be able to do to fill its place in society.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Villages consist of closely related families, and the "tribes" are essentially groups of neighboring villages whose members are aware of descent from a common mother village. Affiliation with a village can be through a person's mother's, father's, or spouse's side of the family. Traditionally, there were two classes: freemen and slaves (debtors and war captives). Near the Buginese (Makassar) kingdoms the slave class was hereditary. On the whole slaves were not treated badly; that institution, along with headhunting, was abolished by the Dutch in 1905.

Political Organization. Traditionally, village chiefs were elected from among the headmen of extended families. Selection was based on personal characteristics and wealth in water buffalo. Chiefs were not powerful except in the areas near the Buginese kingdoms (Luwu and Mori), where the Buginese kings *(datus)* gave them tax-collecting authority. This allowed the chiefs to increase their wealth and power through trading opportunities and association with the powerful Islamic sultanates. In most areas villages were autonomous and tended to be hostile to almost everyone who was not closely related. There was rarely any political organization above the village level. Tribes were not organized into formal political units. Although the outside kingdoms often received tribute from the villages, they had no control over their internal affairs.

Social Control. Ridicule, shame, supernatural sanctions, black magic, and the fear of banishment are all means of informally enforcing conformity within Toraja society. Ridicule and the fear of banishment seem to be the strongest measures, making even the most independent and contrary person bow before the will of the community and the force of the *adat* (customary law). If a person did not wish to submit to the will of the community despite the imposition of these measures, the only alternative was to move to another village to which that person was related. In a community in which individuals are mutually dependent on one another for successful existence, failure to aid a fellow tribesperson in need was remembered; when that individual needed assistance, no help was provided.

Conflict. Until European contact Eastern Toraja villages lived in a state of semiperpetual hostility with each other. Respect and tribute occasionally were paid to neighboring kingdoms, but in their internal affairs the Eastern Toraja were independent. Intervillage headhunting provided the heads necessary for many rituals and to pacify spirits *(anitu)* that otherwise would feed on the Eastern Toraja. The heads were considered essential to the general welfare and were required after the death of a chief or the erection of a new village temple. Under the Dutch administration this type of warfare ended.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditional Eastern Toraja religion was concerned principally with agriculture, with a secondary but important emphasis on ancestor worship. There were gods of the upper world and the underworld (above and below earth), and a great variety of spirits were found throughout the earth in rocks, trees, water, and the like. There were many gods and spirits associated exclusively with agriculture, and each family had its own agricultural spirits. The Eastern Toraja also engaged in secondary death rites during which the bones of the deceased were cleaned and rededicated before burial in caves. These rites were costly, requiring the accumulation of food and other wealth, including sacrificial buffalo. As a result they were held infrequently. After the Dutch obtained control of the area, secondary burial rites were prohibited on sanitary grounds. The traditional religion has been replaced or fragmented in many areas as a result of the spread of Islam from the south and later by that of Christianity, which was widely propagated by the Dutch.

Religious Practitioners. Knowledge of and contact with the gods and spirits is confined mainly to shamans, who are women or men who dress and act like women. The ancestors are important to everyone. Shamans *(tadu)* are principally curers. They have guardian spirits who they can send to the other worlds to retrieve people's souls and cure illness. Soul loss is believed to be a widespread cause of illness. There are other religious practitioners with particular skills, such as curing smallpox and rainmaking. These people are called *sando* and can be men or women. Divination and soothsayers *(montogoe)* are important for understanding the will and guidance of gods and spirits. Another person with a religious function is the headhunting leader *(tadulako).* In earlier times witches and sorcerers were also significant figures.

Ceremonies. A major part of the religious life of the Eastern Toraja involves rituals. The major ones are related to headhunting, initiations, funerals, and agriculture (particularly the growing of rice). Other ceremonies include special offerings in case of normally prohibited marriages, curing ceremonies, ceremonies connected with the consecration of a house, and those involved in conducting ordeals or divining.

Arts. The Toraja have a great variety of dances, among which one of the favorites is the *raego,* which is performed by a double ring of dancers, women on the inside and men on the outside, circling slowly to the accompaniment of songs with alternating solo and chorus parts. War dances consist of mock dueling, often interspersed with grotesque clowning and obscene gesturing. Poetry is a popular pastime among a people who are very sensitive to its rhythm and rhyme and delight in metaphors. Various metrical patterns are used for different types of subject matter. Prose literature encompasses a wide variety of themes, such as tales of animals, spirits, and journeys to the land of souls. Toraja literature also includes proverbs, riddles, and short anecdotes. Many of the themes in Toraja literature can be traced to Indonesian folklore, such as the spectral tarsier who experiences the same sort of adventures as those of the *kantil* or *plandok,*, the dwarf-deer of Javanese and Malay stories. Music is not very well developed. The most popular musical instruments are the nose flute and the Jew's harp, probably because of the soft quality of their music. Other instruments include single- and double-headed drums, bamboo and rice-stalk flutes, coconut shell viols with rattan strings and bows, bamboo ``harps, " and bamboo "buzzers. " Among the many games played by the Toraja,

top-spinning contests are especially popular, although they are restricted by taboos during certain times of the year.

Medicine. According to Toraja beliefs, illness results from punishment by supernatural beings for the transgression of customs or the omission of offerings and rituals or is the out-come of action by evil forces such as sorcerers, witches, and spirits. When sorcery is involved, disease is believed to result from the seizing of someone's *tanoana* (life force) or the intro-duction of an object into the body. In addition, all kinds of actions, happenings, and situations can cause illness; these causative factors are called *measa.* One of the chief methods of curing is to retrieve the tanoana of the sick person from the supernatural beings who have taken it away through the actions of the tadu or shaman, who, with the assistance of guardian spirits *(wurake),* journeys to the spirit world for this purpose. Another therapeutic method employed by the sando is to spit chewed medicinal leaves over the patient and squeeze out the object believed to be the cause of the disease. The Eastern Toraja are highly knowledgeable about a wide variety of plants, animals and animal products, and minerals (such as salt) that are found in the natural environment and are used in everyday medicine.

Death and Afterlife. The tanaona can leave or return to the body at will, chiefly through the top of the head or by way of the nose and joints. The tanaona is thought to reside in many parts of the body, particularly the blood, hair, and nails. Death occurs when the tanaona is permanently separated from the body. With the exception of certain tribes in the Palu River valley that have adopted Islamic burial customs, all the Eastern Toraja groups observe two separate funerals: one soon after death and the other, generally a communal affair, a year or two later. Final disposal of the body occurs after the second ceremony. After death the corpse lies in state under a canopy for one or two days and is then placed in a coffin made of a hollowed-out log split lengthwise into two halves. Bearers carry the coffin away and then bury it in the ground or place it on a raised platform constructed for this purpose outside the village. At the second or communal funeral ceremony held a year or two later the corpse is pre-pared for final disposal. The coffin is removed from the plat-form or dug up, and the bones are cleaned, wrapped in bundles of bark cloth, and carried to the village in baskets. The ceremony that follows is called *mompemate* or *tengke;* the souls of the deceased—the Toraja believe that there are mul-tiple tanaona—are ``led" by the litanies of the tadu priestess-es to the land of the departed. Traditionally it was believed that souls wander restlessly between the earth and what was called *wayu wune,* the "anteroom" to the land of the spirits. After the mompemate rites the bones are transferred to small coffins called *sosoronga* and buried in the earth or placed in a cave. Common slaves, children born dead, and people who die from smallpox or leprosy are not put in coffins but are wrapped in tree bark and buried.

For other cultures in Indonesia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 5, East and Souteast Asia.

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JOHN BEIERLE

Embu

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Embu people occupy the Embu District, one of the twelve districts of the Eastern Prov-ince of Kenya. The Embu District is bordered by the Mbeere District to the east and southeast, the Kirinyaga District to the west, and the Tharaka Nithi District to the north. The main physical feature is Mount Kenya to the north and northwest, 17, 058 feet (5, 200 meters) above sea level.

The district is located between 0°8" to 0°35" S and 37° 19" to 37° 42" E, covering an area of 281 square miles (729 square kilometers). The landscape is characterized by high-lands ranging in altitude from 4, 920 to 14, 760 feet (1, 500 to 4, 500 meters) and midlands lying at 3, 936 to 4, 920 feet (1, 200 to 1, 500 meters). Other topographical features in-clude rivers, hills, and valleys. The rainfall pattern is bimodal, with long rains between March and June and short rains from October through December.

Demography. In 1918 the Embu population was 53, 000 (24, 590 males and 28, 410 females), increasing to 85, 177 by 1962. The population increased constantly, reaching 278, 196 in 1999, with a reported annual growth rate of 3 per-cent.

In 1999 there were 63, 893 households with 136, 499 males and 141, 697 females. The annual growth rate had decreased from 3. 86 percent from 1969 to 1979 to 3. 41 percent from 1979 to 1989, with increases in population density attributed to high fertility and falling mortality rates. The infant mortality rate decreased from 169 in 1962, to 92 in 1969, to 44 in 1999.

With a crude birth rate of 40. 4, the fertility rate remains high despite having declined from 7. 78 in 1969 to 5. 9 in 1999. The crude death rate stands at 6. 4, with a life expectancy of 69. 7 years for males and 69. 4 years for females. According to the 1999 census, about 38 percent of the people are children less than 15 years old, while people at the economically productive ages (fifteen to sixty-four) account for 57 percent. People age 65 years and over account for 4 percent. Serious outmigration has been reported.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Embu people speak the Ki-embu language, a Bantu language that is part of the larger Niger-Congo family of languages. The Bantu linguistic cluster includes languages such as Kiswahili, Kikuyu, Ki-meru, Ki-mbeere, Ekegusii, and coastal languages. Although Ki-embu and Ki-mbeere are dialects of the same language, the Ki-embu vocabulary borrows considerably from related Bantu languages, many of which are mutually intelligible, especially among the people of central and eastern Kenya.

History and Cultural Relations

There is no consensus regarding the origin of the Embu. They are said to be the descendants of a man called Mwenendega who lived in a small grove known by the same name south of Runyenjes Market or to have migrated from a distant land beyond Meru, probably Ethiopia, which the Embu called Uru, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some settled in the forest as hunters and gatherers. The original Embu later left the forests as a result of conflicts with and raids by the pastoral Maasai.

The Embu shared a migratory history and had extensive cultural contacts with the Mbeere. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries people, mainly from Meru, joined the Embu and established their own clans. The Embu population further increased through adoptions and intermarriages with the neighboring Chuka and Kamba and the capture during tribal wars of women who were taken home to become their wives.

The Embu traded with their neighbors, mostly the Mbeere, Meru, and Kamba. In 1904 the Embu unsuccessfully fought against the British. The British changed their strategy to persuasion, after which the Embu surrendered to Captain Maycock, nicknamed *Njoka,* in 1906. Njoka is the local name for a snake, implying that the Embu viewed the white man as a dangerous reptile. Embu as a geophysical entity was a British colony until 1963, when Kenya gained independence. Missionary education was introduced in 1910. The colonial period witnessed social and cultural transformations among the Embu that led to the widespread abandonment of traditional values.

Settlements

The earliest ancestors of the Embu are believed to have lived in caves and later in villages *(matuura),* which became the basic settlement unit. A village is currently seen as a dispersed collection of homesteads. Settlement was influenced mainly by the availability of water and proximity to farming and grazing land, and tribal life was characterized by self-sufficiency. Homesteads were built in circular forms and were hedged. The shelter was dominated by cylindrical walls and conical hut roofs thatched with grass, banana leaves, ferns, or reeds, with wooden poles used to make the walls. Doors were made of upright sticks woven with creepers or stalks of banana leaves. Mud wall houses became the predominant type of shelter after the arrival of Europeans. These huts have been modified, with the original circular, cone-roofed, grass-thatched huts giving way to rectangular and corrugated iron-sheet roofing by 1973. By 1999, 93 percent of houses were iron-sheet roofed and only 3 percent were grass-thatched. Two-floor and multifloor buildings are now common, especially in urbanized areas and their surroundings.

Colonial administrative units and land reforms and restrictions were introduced to accommodate settler economies. This led to individualized land ownership and the rearrangement of village clusters into scattered settlements. Schools, markets, commercial institutions, and services were established on both sides of the nearest roads and communication networks, encouraging the concentration of settlements along the roads. Most people live in the higher-attitude tea- and coffee-farming areas.

Economy

Subsistence» The main subsistence food crops are maize, beans, potatoes, bananas, yams, sorghum, millet, cowpeas, pigeon peas, and cassava. The staple food is a mixture of maize and beans, *kithere.* Mangoes, oranges, pineapples, passion fruit, and pawpaw are grown. Horticultural crops such as onions, tomatoes, carrots, French beans, cabbages, and kale are grown. About 70 percent of the land is arable, and there is ample and well-distributed rainfall along with cool temperatures. The Embu lead successfully industrious lives in the higher-attitude areas, with tea and coffee as the major cash crops. The lower-altitude areas are suited for raising food crops.

Most households raise hybrid cattle instead of the indigenous breeds, mainly the traditional humped types. Milk is marketed through dairy cooperative societies and individual channels for consumption in schools and hotels. Poultry, pigs, goats, and sheep are kept for eating and use on special and ceremonial occasions.

Commercial Activities. The main exports are coffee and tea grown in the upper wet and steep highlands and midlands and marketed by the Kenya Tea Development Association and the Coffee Board of Kenya. Minor cash crops include pyrethrum, cotton, and macadamia. Modern commercial activities are centered mainly in the two major towns: Embu and Runyenjes. Industrial development is limited.

Industrial Arts. The major traditional handicrafts are pottery; basket making; beadwork; skin tanning; the manufacture of musical instruments, bows and arrows, shields, and clubs; and ironwork. Iron products include spears, swords, and arrowheads. These products became rare by the 1960s as people turned to the production of goods for modern commercial markets.

Trade. For local and national trade the Embu are served by roads that link them to the rest of the country. The road network penetrates all economically productive areas, facilitating trade. Most roads are all-weather, but a few are not, making some areas inaccessible during the rainy seasons. Traded products include tea, coffee, milk, French beans, maize, and beans. Poor marketing, storage, and preservation facilities and inadequate feeder roads adversely affect the quality of tea, milk, and horticultural products.

Division of Labor. The division of labor continues to be influenced by patriarchal authority structures and sexual differentiation revolving around male dominance. Household chores are women's domain. Women take care of the children, fetch water and firewood, cook, serve food, and wash dishes. They also do the harvesting, dressmaking, pottery making, and basket weaving. Cultural norms do not allow men to do household chores except during emergencies. Men do house construction, build fencing around the farms, supervise weeding and most farm activities, and guard against crop destruction by wildlife at night. Men also do woodcarving, ironsmithing, beekeeping, and hunting. They tend cattle, sheep, and goats; do the slaughtering and distribute the meat; and prepare the skins.

Men, women, and children of both sexes perform activities such as livestock herding, planting, and weeding. Young children mind young animals and baby-sit. Some children accompany their parents to the fields as part of their training for adult roles. In 2001 women's work included tending the cash crops, weeding, harvesting, and ferrying produce to the cooperative and other marketing centers. Men collect the money from the sale of the produce and monopolize decisions on how the money is spent, often ignoring the views and needs of women and children.

Land Tenure. Land tenure is linked to kinship structures. Before the 1960s land was held communally, with patrilineal kin groups playing a major role in regulating land use. Clans, organized into maximal and minimal lineages and localized in homesteads, oversaw land utilization and arbitrated disputes between individuals and groups. The clan *(muviriga)* traditionally was the main landholding unit, protecting the tracts of land cultivated by individual families. The land use rights of men who could trace their descent to known ancestors within the clan's geneological links were subsumed to those of the clan. All major decisions affecting land rights were made by men, initially within the lineage and eventually ratified by the clan's male elders. Until the 1980s no individual could freely sell his land *(mugunda)* to another person who did not belong to his clan without consultation with and permission from the elders.

The power to make decisions regarding land disputes and transactions was vested in the male-only council of elders *(Kiama)*. The onset of colonialism in the early 1900s introduced sweeping land tenure reforms, culminating in freehold title deeds to individually owned land. Women gained the right to own and sell land without restrictions.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The clan constituted the most basic kinship unit at the community level, with patrilineal descent as the basis of clan membership. Clan segments of a maximal *(nyomba)* or minimal *(mudi)* lineage formed the principal descent groups and were in charge of rights to land ownership. Each lineage consists of agnates who trace their patrilineal ancestry back to a named historical ancestor. The clans assume the names of women, which are reputed to be their mythic founding references. Fictive kinship follows patrilineal descent and is recognized through age organization and blood brotherhood.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology revolves around the matricentric house (nyomba) as a distinctive unit within the homestead. Full siblings are terminologically distinguished from half siblings and from children of classificatory fathers as kinship terms are extended to several fictive relationships.

Classificatory parents may be addressed by appending *vava mukuru* (older father) or *vava munini* (younger father) to the kinship terms as they are normally used, depending on ego's age in relation to the biological father or mother. The terms for full siblings, *muru wa maitu* and *mwari wa maitu,*, mean "son or daughter of my mother. " The term for a cowife is *muiru,* which is a euphemistic reference to one who is jealous, preempting the likelihood of tension between cowives.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally, parents arranged marriages, usually with consent of the marriage partners. Bride-wealth was fixed at four cows and a bull, plus six to eight goats, paid after the completion of the negotiations. Poor men who could not afford to pay at least a portion of the required amount were allowed to marry and were temporarily adopted by the father of the bride. The couple then worked hard to raise the payment to win their independence.

Postmarital residence with the bride's family was preferred. Girls who were too old to attract young men, menstruated before circumcision, conceived outside wedlock, or were divorced, were married off to older people. Widows were inherited by the oldest male relatives of the deceased. Separation and divorce were handled by the sitting and authority-wielding age set (Nthuke). Christianity eliminated the role of the extended family in negotiations for bride-wealth payments. Forced marriages and the inheritance of wives have been largely abandoned.

Domestic Unit. The key domestic unit is the household, a group of persons living in the same compound but not necessarily in the same dwelling unit, with common housekeeping and cooking arrangements and answerable to the household head. The household overlaps with the nuclear family. The traditional extended family has become less common. As a result of family planning and out-migration, household size has declined. Among households, 65 percent and 35 percent are male-headed and female-headed, respectively, with 89 percent being monogamous units, 7 percent having one cowife, and 3 percent having two or more cowives.

Inheritance. Family property transfer follows the male-dominated patrilineal descent lines, passing from father to sons under the supervision of the oldest son. In many families, property is inherited mainly by younger sons because older sons migrate to other rural areas to earn a living. Pover-

ty has increased, leaving families with little to be passed to their children.

Socialization. Traditionally, as children passed through various age levels, informal education, training, and other traditional social institutions were used for value transmission of societal expectations for male and female youths.

Children were educated mainly in the family, with emphasis placed on values such as team spirit, honesty, obedience, courage, and respect. After infancy the father took charge of boys' education and the mother educated the girls. Parents and peer groups worked in a complementary fashion.

Various stages are marked by life crisis ceremonies, reinforcing the dominant cultural values. Behavior is sanctioned through ridicule, redressive songs, proverbs, riddles, narratives, and gossip. By the mid-1990s most child socialization processes and agents had expanded to incorporate formal learning institutions and the mass media.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Social differentiation assigns a social status associated with a set of rights and obligations to each member or group in the society. All the patrilineal clans originate from one of the two root clan groupings or moieties: *Thagana* and *Irumbi* or *Gatari.* The clan system ensures social cohesion by providing people with a sense of belonging. Before the colonial administration the social structure was characterized by age-grade organization in the form of age-appropriate categories through which individuals passed from childhood to adulthood and old age.

In the age-set organization the most senior age sets played important social, ritual, political, and military roles. These roles were made redundant by the colonial administration. Lineages and clans continue to play a significant role in guiding the choice of marriage partners through the incest taboo in regard to lineage exogamy.

Political Organization. The Embu had a dual political structure that administered social justice from the family to the higher societal levels and dealt with the geopolitical needs of the society. There were zonal or regional units *(itumbi)* supervised by a council of elders that acted as the territorial leaders, with authority to direct community affairs, settle disputes, and ensure general societal welfare.

A judicial body informally referred to as *King'ore* was empowered to administer oaths and eliminate witchcraft and other crimes against society. Its members could kill witches, wizards, and notorious thieves; interpret customary law; and handle referral judgments. The colonial administration appointed chiefs to ensure efficient tax collection. The institution of the chief is still a functional unit of the provincial administration and a means of political control by the central government.

Social Control. Most conflicts were associated with interclan land disputes, murders, jealousy, personal enmity, and domestic quarrels. These conflicts were settled mainly by the councils of elders, which imposed punishments such as ostracism, burning alive, compensation, fines, and stoning. Behavior also was sanctioned through ridicule, gossip, the use of taboos, and the belief in supernatural effects until the late 1970s.

Conflict. During migrations and in the process of territorial expansion, the Embu experienced interethnic conflicts with groups such as the Meru, Gikuyu, and Kamba. Cattle raiding conflicts between the Embu and the Maasai were common. The War Council *(Njama ya ita)* was responsible for warfare and security.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Embu traditionally believed in several supernatural forces. The senior one was called Mwene Nyaga or Mwene Njau (owner of whiteness or brightness) and was believed to be omnipotent and omnipresent, dwelling in Kirinyaga (Mount Kenya), the mountain of brightness. All prayers were conducted facing Mount Kenya. Mwene Nyaga was believed to influence all events, and his wrath could strike in the form of curses and bad luck.

Junior supernatural forces such as smaller gods *(ngai)* and devils *(ngoma)* were believed to assist people in times of crisis. Devils lived in groves, caves, and deserted places and could cause catastrophes. Female devils were considered very emotional and more malevolent than male devils. An example is the whirlwind, known as *ngoma cia aka* (women's devils). Ancestral spirits were believed to influence people's lives. Old people who were about to die and join the ancestors were entreated not to curse and instead to bless other people before death. Christianity has eroded traditional religious beliefs.

Religious Practitioners. Traditional religious leaders were believed to have talents, knowledge, and the ability to influence supernatural forces and were responsible for performing sacrificial functions to appease the gods and spirits. One prophet was credited with ability to access and deliver messages from the supreme god, and most of his prophecies were thought to have been fulfilled.

Other religious practitioners are associated with magic and herbal practices. The Embu commonly use magic charms or protective magic *(kithiitu),* hate or despising magic, love potions magic *(kithiitu kia wendo),* destructive magic and witchcraft *(urogi),* healing magic, enticing and attracting magic, fertilizing magic *(muthega wa unoru),* wealth magic *(muthega wa utonga),* and purifying magic.

Witchcraft and sorcery were feared. Those found guilty of witchcraft were punished by death. A few witch doctors were benevolent, with the knowledge and power to neutralize witchcraft. Their ability to bewitch a person on request helped keep bad people intimidated and behaving well.

Other responsibilities of religious practitioners included the supervision of oath taking and the licking of a red-hot cutting knife *(panga)* to invoke the wrath of supernatural beings and scorch the tongues of liars. This was commonly used to punish minor offenses, especially those committed by women, such as theft of chickens and honey and character defamation.

Medicine men treated ailments and performed purification rituals in cases of events such as a death in the community. Diviners were valued for their power to predict events such as rainfall patterns and shortages, serious famines, deaths, and locust invasions.

Ceremonies. Ceremonial occasions traditionally included childbirth, child naming, circumcision and other forms of ini-

tiation, marriage, funerals, and the rituals preceding planting, harvesting, and eating the harvest and during the Christmas season. All ceremonies involved sacrifices to the gods and were led by traditional priests. Since the early 1960s ceremonies have been held mainly at the time of marriage and during Christmas.

Most ceremonies marked functional changes in status from childbirth to maturity and death and symbolized important role changes. The most common ceremonies were childbirth *(Guciarwa),* coming out of the house *(Kuumagarua),* applying the sheep *(Kuvaka Ngo'ndu),* ear piercing (Gutony-*wa* Matu), circumcision *(Kurua),* shaving *(Kwenjwa),* and stepping over *(Gutagarara).*

Arts. The major artistic activities were basket making, bead making and decoration, making skin clothes, mat making, ironwork, the making of calabash dishes and gourds, the manufacture of leg bells, and beekeeping. Oral literature in the form of narratives, proverbs, poems, riddles, songs, and dances was well developed. In the year 2000 traditional music, songs, and dances still formed part of the repertoire at school and college music festivals. This music is also performed on national day anniversaries and to honor government officials.

Medicine. Before the arrival of Europeans in the early 1920s medical services were provided by traditional medicine men who used medicines extracted from trees, roots, seeds, herbs, shrubs, animal products, vegetables, and the soil. By 2001 Western medical treatments had replaced most traditional medicines. Some people still prefer traditional medical care.

Death and Afterlife. The Embu traditionally believed that the dead continue to inhabit the world of spirits and they did not bury deceased persons until the 1920s, when the British government and Western churches made burial mandatory.

When a person was very sick and beyond saving, a shelter would be built in the bush and relatives would stay with that person to establish a will. After death the corpse would be left unattended to be eaten by hyenas as the relatives went home to engage in a cleansing ritual. The deceased's hut then was set on fire. When a man died, a cleansing ceremony was performed on his widow, who later was inherited by one of his relatives. A woman's death was followed by little ceremony because she had no home of her own. If an unmarried man died, his place of death would not be cultivated.

For other cultures in Kenya, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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Ga

ETHNONYMS: Ga-Adangme, Adangbe

Orientation

Identification and Location. *Ga* is the preferred name for the heterogeneous people of the Accra area who are closely related to the Adangme or Adangbe people to the northeast of Accra. The area is centered at approximately 2° W. longitude and 5° N. latitude. It is bounded on the west by the Densu River, on the east the Chemmu lagoon, on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the north by the Akwapim hills. The topography is largely flat and relatively dry, averaging 25 inches (65 centimeters) of rainfall per year concentrated in one season. Unlike most of the rest of the West African coast, the Accra plains are savanna, marked by large termite mounds after which the city was named.

Demography. In 1993 the Ga population was estimated to be 300, 000, centered in Accra.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ga language is a western representative of the western Kwa subfamily of languages within the Niger-Congo family. It has a closer relationship to Yoruba in its tonality and cognates than to the immediately neighboring subfamily of Akan languages and an even closer relationship to its eastern neighbor, Ewe. Since English is the official language of Ghana and the Ga are a mixture of peoples concentrated in the capital who have had superior access to Western-style education, many first-language Ga speakers also know English, one or more of the Akan languages (Fante or Twi), and/or Ewe.

History and Cultural Relations

The Ga have lived in southern Ghana for more than a thousand years. They largely displaced or intermarried with the indigenous Kpeshi people, established their system of rotating slash-and-burn horticulture, and eventually adopted

maize as a primary staple as opposed to the earlier millet. The date of the earliest settlement at Accra is not known, but that settlement was flourishing by the fifteenth century. Accra developed from a series of contiguous settlements formed at different times by different peoples who developed a coherent but flexible sense of Ga identity.

The growth of Accra was stimulated by the arrival of the Europeans, the first being the Portuguese, who built a small fort there in 1482. In the seventeenth century the English, Dutch, Swedes, and Danes established spheres of influence, entering into a preexisting coastal trade. Further growth came with the destruction of the original capital, Ayawaso, 2. 1 miles (3. 4 kilometers) northwest of Accra, by the Akwamu kingdom in 1677. After being in a tributary relationship with the Akwamu until 1730, Accra regained and largely maintained its independence until it was occupied by the British in 1874. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Accra had a population of approximately 7, 500 to 10, 000 and was well developed, with extensive interior and exterior trade connections. Merchants in Accra acted as middlepersons in the trade of slaves, gold, and other commodities between the Europeans and the Asante kingdom to the north. From the 1820s on European missionaries arrived in the area and had a substantial impact.

Ga ethnicity was constructed out of many strands because of the multiplicity of trade contacts, religious influences, founding ethnicities, and cross-cultural contacts fostered by intermarriage. A common saying at Asere is, "There is no such thing as a pure Ga. " Not only were many European and inland African ethnicities represented in Accra over hundreds of years, but also the lateral coastal connections produced migrations of Brazilian, Sierra Leonean, and Nigerian families, who formed clans and assumed Ga identity.

Around the turn of the twentieth century Accra experienced a series of disasters, including famines, a fire in 1894, an earthquake in 1906, bubonic plague, and the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919, as well as continuous emigration of skilled laborers. A severe earthquake in 1939 destroyed much of Central Accra and gave added impetus to settle in new suburban settlements such as Kaneshie and Adabraka. When Accra became the West African headquarters for British military operations during World War II, its population increased, doubling in size between 1931 and 1948 to 135, 000. The next burst of expansion was in the prosperous 1950s, when the population doubled to 388, 000. Accra boomed as the capital of Ghana after independence in 1957, expanding to include far suburbs such as Nima. Central Accra, however, continued to be dominated by the Ga, many of whom had relatives living in the suburbs or receiving an education in the United Kingdom or the United States. Because of the confined space that inhibited expansion, the elderly amenities and construction, and the high population density in Central Accra, observers have long characterized Accra's area of core settlement as a slum, rivaled only by areas such as Nima that have borne the brunt of new immigration. However, the diversity of connections and its status as the historical home of most Ga clans, as well as the longevity of residence of much of its population, make Central Accra an area rich in tradition. It now sits in the heart of a sprawling urban complex of several million persons, many of whom are not Ga. However, many learn Ga and over the years and the centuries have become Ga.

Settlements

The oldest area of settlement in Accra, now known as Central Accra, is composed of seven quarters, among which Asere, Abola, and Gbese are oldest and considered to be the most traditionally Ga. Otublohum originally was settled by people from Akwamu and Denkyera to the northwest. These four quarters make up Ussher Town, the area placed under Dutch jurisdiction in the seventeenth century. The other three quarters—Alata or Nleshi, Sempe, and Akanmadze—are said to be of later origin. Alata was settled by Nigerian workers imported to construct a European fort. These three quarters are commonly called James Town and formed the original area of British jurisdiction at Accra. Asere is by far the largest quarter in terms of population and area. All quarters have clan houses known as *wekushia,* the original homes of Ga patrilineages, and chiefs called *mantsemei.*

Houses in Central Accra are arranged roughly in blocks that were sometimes forcibly created by colonial government demolition. Most are one-story rectangular compounds with large courtyards in which most of the functions of daily living are carried out. Women's compounds are usually livelier with the presence of small children and chickens, and because cooking, laundry, and household production are carried out there; men's compounds may be somnolent in the noonday sun, their residents absent at various jobs. There are a few two-story houses with courtyards beside them. Adjoining compounds may share a boundary wall, but most are separated by narrow pathways. Rural houses are usually smaller and form small villages; most are rectangular and are roofed with metal sheets that have replaced the older thatch.

Economy

Subsistence. In the Accra area the horticultural activities of the Ga were changed substantially and permanently by increasing incorporation into the world capitalist economy that began in the fifteenth century. The move to the coast also brought about increasing involvement in fishing; men first fished off the beaches from canoes; beginning in the eighteenth century they started using nets, a skill taught to them by their Fante neighbors. The villages in Central Accra became fishing villages, with the women working as fish sellers.

Commerical Activities. After the advent of Western education men took up skilled occupations as artisans (carpenters, masons, tailors) or clerks trained in missionary schools. Men had wide opportunities for employment, often traveling upcountry or abroad to help construct colonial buildings, for instance. One such Ga mason, Tetteh Quashie, became famous when he returned from working on the island of Fernando Po in the late nineteenth century because he brought back cacao plant seedlings and began a plantation. This initiated the transition to dependence on cocoa as an export crop that marked the twentieth-century economic history of Gold Coast/Ghana. The fortunes of the Gold Coast colonial economy were tied to the cocoa production that was carried out largely in the Akan areas northwest of Accra. Accra profited once again from its intermediary role in trade. As time went on more Ga women gained access to Western education, es-

pecially after independence. Although unemployment is a big problem for Central Accra youth, few educated young people are interested in trade or fishing. An old apprenticeship system for both genders has mostly disappeared. Accra has also experienced some industrialization, with many men, in particular, being employed in small-scale manufacturing and a few large factories. Central Accra has become a refuge for the underemployed, while those who are better off live in the suburbs. Much farming disappeared with the building of suburbs on Ga land; commercial farming was never important in the twentieth century because of the low rainfall and relatively infertile soil. Commercial fishing is now an important industry with involvement by multinational corporations and the dominance of mechanized trawling, which has largely displaced canoe fishing. Imported or factory-manufactured products have displaced home manufactures such as cloth and soap.

Industrial Arts. Ga material culture and skills seem to have been less notable than those of their neighbors. Whereas the Ewe and the Asante are known for producing richly woven cloth; the Asante for brass gold weights, elaborately carved stools, and gold heraldic artifacts and jewelry; and the Ga-related Krobo/Shai for pottery, the Ga seem to have served more as transmitters of culture as traders. There was a woodcarving tradition that produced small household implements, and men also worked as blacksmiths. Basket making was a dying art in the 1940s. The relatively early exposure to missionary artisanal training may have displaced certain arts, while woodcarving would have been difficult because of the absence of large numbers of trees. Women's skills are mainly in the culinary areas of manufacturing beer and prepared foods of various kinds, most of which is quite labor-intensive and requires knowledge of elaborate methods.

Trade. Ga were heavily involved in trade in many commodities, including slaves, over a long period of time. As late as the early twentieth century a few slaves were still sold in or near Salaga Market in Central Accra. Women were traders as far back as at least the sixteenth century. Over time increasing numbers of women took up trade as an occupation, at first selling their own agricultural produce and then, as urban expansion took up more land, selling fish and imported goods or products of home manufacture such as soap, pottery, maize beer, and prepared foods. An important commodity was and continues to be *kenkey,* or komi, the Ga staple food, which is made of fermented steamed corn dough.

Division of Labor. Before the advent of Western education boys and girls were taught skills appropriate to their gender by older relatives of the same sex or in an apprenticeship system. Once trained, young people were supposed to do the more strenuous aspects of their occupation. Women did much of the farm labor, especially weeding and cultivating, while men cleared new land. Men fished, wove, and maintained nets. Women were and are the preeminent small-scale traders, relying on elaborate knowledge of contacts, profit margins, supply sources, and sales locations. Women as well as men bought and sold slaves. Some women became successful large-scale traders. Out of this activity came the rights of women to own and convey property without male permission.

Western-type education brought gendertyping into various occupations in accordance with missionary and colonial ideas of appropriate behavior. Less education was provided for girls both under colonialism and after independence in terms of availability of school space in a largely single-sex system, and girls' education often was confined to subjects suitable for the creation of Western-style housewives. The result is a stratified job and labor market in which women are largely confined to lower-paying and more labor-intensive occupations. Female enrolment in universities is usually around 15 to 20 percent of the student population. Ga men, because of early and greater exposure to educated skills and jobs commensurate with those skills in a growing city, have more often been able to take advantage of the benefits of literacy. However, in Central Accra unemployment and underemployment are a problem for both genders due to the weaknesses of a neocolonial economy and poverty that restricts the availability and quality of education.

Land Tenure. Land rights came initially through the high priests associated with the land as representatives of the original Guan inhabitants. These rights were usufructuary rather than absolute. People had a right to the products of the land that they cultivated or, in the case of elders, that their juniors cultivated for them. However, once allocated, land may have become private property that could be handed on to one's heirs. Today virtually all land is private property in Accra; it may belong to an individual or to a corporate lineage, but it can be disposed of according to the owners' wishes. Private land sales in Accra may have existed in the fifteenth century, encouraged by the population density. Twentieth-century land dealings became the subject of lengthy court battles as the value of the land rose, especially in central Accra. All the members of a lineage have use rights in its property, but the authority to determine its use lies mainly with the male elders. Income from rental property usually is divided into shares, with the largest share going to the senior lineage members. Some lineages keep the property together, while a few have dissolved the corporation and sold the land to their wealthier members.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Ga society has always been in flux, influenced by groups that exploit indeterminacies and redefine rules or relationships to maximize their positions. The original seven quarters of Accra have mantsemei who are the heads of influential patrilineages that have land rights within the quarters. The patrilineages also have priests and priestesses who mediate relations with ancestors and family gods. Patrilineage members usually know the clan *(we)* or major lineage from which they come, which membership is now expressed in surname. Even if they have never lived in Central Accra, they know the quarter from which the clan came and perhaps the name of the eponymous ancestor who founded it and which house is the wekushia. Smaller nearby coastal towns such as Osu (now part of Accra), Teshie, and Labadi also serve as clan homes, with each clan having a unique surname that distinguishes it from the others and locates it spatially. At the yearly harvest festival, *Homowo,* which falls in August or early September depending on the clan, all members of a clan are supposed to return to their

houses of origin, *adeboshia*. Before the Ga became widely dispersed, people from the villages came to visit for the duration of the festival, bringing gifts of food. Village clan affiliation was determined by the affiliation of the village's founder.

Patrifiliation is the dominant method of tracing descent in central Accra. Exceptions exist and are attributable to intermarriage with Akan or children's adoption by the mother's patrikin in the absence or unwillingness of a father to claim them. Matrilinearity sometimes exists among chiefly families, some of which derived from Akwamu. Villages west of Accra have more intermarriage with Fante and more matrifiliation as a result. In general, the older the settlement, the less matrifiliation is present.

Kinship Terminology. Terms of reference and address are by generation; all persons of the same gender in the same generation are considered to bear a similar relationship to each other. For instance, a woman's mother's mother's sister and her father's mother's sister are called *Naa* by her, just as her paternal and maternal grandmothers are. At the naming ceremony *(outdooring)* eight days after the birth of a child the father gives the child a family name, patrilineally in accordance with sex, order of birth, and alternate generation. If the child's father refuses to name it, thus claiming it nowadays when bride-wealth is largely in abeyance, a male relative of the mother will usually do so and the child will belong to the mother's patrilineage. There is no stigma of illegitimacy involved so long as someone names the child, but the namer must be male. Each clan has its own set of names. Twins have a special set of names regardless of clan, as do the children who are born following the twins, but most names are clan-specific. Because the names in every other generation are recapitulated, there is a lot of repetition. Confusion is avoided by giving people nicknames, and many people now also have Christian baptismal or Islamic names. Thus, a man's name demonstrates to another person his clan affiliation and quarter of origin, gender, and birth order among his full brothers.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is arguably a less important institution for Central Accra Ga than for many peoples due to the separate residence of spouses, a flexible divorce system with both men and women making multiple marriages, and the lack of a cooperative husband-wife economic unit within marriage, which has been exacerbated by contemporary developments.

Contemporary marriage among the poorer classes is signaled by a simple gift of drink. Spouses do not normally live together when in town. Economic cooperation is not a usual aspect of marriage, and spouses keep their property separate. The girls' puberty rite has vanished. Lineages have a reduced interest in keeping spouses together if no bride-wealth was paid, elders did not arrange the marriage, and the union did not have political importance. Christianity and Islam have affected the ceremonies performed through the evolution of syncretic forms. Marriages of wealthy or middle-class people often are accompanied by the accoutrements of Western middle-class marriages, but most couples do not socialize together or practice community of property.

Childbearing and childrearing are still an important function of marriage but marriage increasingly lacks ceremonial ratification. Divorce under customary law, as opposed to Western-imposed civil law, is informal, and the dominant pattern among women is serial monogamy. The most common reason for divorce is nonsupport of the children by the husband. Women are expected to support themselves and provide more child support than men do because of the high divorce rate in Central Accra. Polygyny, once a symbol of high status for a man and a generator of wealth for him through the production of his wives, is now uncommon, but many high-status men have what are called "outside wives, " de facto second wives who are younger and more educated than first wives, similar to United States "trophy" wives. Intermarriage with non-Ga is increasingly common, especially among the highly educated; if a matrilineal Akan man marries a Ga woman, the children may be disinherited due to the conflict in inheritance customs.

Domestic Unit. Clan houses (wekushia) in Central Accra and other coastal towns were and continue to be residences for patrilineally related relatives but have developed a distinctive gender segregation that does not conform to any conventional anthropological term because people do not change residence at the time of marriage. Men usually live with their male patrilateral relatives, and women with their female matrilateral relatives. To perpetuate this pattern boys are sent to their fathers at some time between the ages of six and twelve; the fathers' compounds may be several kilometers from the mothers' but are usually closer. What began as a system of patrilineages with a male section and a female section has become effective segregation of the genders, with many men living in suburbs, leaving more women downtown. There are two types of residential groupings, with the most common being a multigenerational compound inhabited by a matrilaterally related group that includes mother, daughters, granddaughters, and sisters. Next in frequency is patrilateral groupings consisting of fathers or several brothers and their sons and grandsons. Because men are more likely to move out and begin neolocal conjugal households in the suburbs, Central Accra now has more female-headed households. Because mothers leave their residential rights to their coresident daughters, the daughters' rights become de facto only, since they do not belong to the original patrilineage that owned the compound. In the contemporary struggle over land ownership of ever more valuable property, those de facto rights have become more difficult to assert.

Many Central Accra Ga have variable residential choices available to them and take advantage of them in an opportunistic manner over a lifetime, joining various relatives at will or living in conjugal households, which dominate in rural areas. Each quarter has rural land that historically belonged to it, where its residents farmed. The mantsemei *of* the quarters still have ceremonial jurisdiction over those areas and play a role in the assignment of property usage.

Inheritance. Although descent is traced unilaterally, inheritance rights are more complex and have been affected by women's economic independence. In the past sons inherited from fathers, younger brothers from older brothers, and daughters from mothers, but the increasing individuation of property ownership and inheritance through the use of written wills has introduced more variation into an already flexible system. Part of the flexibility that remains regards the heir's obligation to contribute substantially to an individual's funeral. Paying for a funeral in a society where funerals are

far more important than marriage in perpetuating lineages is regarded as creating an obligation such that the payer inherits a substantial portion of the deceased's estate. However, lineage property devolves according to corporate rules enforced by the mostly male elders and the courts of the mantsemei. The elders are more likely to bestow property on collateral relatives than on children, but emphasis is placed on the fulfillment of mutual obligations in making that decision. Women tend to leave self-acquired property to the daughters with whom they were in business or coresident. Because of the devolution of the residential system and the attenuation of some males' rights in lineage property as a result of nonresidence and because of the residence of women who are not patrilineage members on it, in some cases both men and women invest in private property elsewhere rather than improving property in which their legal rights are tenuous. Most people follow a cognatic pattern in leaving self-acquired property to children of both genders, but there is a lot of variation.

Socialization. The ideological separation between genders and the superior ranking of males are enforced by social conditioning. Being male is associated with everything good, straight, rational, and right as opposed to left, while women are thought to possess opposite and negative attributes. Men take precedence at all life cycle rituals. Boys and girls are encouraged to play in separate groups at different games and are expected to behave differently at a young age. Infants often are indulged, but older children may be punished harshly. Child abuse by both sexes is more common than spouse abuse, but neither is common. Girls are brought up by their mothers to take care of household responsibilities and are expected to mind younger siblings, while boys sent to their fathers are removed from much contact with young children and are not trained in domestic tasks, which are viewed as women's work. The labor value of girls militates against their completion of schooling in many cases, as does expulsion from school for pregnancy, a punishment not applied to boys who father children. Male dominance is apparent in the allotment of more space to boys, who are entitled to a room of their own in a compound, while girls are expected to share space with their sisters and/or children.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Before the rise of the mantsemei in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as war chiefs, supreme judicial authority rested with the priests of the Sakumo, Korle, and Nai lagoons, with each town having its own high priest, or *wulomo.* As in most preindustrial societies, there was little distinction between religious and secular authority. No divine objects are associated with the gods represented by the wulomei; they are responsible for interpreting to the people the wishes of the gods and for pouring weekly or daily libations. They have the final say in regard to what is right or wrong; for many Ga their authority remains influential though not absolute. They dress in pure white calico and are supposed to be free from any wrongdoing; uncircumcised men and menstruating women are not supposed to enter their compounds; anyone who enters is supposed to go barefoot. The wulomei command more respect than do the mantsemei, who are representatives of old secular authority. The mantsemei originally derived their authority from the wulomei, who delegated some of their secular duties to minor priests, the mantsemei, who then glorified their positions with the paraphernalia of Akan political authority, such as heraldry and parasols. During the colonial era the authority of the mantsemei was damaged by their ineffective leadership and sometimes cooperation with the colonial regime, as well as disunity and rivalries. In some cases involvement in corrupt land dealings has given all mantsemei a reputation for venality.

Political Organization. Each quarter has a mantse; their ranking relative to each other depends on many factors, including the antiquity of the position, the age and personality of the holder of the position, and the authority and perquisites delegated by the government. The British used the mantsemei as appointed authorities for the imposition of "indirect" rule, removing from them the right to impose capital punishment. The Abola Mantse was appointed paramount chief, or Ga Mantse, the "father of the Ga people, " but that authority remains largely ceremonial.

Social Control. Colonial rule introduced to Gold Coast/ Ghana a two-tiered legal system in which secular civil and criminal law following British custom was imposed for those who chose to use it and covered major financial and criminal matters. The authority of the mantsemei was reduced to dealing with minor crimes involving small sums of money or marital disputes, slander, and conflicts over clan land matters, with the latter being the source of most of their remaining power. British marriage law was introduced, which some educated persons used to make an "Ordinance" marriage, but the requirement for monogamy and for giving women an undisputed share of their husbands' estates was unpopular with many people. Most marriages in the early twenty-first century are governed by customary law or church requirements. Most family matters are handled by government social services, clan elders, or the chiefs' courts. Secular government courts handle most criminal cases, with chiefs serving in an advisory capacity on occasion. A High Court patterned on the U. S. Supreme Court is part of a supposedly independent judiciary.

Conflict. The decentralized Ga decision-making system seems to have prevented most large-scale conflict before colonialism. There were mock and sometimes real rivalries between quarters that were expressed in small-scale "battles" with few casualties, but clan elders settled most disputes, the most intractable of which were referred to the mantsemei or wulomei. Large-scale wars were fought with those who came from the north to seek dominance in the European trade. The Ga united across quarters to pursue this warfare, sometimes successfully. The British conquest was gradual more than violent, a matter of increasing influence fostered by the Gas' desire to protect themselves from those living inland. Organized street violence is rare in Central Accra, but political demonstrations are common at election time.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. In the indigenous religion a *dzemawon,* or spirit, is a powerful intelligence that is omnipotent, omniscient, and largely unseen. Some are associated with places. They normally manifest themselves in an anthropomorphic

form and can change shape at will. Humans who invade sacred space will die from horror if they see one. However, most dzemawon are beneficent and do not punish those who see them accidentally. In each quarter or town there are many dzemawodzi associated with sacred locations. There are also spirits associated with different immigrant groups, including war gods brought by Akan immigrants. Spirits are worshiped with singing and dancing called *kple.* The language used is no longer understood by the performers. Every god has a wulomo. More important gods have houses or groves dedicated to them.

Christianity gained many converts in Accra in the mid-nineteenth century, but from the beginning the Ga exhibited a propensity for syncretism. Most Ga now are at least nominal Christians, but many combine elements of indigenous religion and Christianity. The Protestant sects that have had the greatest impact, Methodism and Presbyterianism, have been joined by a proliferation of syncretic cults. Islam has joined the mix in recent years, and so the religious situation is extremely fluid and innovative.

Religious Practitioners. High priests are male and speak as authoritative persons. The minor wulomei are sometimes female. The *woyei,* the spirit mediums through which the dzemawodzi communicate in their own voices, are usually female. Each dzemawon has its own *woyoo,* but some woyei are attached to more than one dzemawon and also may be possessed by the spirits of dead ancestors. Woyei, after an initial fit of possession in which they are seized by a spirit, receive rigorous training. Some priestly families are known for producing woyei, but the spirits choose their own mediums, who may be taken anywhere and at any time, even during a church service. Serious harm to the chosen individual is thought to result if that choice is resisted, even if many propitiatory gifts are made to the spirit. Christian ministers usually come from the Western-educated sector of the population, and ministers of syncretic sects from a wider population. The syncretic sects often allow women to be ministers, something that was forbidden in the dominant sects.

Ceremonies. The most important life-cycle rituals are "outdoorings" and funerals. The no longer practiced puberty rites for boys did not involve circumcision, which was done separately at a young age and took place in public. Girls' puberty rites involved seclusion for several months and emphasized the value of premarital chastity. Marriages by customary law are celebrated with parties today. Christian marriages often involve elaborate Western-influenced ceremonies. Otherwise, there are public installation ceremonies for the various mantsemei and wulomei, worship ceremonies of all sects, and impromptu spirit possession ceremonies or processions.

Medicine. People consult a variety of healers, including men and women who use *wodzi,* or all-purpose spirits, to identify and find the cure for health problems. Western medicine is often supplemented by the use of healers; in recent years there have been increased efforts to test the efficacy of indigenous medicines, which have increased the syncretic aspects of Ga and other Ghanaian forms of medical practice. The source of sickness *is* often thought to be psychological or a manifestation of some misdoing by the sick person, so that confessional medicine is a common aspect of practice.

Death and Afterlife. Death may be attributed to supernatural or natural causes or a combination of both. Angry spirits can cause death. Spirits of the dead are thought to wander after death for a specific period before joining the ancestral spirits in the sky. Ancestral spirits must be propitiated for many reasons, often with libations or other offerings. The dead formerly were buried in the compound or at specified burial grounds. Now Christian rites have largely superseded those of the indigenous religion, but often elements of both are incorporated into funerals. Funerals often involve a lavish expenditure on food, entertainment, and ceremony. They perform a redistributive function in regard to wealth to a certain extent. All comers are supposed to be well fed. The celebration of death is connected to the celebration of the continuity of the lineage.

For other cultures in Ghana, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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CLAIRE ROBERTSON

Ganda

ETHNONYMS: Buganda, Luganda, Kiganda

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Ganda, who refer to themselves as "Baganda" (sing. *mugando),* are a people of mixed origins whose ancestors migrated to their present location between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. Historically, they were known as a warlike people who conquered many of their neighbors and, at the time of European contact, they were a dominant power in the region. Buganda was one of the lakeshore kingdoms, along with Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole, and Kiziba. Today Buganda is one of four provinces in the state of Uganda and is situated on the northern and western shores of Lake Victoria, from 2° N to 1° S latitude. The province extends 198 miles (320 kilometers) along the lakeshore and 81 miles (130 kilometers) inland, with a land area of approximately 17, 370 square miles (45, 000 square kilometers).

The northwestern shore of Lake Victoria is a region characterized by flat-topped hills separated from each other by swampland. The elevation averages about 3, 900 feet (1, 200 meters) above sea level. Temperatures throughout the year range from 60 to 80 degrees Fahrenheit (16 to 27 degrees Celsius), with an annual rainfall of 60 inches (152 centimeters).

Demography. According to the 1991 census, there were 3, 015, 980 Luganda-speaking people in Uganda, constituting 16 percent of that country's population. At about the time of European contact there were an estimated three million Ganda; however, civil wars, famine, and disease had reduced their number to about two million by 1911.

Linquistic Affiliation. The Ganda speak the Bantu language, which they call "Luganda." Linguistically, Luganda can be placed within the Interlacustrine group of the northern zone of Bantu languages or within the central branch of the Niger-Congo language family.

History and Cultural Relations

Oral histories of Buganda chronicle a succession of thirty-six kings, beginning with Kintu, who scholars estimate immigrated to Buganda in the fourteenth century. Some scholars argue that Kintu was the conqueror of an even older kingdom in the region. In any case, Buganda has had at least a six hundred-year history of kingship from the 1300s until the establishment of British overrule in 1900. Scholars surmise that the early kingdom was a federation of clans that shared the kingship on a rotating basis. As time went on, the kingship became more centralized and powerful and was an object of more intense clan conflict. After 1700 bloody succession wars were a recurring feature of Buganda history and further contributed to the process of political centralization.

Before 1600 Buganda was on the losing side in its wars with Bunyoro—the region's most powerful kingdom at the time—and its vassal states. Beginning in the seventeenth century, Buganda began to win back territory from Bunyoro. At the end of the eighteenth century King Mawanda waged

campaigns that extended Buganda territory in all directions. By 1800 Buganda had replaced Bunyoro as the most powerful state in the North Interlacustrine region.

The earliest Arab contact occurred in 1844, and the first trade caravan arrived from Zanzibar in 1869. The first Europeans, the British Captains John Hanning Speke and James Grant, arrived in 1862 on their journey to discover the source of the Nile. Soon thereafter Protestant, Catholic, and Moslem missionaries arrived. Both kings, Mutesa I and his successor, Mwanga, were suspicious of religious converts who did not respect the king's absolute authority. Also, those kings were wary of the growing British, German, and Arab influence in East Africa. On different occasions the kings had Moslem and Christian believers executed. In 1885 King Mwanga executed three Christian leaders and the visiting Anglican bishop, James Hannington, because Hannington had entered the kingdom from the north, using "the back door, " which revealed evil intentions. In 1888 Moslem and Christian forces deposed Mwanga and replaced him with a Moslem prince. However, arguments between the Christian and Moslem factions over the distribution of offices led to armed conflict. After an intense two-year religious war the Christian forces prevailed, backed by neighboring tribes and the Sudanese mercenaries of the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC). The final Christian victory gave undisputed power to what would become the new bureaucratic elite of modern Uganda. In 1894 Buganda was formally proclaimed a British protectorate that later included Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole, Busogaes, and other kingdoms to the north of the Victoria Nile River. The Uganda Agreement of 1900 laid the basis for a new administrative order by granting the chiefs freehold estates, strengthening their position vis-à-vis the monarchy.

Uganda's more recent history has also been troubled by violence and instability. After World War II Buganda pressed the protectorate government for independent status. Eventually all of Uganda was granted independence in 1962, and Milton Obote, the leader of the Lango people from northern Uganda, became the prime minister with the support of his own United People's Congress and the conservative Baganda party, Kabaka Yekka. Obote appointed the Buganda king, Mutesa II, as president. Growing rivalry between parties and among ethnic groups led to Mutesa IPs forceful ouster by Obote's military chief, Idi Amin. Obote took over as president and proclaimed a new constitution in 1966. Idi Amin was able to exploit the bad feelings between the Baganda and Obote and in 1971 staged a successful military coup. However, his rule was disastrous and brutal, and he was ousted with help from Tanzanian forces in 1978. Obote was reelected president in 1980 and again was deposed by a military coup in 1985. The next year a southern resistance movement (the National Resistance Army) ousted the new military rulers. The movement's leader, Yoweri Museveni, became president in 1986 and ruled Uganda with an indirectly elected governing council until 1995, when a new constitution was established. A presidential election was held in May 1996, which Museveni won. Museveni established a one-party system called the Movement. Although people have the right to vote, parties cannot run candidates, open branch offices, recruit members, or hold conferences. According to Museveni, political parties divide the country along ethnic and religious lines.

Settlements

Villages are built on the slopes of the innumerable low flat-topped hills that dot the Buganda countryside. Villages consist of thirty to eighty dispersed homesteads, each surrounded by its banana garden and interspersed with fallow land and patches of cotton, covering an average of five or six acres. Originally, dwellings consisted of a round framework of posts and canes covered with thatched grass that extended upward to form a beehive-shaped roof. In the twentieth century the typical dwelling was rectangular, also of post and cane framework but with mud walls and a corrugated iron roof replacing the thatched grass.

Economy

Subsistence. The Ganda are primarily an agricultural society whose staple crops are bananas and yams. They also grow sweet potatoes, taro, manioc, maize, millet, peanuts, beans, squashes, gourds, sesame, tomatoes, and sugarcane. Cotton was introduced as a market crop in 1904, and later coffee was grown. The Ganda keep some goats, chickens, sheep, and cattle, which are regarded as a sign of wealth. The banana is the most important crop, and each household has a banana grove that supplies its major food needs. A grove can produce for as long as seventy years and requires little weeding and mulching, which is work done by women. The banana has supported a relatively dense and settled population. There are two growing seasons a year.

Commerical Activities. Commerce was little developed in Buganda until markets were introduced and encouraged by Europeans. Under the British, the rich Interlacustrine soils of Buganda were developed for cash crops such as coffee, tea, and cotton. In the postwar years coffee accounted for 90 percent of the value of Uganda's exports. Most Baganda farmers grow at least one cash crop along with their subsistence crops.

Industrial Arts. Traditionally, Bagandans made a variety of utilitarian and ornamental objects for domestic and royal use. They sawed ivory bracelets from elephant tusks, wove rope from plantain fibers and mats from papyrus or palm leaves, pounded bark to make bark cloth for clothing, and made pottery using the coil method. They cut planks from trees and stitched the pieces together to make canoes and shields. They also smelted iron to make spear points and hoe blades.

Trade. In the precontact days the Baganda exchanged bananas and bark cloth for iron from the Lake Albert region and salt, clay pots, and fish from the islands in Lake Victoria. With neighboring pastoral people they traded dried bananas for cattle, sheep, and goats. In general, Baganda raiding and warfare precluded much of the need for trade. War booty was distributed according to military rank, with the largest share given to the king. Beginning in the eighteenth century, the king carried out trade with Zanzibar, exchanging primarily ivory for cotton cloth and later trading slaves for firearms. The Arabs introduced cowry shells, although barter continued to be the dominant form of exchange. In the postwar pe-

riod Uganda became an exporter of cotton, coffee, tea, and tobacco-

Division of Labor. Children sweep the yards, fetch water from the well, and cook meals. Women garden, cook and do other domestic chores, and make baskets. Men tend the coffee or cotton crop and make bark cloth in a special shed near the main house. Men build houses, hunt, and fish. Traditionally, most of a man's time was occupied attending to the needs of his chief, including public works and war. In the 1960s rural occupations might include clerical work for a chief, carpentry, bicycle repair, butchering, and fishing. In the cities there are other occupations, including those of teacher, shopkeeper, craftsman, and driver.

Land Tenure. In the past patrilineal clans, each of which was protected by a major totem and a minor totem, controlled the land. The heads of the clans, who were confirmed by the *kabaka,* or king, administered clan estates. Newly conquered lands were owned by the kabaka, who appointed local chiefs to administer them. Appointed chiefs, military chiefs, and traditional clan chiefs all had estates that supported their households. Villagers had the right to use land through their support of a particular chief. In the Uganda Agreement of 1900 all chiefs were given freehold tenure *(mailo).*

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Baganda practice patrilineal descent, in which the birth father is recognized as the true father and is the person to whose clan one belongs. There are approximately fifty clans (*kika*) in Buganda. Traditionally, the head of each clan lived on the original estate settled by the first ancestor; however, clans in general were not localized. Clan members observed the obligation of mutual aid and collective responsibility. Clans were divided into *siga,* those descended from the sons of the original founder, and *mutuba,* those descended from the grandsons or great-grandsons of the original founders. The head of a siga would arbitrate various disputes regarding inheritance, clan status, debts, and injuries. Members of the same mutuba were expected to attend funeral ceremonies and support relatives in legal disputes, blood feuds, and the payment of fines.

Kinship Terminology. The Baganda use a classificatory system of kinship terminology in which all the father's brothers are called "father, " all the mother's sisters are called "mother, " and all the children are called "brother and sister. "

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In the past, marriage was an economic necessity as women were the cultivators and cooks. The word "to marry" in Luganda means "to peel plantains" *(okuwata)* and "to cook for" *(okufumbira).* One could not marry within one's father's or mother's clan. The suitor obtained the consent of his prospective bride before asking for her hand in marriage. If she agreed, he then sent letters, some with money, to various relatives designated by the prospective bride. This was followed by gifts of food to the bride's parents and a formal introduction that included a request by the bride's brother for a bride-price. The bride-price was in essence a contract that was supposed to be returned if the marriage failed. Other gifts were also exchanged at this time. The wedding ceremony involved the exchange of the bride at a crossroads, followed by singing, drinking, and dancing in the bridegroom's village. Secondary marriages were less formal.

Traditionally, the Baganda practiced polygyny, but that practice began to change under the influence of Christianity, to which most Baganda now adhere. In the 1960s, only one in twenty marriages was polygamous. Christian marriages are conducted in a church, and Western wedding attire is worn.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit is the homestead *(maka),* which consists of a house and kitchen with additional sleeping huts and a latrine. A yard surrounds the house and itself is surrounded on three sides by gardens where permanent crops of coffee and bananas grow. The normal residential group is the nuclear family. Married sons and daughters live in separate homesteads. The average size of a homestead is three people.

Inheritance. Traditionally, land was not inherited because estates were attached to offices granted by the kabaka and clan leaders. Movable property, such as livestock, bark cloth, and cowry shells, was distributed to relatives at the time of the funeral, with clan elders arbitrating disputes. Senior clansmen also took a share, and a "gift" was sent to the chief. The direct descendants had a claim to the deceased's household implements and tools. Widows received nothing because they were not members of the patrician. With regard to the later freehold *(mailo)* estates, usually the eldest son is the principal heir, receiving under half of the estate, with the rest divided among the other children, including the daughters.

Socialization. Ganda children are encouraged to behave socially from an early age. They are brought up to be polite, well behaved, and respectful of elders. They learn to cultivate a code of etiquette *(mpisa)* that will serve them in negotiating Ganda's hierarchical, fluid society. In many cases children are sent away after weaning to be brought up by relatives, who are less intimate and more strict than their own parents. Corporal punishment is the norm. Children begin school at age six. The Ganda do not practice bodily mutilation or scarification. There are no puberty rituals for boys, and only a family ceremony marks a girl's first menstruation.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Communities were not necessarily bound together by ties of kinship but were formed by those who elected to follow a particular chief and estate holder. Once settled and established, a client may attract his own kinsmen and friends, who will form the core of another village.

Political Organization. For most of its history up to 1900 Buganda was a centralized monarchy. Tribute in the form of goods and services flowed from the clans to the chiefs and the kabaka. The chief of each clan and clan segment held a hereditary estate. A council of elders decided who from a small chiefly lineage was to inherit the office of chief, subject to approval by the kabaka. A chief was responsible to the chief of the clan segment immediately above him. All chiefs were responsible for maintaining peace and security in their region, carrying out public works and leading their men into battle. Each clan was responsible for performing a certain

duty for the king, such as supplying bark cloth, herding the royal cattle, or guarding the royal children. All the clans supplied personnel to become court pages, who someday might gain royal favor and be appointed chiefs.

Although there was a royal family, there was no royal clan; instead, the children of the kabaka were affiliated with their mothers' clans. Sons, grandsons, and brothers were all eligible to inherit the kingship. Because it was the practice for all the clans to marry their women to the king, each clan had a legitimate claim to the kingship, making successions highly contested. As the kingdom expanded, the king was able to wrest some power away from the clan chiefs *(bataka)* by granting estates *(batongole)* in the newly conquered territories to his most loyal officers and rewarding loyal chiefs with war booty.

In the Uganda Agreement of 1900 Buganda was designated a province of Uganda and ruled as a protected state. The position of the kabaka was confirmed, and the native system of administration was preserved. The central government of Buganda Province consists of the kabaka, three ministers, and a legislative assembly *(lukiiko)*. For administrative purposes, the province is divided into counties, districts, and parishes, which replaced villages as the smallest territorial unit. In 1962 the status of Uganda changed from that of a British protectorate to an independent nation and a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Social Control. Traditionally, the chiefs and their councils adjudicated all disputes. Charges were brought before the offender's chief, who then summoned the accused. Both parties pleaded their cases and provided witnesses. The chief and his council then questioned both parties. The council would then discuss the case, and the chief would make a decision. Under the British protectorate chiefs continued to judge cases that involved customary laws, inheritance, and succession and relied on subordinate chiefs rather than a council to discuss the case. Protectorate government courts adjudicated more serious crimes, such as homicide.

Conflict. Violent conflict among the Baganda occurred in the wars of territorial expansion and royal succession. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Buganda was a predatory state, constantly warring with its neighbors. This took a toll on its population. Royal succession was a time of bloody inter-clan fighting, with commoners often caught in the middle. At times the king felt that he had to demonstrate his power through arbitrary killings of his subjects.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The traditional religion of the Ganda was based on belief in a hierarchy of god-heroes *(lubale)*, ancestral spirits *(mizimu)*, and nature spirits. The most important god was Mukasa, the god of Lake Victoria, health, and fertility. Another important god was Kibuka, the god of war. Besides such "national" gods, each clan worshiped its own lubale. Priests maintained temples, shrines, and cults centered on the spirits of former clan leaders and kings. Prophets, or mediums, were able to consult with these spirits, which influenced the affairs of the living. Although today most Ganda are either Christian or Moslem (a small minority), traditional religious practices are still performed, such as sorcery, folk medicine, spirit possession, and ancestor worship.

Religious Practitioners. Traditionally, a group of priests and a prophet, or medium, was associated with each temple. The priests performed the rites and sacrifices, and the prophet communicated with the spirit. Prophets were initiated into a cult after first being possessed by that cult's spirit. Prophets also practiced magic and performed curing ceremonies.

Ceremonies. There were few public ceremonies in traditional Bagandan religion. Priests away from public view conducted most ceremonies. Others involved only clan elders or members of the royal court. Individuals who requested an interview with a god initiated public ceremonies. A day was set, and gifts were brought. The prophet invoked the lubale, and the audience sang songs appropriate to the particular god. The god descended and possessed the prophet, and the sponsor of the event made his requests. The ceremony ended with further singing, dancing, and drinking. The kabaka would also make requests of the national gods in a similar but more elaborate ceremony.

Arts. In the past the Ganda decorated objects with simple designs: They glazed pottery and painted bark cloth and boats. Musical instruments included a one-string violin, a six-holed fife, a nine-string harp, a wooden zither *(madinda)*, a gourd horn, and various kinds of rattles and drums. There were musical bands that played at funerals and in the court. Songs were sung in a minor key. Drums were an emblem of office and were used for dancing, feasting, and marching and to announce major social and political events, including births, deaths, and war. A rich folklore chronicles the history of the clans and the royal succession.

Medicine. According to the Ganda, sickness is caused by gods, ghosts, sorcerers, and the breaking of taboos. Cures traditionally involved propitiating the god or ghost and righting the violated taboo with a sacrifice. For other ailments, medicine men administered such remedies as bleeding for headaches, herbal vapor baths for fever, and branding to relieve bodily pain. Bubonic plague was not uncommon, and at any sign of the plague people abandoned their settlements.

Death and Afterlife. A death was immediately followed by wailing of close relatives who had gathered in the home of the dying person. The widow washed and shaved the corpse and after two days wrapped it in bark cloth. Traditionally, the direct descendants rubbed butter on the face of the deceased. The corpse was buried at night under the supervision of a senior clansman. Relatives helped dig the grave in the homestead's banana grove. Beer was brewed and drunk. The installation of an heir concluded the mourning period. Traditionally, a chief was buried in a grave inside his home, which was then abandoned. The funeral of a kabaka followed the same basic procedure but was more elaborate. The kabaka was buried in the royal cemetery, and a shrine was constructed to house his jawbone and, in some cases, his umbilical cord. A staff of slaves and priests and a prophet would be responsible for maintaining the shrine and the associated cult.

The Ganda believe that the spirit of the deceased remains in or near the grave but can travel on occasion. It stays in close contact with its descendants and must be placated with offerings if the descendants are to avoid misfortune and

prosper. The ancestral spirit can express its anger by possessing its descendants and making him them speak. Cults grew around the more famous, especially former kings.

For the original article on the Ganda, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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IAN SKOGGARD

German Russians

ETHNONYMS: Germans in Russia, Germans from Russia, Russian Germans, Russo-Germans, Czar's Germans, *nemetskie kolonisty* (German colonists), *Sowietdeutsche* (Soviet Germans), *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans), Baltic Germans, Volga Germans *(Wolgadeutsche),* Black Sea Germans *(Schwarzmeerdeutsche),* Volhynian Germans *(Wolhyniendeutsche),* Caucasus Germans *(Kaukasusdeutsche),* Siberian Germans *(Sibiriendeutsche),* "Unser Leit/Unsere Leute" (Our People)

Orientation

Identification and Location. German Russians are a diverse ethnic group whose settlements once were found in various areas of the Russian Empire and the former Soviet Union. Those ethnic Germans tended to cluster in agrarian colonies or urban neighborhoods where they could maintain the language and cultural traditions of their German-speaking ancestors. Other than their ability to retain elements of their ancestral culture, there was little that all German Russians living in Russia or the Soviet Union shared. Their regional names indicate the different areas in which they settled: Baltic Germans, Siberian Germans, Caucasus Germans, Volhynian Germans. The two largest German Russian groups are the Volga Germans, who established numerous colonies on both sides of the Lower Volga River, and the Black Sea Germans, who founded many colonies on the Ukrainian steppes and in the Crimea. To the Volga Germans, the city of Saratov served as a common reference point; for the Black Sea Germans, that function was served by the port city of Odessa.

Demography. German Russians began settling in the Russian Empire in the mid-1500s, during the time of Ivan the Terrible. More German-speaking settlers arrived in the late 1600s, during the reign of Peter the Great. Although the numbers of those early German merchants and technicians were relatively small, their influence on Russian society was significant. In the 1760s Catherine the Great (herself a German Russian) invited foreigners to settle in Russia, and approximately 27,000 settlers answered her call. The vast majority of the would-be colonists were from war-ravaged areas of what is now central and western Germany (Hesse, the Rhineland-Palatinate, and northern Bavaria). The colonists, who were directed to desolate lands bordering the Volga River, later became known as "Volga Germans."

In the early 1800s Czar Alexander I invited foreigners to settle in "New Russia" on fertile lands north of the Black Sea. Thousands of German-speaking immigrants again answered the call of a czar and settled in the environs of Odessa. Those colonists became known as the "Black Sea Germans." Other migrations of German settlers continued until the mid-nineteenth century. By 1897 there were nearly 1.8 million ethnic Germans in the Russian Empire. The vast majority of those German-speaking people engaged in agriculture. Only a small number (less than 25,000) were members of the hereditary nobility, and nearly all of those German Russians lived in the Baltic provinces.

Tens of thousands of German Russians immigrated to North and South America from the 1870s until 1914. Among the German Russians who remained in Russia, revolution, civil war, famine, deportation, and exile resulted in the deaths of many thousands. By the end of World War II the three thousand settlements founded by German-Russian colonists had been eradicated or emptied of German-speaking citizens. Those who survived the great deportations established new settlements in Siberia, Kazakhstan, and other areas east of the Urals.

In 1970 the Soviet census revealed that about 1.8 million German Russians were living in the Soviet Union, nearly all of whom remained in exile in Siberia or Middle Asia. With the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev in the 1980s and early

1990s, thousands of German Russians obtained visas and moved to Germany. After the collapse of Soviet communism in 1991, thousands more streamed into Germany, the land of their ancestors. By the year 2000 about 1. 5 million German Russians (called *Aussiedler)* had emigrated from the former Soviet Union and put down roots in Germany. By the year 2000 less than a million German-Russian descendants remained in Russia and other areas of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Linguistic Affiliation. German Russians traditionally speak a dialect of German that varies with their area of origin in Germany and their place of settlement in Russia. The Volga Germans speak a largely Hessian dialect, whereas many Black Sea Germans speak either *Schwäbisch* (Swabian) or *Plattdeutsch* (Low German). Although Germans in Russia often show a marked preference for their local dialects, older German Russians can understand and read *Hochdeutsch* (Standard German) as well. In the isolated areas of their forced exile there are few opportunities for formal education in German.

History and Cultural Relations

When large numbers of German settlers came to Russia in the 1700s and early 1800s, their movement was mainly in response to special manifestos issued by the ruling czars. Both Catherine the Great and Alexander I promised the new colonists many privileges, including tax exemptions, free land, exemption from military service, and religious liberty. To thousands of war-weary peasants those manifestos seemed like a godsend.

The early years of settlement were difficult for the German-Russian colonists, but eventually many experienced a degree of prosperity. Adaptation did not come easily, as evidenced by a folk expression used by German Russians: "For the first generation there is death, for the second there is want, only for the third there is bread. " Between 1816 and 1875 more German settlers moved into Russia. Those later settlers, however, did not receive the special privileges of the earlier colonists. Among those latecomers were the Volhynian Germans, who settled near the cities of Novograd-Volynsky and Zhitomir.

No matter where they settled in Russia, Germans who lived in villages tended to have limited social contact with their Slavic neighbors and other outsiders. The Volga Germans were especially wary of socializing with Russians, Kazakhs, Bashkirs, and members of the many other ethnic groups they occasionally encountered. Even when Volga Germans befriended Russian villagers, fellow colonists often warned: *"Der Rufs hot noch* 'n *Rufs im Busem*—The Russian always has another Russian hiding within" (i. e., Russians are two-faced). Such ethnocentric sentiments, expressed in speech and song, led to strong feelings of in-group loyalty and ethnic solidarity.

Settlements

The earliest German settlements in Russia were urban, dating from the 1500s. German-speaking artisans and workers established a German suburb in Moscow that managed to retain its distinctive cultural flavor until World War I. The majority of German- Russian settlements, however, were agrarian villages on the treeless steppes. A large church typically stood in the middle of each village, with a separate bell tower nearby. Although most German Russians were farmers, they lived in tightly-knit communities and worked the fields surrounding the home colony. On the Volga German villagers often built huge homes of hewn logs that could easily accommodate large extended families. In the Black Sea region many colonists' homes were built of *Base,* a type of homemade earthen brick similar to adobe. Those dwellings were whitewashed and often were accented with a bright blue border. German Russians took pride in the appearance of their villages, and each colonist family was expected to sweep not only its farmyard but also the street in front of its home.

Economy

Subsistence. Most German-Russian villagers were farmers who grew grain crops, principally wheat, barley, and rye. The villagers also had milk cows and other animals and prided themselves on being largely self-sufficient.

Commercial Activities. Most of the grain grown by the German Russians was sold at nearby markets or flour mills. Although monetary exchange was a part of their economic life, villagers regularly engaged in various types of barter.

Industrial Arts. In the Volga region the colonists became known for their woven *Sardinia* (a type of gingham). Thickly layered felt boots *(Filzstiefel)* also were made and proved especially popular because of the harsh Russian winters. Since tobacco was grown in the Volga region, the making of carved tobacco pipes was common. In the Black Sea region various types of agricultural implements were constructed. Those commercial activities were especially evident among German-Russian Mennonites in the Molotschna region, who excelled in producing innovative farm machinery.

Trade. Hand crafted products were traded by German Russians at local open-air markets. The colonists often searched out Tatars and gave them Sardinia in exchange for finely crafted leather goods. Tobacco and tobacco pipes were traded to Russian villagers for wooden bowls, woven belts, herbs, and other items. The informal trade network allowed for minimal social contact but ample opportunity to acquire a variety of material goods.

Division of Labor. In German-Russian villages males and females assumed different work roles. Nearly all of the domestic work was done by the women, especially cooking and child rearing. Except for planting and harvesting, farming was largely a male domain. During the busy times of the agricultural cycle women worked in the fields alongside men. Black smithing, carpentry, and shoe making were exclusively male pursuits, and baking, pillow making, and midwifery were wholly in the hands of experienced females. Children worked alongside the adults starting at a very early age, as evidenced by the German-Russian proverb "He who can hold a spoon must work. " Child labor was not considered cruel or harsh; it was seen as necessary and even healthy.

Land Tenure. Early in their history the Volga Germans adopted the *mir* system of Russian land tenure, in which each male villager regardless of age received an equal allocation of land. The land, however, was considered communal property and thus switched hands every few years. The mir system

made it practically impossible for outsiders to move into the Volga German colonies and take up residence. In contrast, the Black Sea Germans followed the rule of ultimogeniture, in which the youngest son inherited the family's home and arable land. Older brothers had to find land of their own, often with monetary assistance from their father. As a result of this arrangement, "land hunger" was most noticeable in the Black Sea region, where the German colonists eventually acquired millions of acres.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Because of the mir system among the Volga Germans, the patrilocal extended family was the basic social unit. Although descent was reckoned bilaterally, there was a pronounced patriarchal emphasis in many Volga German families. The grandfather was accorded a special place of respect and ruled over an extended family household numbering as many as twenty to thirty members. The Black Sea Germans also reckoned descent bilaterally, but the basic social unit was the nuclear family. Brothers and their wives and children often lived in close proximity, and there was frequent social contact.

Kinship Terminology. German Russians adhered to a kinship terminology very similar to that of their former German homeland with a few important exceptions. A strong feeling of kinship predominated in a German-Russian village to an extent where all older males and females were addressed as *Vetter* (Uncle) or *Bas/Wes* (Aunt). Among the Volga Germans the terms *Vater* (father) and *Mottr/Mutter* (mother) often were assigned to one's paternal grandparents (not one's biological parents). Volga Germans referred to their cousins as *Halbgeschwister* (half brothers and half sisters). When raised in the same patrilocal household, cousins would affectionately refer to one another as *Bruder* (brother) or *Schwester* (sister).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. German Russians traditionally practiced endogamy and used local matchmakers to arrange marriages. The custom of matchmaking (known as *Freierei* or *Kupplerei)* proved especially popular in the colonies in old Russia. Marriages between individuals of different religious faiths were strictly forbidden. Since marriage was seen as a union linking large families, it was not uncommon for brothers from one household to marry sisters from another household. Among the Volga Germans patrilocal residence was the norm. The Black Sea Germans, however, expected only the youngest son in a family to bring his wife into the parental home. Divorce was a rarity in German-Russian villages but became more common during the Soviet era, especially after the German Russians were forced into exile in the early 1940s.

Domestic Unit. German-Russian families tended to be large and sometimes included as many as fifteen to twenty children. Among the Volga Germans the *Grossfamilie* (extended family) could include thirty or more individuals. Epidemics frequently claimed the lives of many villagers, especially small children. Orphans usually were taken in by uncles, aunts, or other relatives.

Inheritance. Property, especially land and dwellings, usually passed from parents to their sons. Daughters were entitled to claim only smaller items of sentimental value, such as books, pieces of jewelry, and religious objects.

Socialization. Children were reared in a fashion that emphasized cultural conformity and proper behavior. Among the Volga Germans grandparents played an especially important role, raising their grandchildren while the parents worked in the fields. Values were inculcated by using traditional stories, folk songs, and proverbs that had been handed down for generations.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. German Russians belonged to a number of social groups that ranged from family groups to village factions. Group affiliation and individual identity were intertwined at several levels. In the Volga German colonies nearly every village was divided into the *Oberdorf/Iwwerdorf* (upper village) and the *Unterdorf/Unnerdorf* (lower village). The centralized church square often served as an unofficial demarcation line. Nicknames for each of the two village halves were common, and there were often dialectal differences as well. In some cases youths from different sides of the same village challenged one another and engaged in bloody physical encounters.

Political Organization. As a result of the special manifestos that figured so prominently in their history, German Russians had a fair measure of local autonomy. While subject to Russian laws, the villagers were able to govern themselves in their own language and with their own elected officials. In the late 1870s village autonomy began to be affected by the growing pressures of Russification, and many German Russians decided to emigrate. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 the villagers witnessed a gradual erosion of their local autonomy. In 1924 Soviet officials allowed the creation of an "Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of the Volga Germans, " but it was dissolved by Stalin less than twenty years later.

Social Control. Because of their village existence, German Russians relied heavily on gossip and ridicule to enforce acceptable behavior. Individuals who stole clothing or vegetables were paraded through the streets and taunted by children. More serious offenses were referred to village officials or the Russian authorities.

Conflict. At the village level German Russians tried to resolve internal conflicts with the assistance of village elders or members of the clergy. If the two village halves continually fought each other, the local priest or minister tried to mediate. External conflicts beyond the village were rare until the years that followed the Russian Revolution. German Russians who opposed Bolshevism or collectivization occasionally took up arms, but those peasant rebellions were crushed by the Soviet authorities.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. German Russians belonged to a variety of Christian denominations. The largest proportion of German Russians were Lutheran. The next largest group was Roman Catholic. Other religious groups included Mennonites, Reformed believers, and Baptists as well as a number

of much smaller pietistic groups such as the *Tanzbrüder* (Dancing Brethren).

Nearly every German-Russian village was either Protestant or Roman Catholic, and few colonies included villagers of both denominations. Thus, in the Black Sea region the colonies of Elsass and Strassburg were Roman Catholic, whereas in the Volga region the villages of Balzer and Norka consisted entirely of Protestant believers. Although German Russians believed in one supreme being, there was a great diversity of opinion about how one should pray or worship. Well into the twentieth century folk religion continued to coexist alongside official religion. Beliefs in ghosts, nightmare spirits *(Alpdrücker)*, and witches persisted for generations.

Religious Practitioners. Protestant ministers and Roman Catholic priests were held in high esteem in their respective villages. Lay ministers could be found in many villages as well, especially in colonies influenced by the *Brüderschaft* (Brotherhood), a pietistic movement that emphasized prayer meetings, testifying, and revelationary teachings. Folk healers *(Braucher)* also were influential in certain villages, where they were thought to possess shamanistic abilities and other special powers.

Ceremonies. Among German Russians ceremonies and rituals accompanied all the high points of the Christian calendar year, from 1 January to Saint Silvester's Day on 31 December. Easter and Christmas Eve were especially sacred. Traditions were observed in official places of worship and in family homes. On Christmas Eve two masked visitors entered each home and inquired about the children's behavior. Those mummers were known as the *Belznickel* (Fur Nicholas) and the *Christkindche'* (Little Christ Child). The role of the Christkindche' always was played by a woman who wore a veil and a long white dress and wielded a willow switch.

Arts. German Russians viewed storytelling as a form of verbal art and appreciated a storyteller who could transport listeners to distant times and faraway places. One of the unique forms of material folk art among German Russians is the custom of making large wrought-iron grave crosses. These markers often contain elaborate scrollwork and are filled with religious symbolism (angels, heavenly crowns, lilies, crowing roosters). Each blacksmith who made iron crosses developed his own style, and it was not unusual for blacksmiths from different neighborhoods or villages to compete with one another. As a result, artistic styles and levels of workmanship varied greatly.

Medicine. German Russians traditionally made use of herbal remedies and magico-religious practices such as *Brauche* (a type of faith healing that incorporates rhymed verses and repeated signs of the cross). Midwives were known to use magico-religious folk medicine, especially in cases of hemorrhage or premature birth. With the advent of clinics, hospitals, and official medical practitioners, German Russians quickly incorporated those methods of health care into their culture. Traditional herbal remedies and elements of magico-religious folk medicine were not displaced by official medicine but instead were enhanced and expanded.

Death and Afterlife. Because of their Christian beliefs, German Russians traditionally view death as the beginning of a new level of existence. However, since transitions can be difficult, death also is seen as a time of physical separation that causes emotional distress. Sadness and weeping accompany German-Russian funerals, but there is also time for familial bonding, storytelling, and traditional German-Russian foods. Funerals are seen not only as events emphasizing loss and death but also as important rituals that remind mourners of the promise of eternal life.

For the original article on Germans, see Volume 4, Europe and Volume 6, Russia and Eurasia/China.

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TIMOTHY J. KLOBERDANZ

Ghung Hmung

ETHNONYMS: Go Za, Gu To, Gedou, Gejia, Gezu, Ge

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Ghung Hmung are an agricultural people who live in Guizhou Province in China. They are distinguished from their neighbors by their cultural

practices, especially their distinctive warriorlike female ceremonial costume with bright red embroidery and blue and white batik work. Neighboring ethnic groups call them Go Za and GUI To. The Chinese call them Gedou, a name that has appeared in Chinese records since the sixteenth century. They have been pursuing status as a nationality known as Gezu; before acquiring state recognition, they were known as Gejia in official and public media. According to some native intellectuals, the self-appellation *Ghung Hmung* means "native people" or "indigenes. " Some say that the term refers to simple, honest, and diligent people. The term *ghung* refers to places or to a particular place and that *hung* refers to being or existing. The Ghung Hmung are spread across Guizhou Province, with a small number in the southern part of Sichuan Province. The major concentration is in the contiguous region of Huang ping County and Kahili City, and Southeastern Guizhou Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture. Divided by the Chong'an River in the middle, this is a hilly area with elevations between 1, 978 feet (600 meters) and 3, 280 feet (1, 000 meters). The Ghung Hmung villages in this area are interspersed with those of the Han, Miao, Dongjia, Xijia, and Mulao groups. There is a small concentration in Guanling County and Zhenfeng County, and Southwestern Guizhou Buyi and Miao Autonomous Prefecture. In this highland area with an elevation of about 4, 265 feet (1, 300 meters) the Ghung Hmung are interspersed with the Han and Buyi groups.

Demography. According to a special census conducted in 1982 for a project of ethnic classification, the total population of the Ghung Hmung is 37, 115, with 16, 362 in Huangping County, 9, 613 in Kaili City, and 4, 015 in Guanling County. The rest are dispersed in southeastern Guizhou Province. Because the Ghung Hmung are not recognized by the Chinese state as a nationality, their population figures do not appear as an independent category in the national census. In the mid-1990s some Ghung Hmung intellectuals made a rough estimate of 50, 000 as the total Ghung Hmung population.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ghung Hmung language is tonal. According to Chinese language classification, the people speak the Chong'anjiang subdialect of the Miao language's Chuanqiandian dialect within the Miao-Yao branch of Sino-Tibetan. However, the Ghung Hmung language is not mutually intelligible with those of any Miao groups. There are minor vernacular differences among Ghung Hmung groups in Huangping County, Kaili City, and Guanling County.

History and Cultural Relations

The name *Gedou*, a Chinese term that the Ghung Hmung consider derogatory, first was used in a sixteenth-century Chinese record to refer to certain native groups in eastern and northeastern Guizhou. Gedou settlements and cultural practices are mentioned in documents produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Through the tracing of similar terms in Chinese records, the Ghung Hmung are linked to the ancient Lao and related groups, with one of those groups said to have had settled in southern Sichuan before 940 C. E. Ghung Hmung oral tradition traces the genealogy of some lineages back more than thirty generations. Historical migration is said to have resulted from invasion by Miao groups for resources, and relics of Ghung Hmung settlements in Miao villages are abundant. Some Ghung Hmung migrated from Huangping County to southwestern Guizhou to avoid the mid-nineteenth-century "Miao Rebellion, " and Ghung Hmung collective memory is replete with the atrocities inflicted by Miao rebels during those years. Grave inscriptions show the titles of some Ghung Hmung military officials who served in the imperial forces, and award banners for Ghung Hmung militias still can be found in some villages. As a group much smaller than the neighboring Miao, the Ghung Hmung often think that they were oppressed and disadvantaged.

Settlements

The size of settlements varies from twenty to two hundred households, with a few large ones having up to three hundred households. Most settlements are situated on upland hillsides around an open square for public gathering and ceremonies. Houses are mostly single-story wooden buildings on leveled mud ground, with additional storage lofts under a tiled roof. Usually the house is composed of three chambers with a bedroom at the back of each one. The front part of the middle chamber is the guest-receiving room, which opens to the living room in another chamber where family members eat and obtain warmth around a fire pit in the middle. There is a hole on the wall separating these two chambers for hanging the lineage's sacred wooden drum when it is received by the family. The kitchen is a small extension with a stove at one end of the house. On one side of the house are the pigsty and the family toilet. In front of the house there is a cleared space with fruit trees planted along the edge that sometimes is surrounded by mud walls with a gate leading to a footpath winding through the village.

Economy

Subsistence. The Ghung Hmung are settled farmers who grow rice in intensively irrigated terrace fields and supplementary crops in upland dry fields. Nonsticky rice is the staple food, and glutinous rice is grown for ceremonial uses. Dry-field crops include corn, millet, sweet potatoes, beans, vegetables, and tobacco. The ratio of rice farming to dry-field cropping varies from place to place; in areas where land for rice farming is limited, people have to mix corn with rice as a staple food for several months. Farming technology includes bullock-drawn plows and the use of animal and human wastes as a fertilizer. Animal protein is obtained mainly by raising pigs and poultry with corn. Some people keep goats that graze in nearby pastureland, and many raise fish in irrigated rice fields. People distill alcohol from fermented corn or rice for festive consumption.

Commercial Activities. The Ghung Hmung buy daily necessities and sell farming and industrial products in local periodic markets. Usually, these markets include neighboring ethnic groups, and exchanges cross group boundaries. Villagers sell pigs, poultry, mats, and baskets and buy salt, processed food, cloth, farm tools, and other daily necessities. They also sell tobacco and surplus rice to state corporations and buy from them chemical fertilizers and grain seeds. Some villages provide tourist receptions and cultural performances,

and women produce embroidery and batik handicrafts for tourists.

Industrial Arts. Some villages specialize in basket and mat weaving for the local market. There are carpenters and blacksmiths in many villages. Silversmiths produce delicate silver headdresses, necklaces, bracelets, and earrings for women. Women used to spin and weave cotton and hemp for making garments but now buy cloth from local markets. They continue to spend a lot of time engaging in embroidery and batik to make traditional clothes.

Division of Labor. Men are responsible for the heaviest agricultural work, such as plowing, making terraces, and maintaining irrigation. Women contribute significantly to sowing, transplanting, weeding, and harvesting. The elderly and children take care of bullocks and goats, and women raise pigs and poultry. Both women and men contribute labor to domestic chores and childcare. Making garments is the sole responsibility of women, whereas men repair farm tools and household facilities. After collectivization ended in the early 1980s, labor exchanges and cooperation among households continued in house-building projects and collective ceremonies.

Land Tenure. Before land reforms in the early 1950s Ghung Hmung smallholders worked on part of their holdings with family members or hired labor and rented the rest to tenants, who also rented land from Miao and Han landlords. In addition to the rent that accounted for half of their total production, tenants often were required to provide free labor. Collective land ownership and production was practiced until the early 1980s. Farmlands were then assigned to individual households, which were required to pay grain taxes for land use.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Men trace patrilineal descent through native names that combine the last word of one's father's name with one's own. Reciting names linking the father and the son of each generation from the lineage founder more than thirty generations back is not uncommon. There are more than twenty patrilineal clans based on different Chinese surnames. Lineage differentiation within a clan is defined by worshiping the same sacred wooden drum, which represents the residence of ancestors in the same lineage. In ritual discourse the ideal number of lineage segments is five, which further breaks down into twenty-five subdivisions. The local segment of the lineage forms the residential corporate group and the major political and ritual body at the village level, but affinal kin groups, especially women's brothers in the matrilineal line, are also important social connections in daily life.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Monogamy is practiced. Betrothal is arranged by the parents when a son or daughter is still an infant according to a practice called "baby-carrier marriage." The wedding takes place in the partners' late teens and involves paying bride-wealth and receiving the bride in the groom's home. The bride returns to her natal family in a few days and makes brief visits to the groom's home only during the high seasons of farming. The delayed transfer of the bride ends with the birth of the first child, and the dowry then is transferred to the groom's home at the child's first-month celebration. The bride then is completely incorporated into her husband's descent group. While engaged, young people are free to participate in singing and dancing courtship activities during festivals. Elopement of young lovers as an alternative to arranged marriage requires compensation to the arranged marriage partner's family. Divorce can be initiated by either side with mutual agreement and financial compensation, but the wife's brothers have the right to impose a divorce and seek compensation if wife abuse occurs. Remarriage of widows may involve the levirate, and the sororate is practiced when a betrothed woman dies before the wedding; both arrangements require the involved persons' consent.

Domestic Unit. The extended family lasts for only a short time, as a married son usually moves out to form a nuclear family after a younger brother gets married. The parents eventually join the youngest brother as a stem family. A son will be adopted if a family has only daughters, preferably from the husband's brothers or close kinsmen.

Inheritance. Upon family division family wealth is divided equally among the sons. The youngest son will remain in the house to take care of his aged parents, with part of the wealth being set aside for their provision. Agreements are made among the sons for contributions for the funerals of the parents and the marriage of unmarried brothers and sisters. A mother's silver ornaments are given to her daughters as dowry.

Socialization. Child rearing is handled by both parents and sometimes by the grandparents. In their early teens children help gather firewood and take care of livestock; later they help with farm work. Gender is marked at an early age when infant girls start being clad in batik and embroidered clothes and learn needlework from their mother, while boys are taught by their father to blow a bamboo reed pipe. Both girls and boys learn singing and dancing in their early teens by watching older siblings' courtship activities. Girls start preparing wedding dresses years before their weddings; married men form age sets for training in ritual reed-pipe music and dance. Formal schooling may require boarding far from home after primary school. When there is an unfavorable family economic situation, girls are more likely to be deprived of formal schooling than are boys.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Family heads are predominantly males, and they constitute the leadership of local lineage segments according to birth order and seniority. Women who marry into a village establish networks among themselves by tracing their husbands' or their natal patrilineal descent relations. Kinship extends from the village to include related lineage segments and patrilineal clans connected by affinal relatives in other villages. Preliminary social stratification based on private land ownership and tenancy was eliminated by land reforms in the early 1950s. Family size, success in the agricultural economy, and educational and career achievements outside the village affect a person's social status.

Political Organization. Since decollectivization began in the 1980s, there has been a revival of the lineage organiza-

tion in many Ghung Hmung villages. The lineage assembly for decision making involving local affairs and arbitration of disputes is organized in a dual system that includes the heads of lineage segments and the leaders of the team of lineage ritual specialists. Village cadres formed by election or government appointment are subordinate to a strong lineage organization but have more authority in multisurname villages where lineage organization is weak. The elite who hold government offices at the county and provincial levels play important roles in supravillage political organization, which traditionally relies on lineage networks across villages to deal with relationships among patrilineal clans and with neighboring ethnic groups and the state.

Social Control. Parental control over subsistence and the payment of bride-wealth deters young people's pursuit for free marriage, and the system of financial compensation forces families to hold to betrothals. Infringement of exogamous rules, adultery, divorce, and offensive behaviors are under the jurisdiction of lineage elders according to customary rules or divination. Accusations of witchcraft against women put them under the control of their husbands and their patrilineal descent groups.

Conflict. Miao encroachment forced the Ghung Hmung to settle in places with harsh living conditions, and they sided with imperial forces against Miao uprisings. Since 1949 the Ghung Hmung elite has had disputes with the Chinese state over their pursuit of official recognition as a nationality separate from the Miao.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Supernatural entities include ancestors, ghosts, and animistic spirits such as those associated with stones, caves, trees, wells, and bridges. Ancestor worship focuses on a wooden drum that represents the residence of all of a lineage's ancestors. This wooden drum moves among individual families for propitiation in cases of illness or misfortune. Restoration of normal conditions requires careful divination and magic and/or propitiatory rituals conducted by different kinds of specialists to deal with angered ancestors, malevolent ghosts, evil spirits, or witchcraft.

Religious Practitioners. Many adults practice minor magic to ward off evil spirits and wandering ghosts. The male family head offers sacrifices to ancestors at home or at graves on special days. Different kinds of shamans perform rituals, sometimes in a trance or while possessed, to make divinations, cure illness, address misfortune, and conduct funerals. These are mostly male part-time specialists who receive a small payment in the form of food. Lineage ancestor worship ceremonies involve a special organization that includes the highest priest in charge of divination and reciting lineage genealogy and history, the chief of reed-pipe music and dance performances, a pair of male elders who represent the male and female ancestors to oversee ceremonies, and those ritual leaders' subordinates and trainees.

Ceremonies. According to the Chinese lunar calendar, the new year is celebrated by making glutinous rice cakes, killing pigs, propitiating family ancestors, and visiting relatives and friends. Blessings for agricultural production in the coming year involve specific religious rituals in the first half of the first month. Wishes for the harvest are expressed in the Eating New Rice Festival early in the seventh month. Family heads visit the graves of ancestors in the middle of the fourth month. In the mid-1980s, the first lineage sacred wooden drum was remade and ancestral worship rituals were resumed. The lineage's ritual specialists gather around the sacred wooden drum at the start of the new year, the sixteenth day of the seventh month, and the winter solstice to recite ancestors' names, offer sacrifices, and perform ritual music. The highest ceremony of propitiation involves the participation of the entire lineage around the sacred wooden drum put in the ritual square of the village for a three-day ceremony held once every twelve to twenty years. A person's birth, wedding, and funeral involve various rites of passage, and purification ceremonies for an individual family or the entire village are carried out on occasions of misfortune.

Arts. Needlework, embroidery, weaving, and batik are prized skills for women. Men's skills in reed-pipe music and dancing are essential for courtship activities and ancestor worship. Antiphonal singing of love songs in Chinese is popular among young people during courtship. Poetic songs narrating folk customs in the native language are the essential elements in many ceremonies. Oral traditions include folktales, myths, and lineage history. Since reforms were implemented in the 1980s, there has been a revival of native tradition and culture, including traditional singing and dancing and religious rituals and ceremonies.

Medicine. Bringing back the lost soul through divination and the exorcism of ghosts and evil spirits is the major therapeutic purpose of shamanism. People who seek help from herbal medicine specialists bring a box of rice to their homes to pray to the spirits of medicine at special altars and bring a rooster to offer at the last visit, upon the sick person's recovery. Other traditional treatments include massage and bloodletting. There are trained practitioners in many villages who provide basic treatments that involve modern medicine.

Death and Afterlife. The Ghung Hmung believe after death part of the human soul undergoes the reincarnation process; another part resides at the grave, which is located in a site whose geomantic value will affect the fortunes of the living descendants; the third part must be led safely by a ritual specialist in the funeral through a journey to rejoin the lineage's ancestors in the other world. Out of three routes, the journey requires the soul to take the correct one to arrive at the ritual square where ancestors dance around the sacred wooden drum. The other two routes are for the journeys of deceased Han and Miao people. A piece of cloth with fine embroidery in special patterns is put on the chest of a deceased man to protect his soul from attack by evil spirits. Cattle are killed for the funeral, and one brings a dog as a sacrifice to show the highest degree of respect for the deceased person. A bamboo stick is planted at the posterior end of the grave.

For other cultures in China, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 6, Russia and Eurasia/China.

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SIU-WOO CHEUNG

Glebo

ETHNONYMS: Grebo, Gedebo, Nyomowe, Kuniwe

Orientation

Identification and Location, The Glebo of southeastern Liberia live in thirteen coastal villages between Fishtown Point and the Cavalla River, a distance of about 30 miles (48 kilometers). This territory includes the historically important promontory of Cape Palmas, which marks the boundary between the windward and leeward coasts of West Africa. The Glebo also claim large tracts of forested uplands as far as 20 to 30 miles (32 to 48 kilometers) from the shore. The name *Glebo* refers to their origin story, in which the people migrated from the east by climbing the waves in their canoes in the way that the *gle* monkey climbs trees. *Grebo* refers to the larger linguistic group to which the Glebo belong. The Glebo are divided into two *dakwe,* or alliances of towns, called Nyomowe and Kuniwe.

The coast, which is characterized by sandy barrier beaches, lagoons, and mangrove swamps, is succeeded by a savanna of open grassland before giving way to secondary monsoon tropical forest about 15 miles (24 kilometers) inland. The Glebo exploit all these environmental zones in their subsistence and trade activities.

Demography. Only two modern population censuses have been conducted in Liberia, in 1963 and 1974. A 1962 ethnographic survey of the southeastern region listed the Glebo population at 7,421. During the civil war of 1989-1997 population losses resulted from the violence and external migration. Many Glebo spent most or all of the war in the neighboring Ivory Coast, and not all have returned to the Cape Palmas area.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Grebo languages belong to the Kruan group, which extends from central Ivory Coast to the Saint Paul River in Liberia and includes the Kru (Krao), Krahn, and Bassa groups. Kruan languages belong to the Kwa subfamily of the Niger-Congo family of languages. Grebo is not a language but the collective term for a group of seven related languages of which Glebo is one. Each of those languages is divided into numerous local dialects, not all of which are mutually intelligible.

History and Cultural Relations

The Glebo were an inland people known as Gbobo who occupied land in the sacred Putu mountain range. Conflict with their neighbors led them to migrate toward the coast, reaching Bereby in the present-day Ivory Coast about 1700. Stealing canoes from the people they met, they proceeded west along the coast, looking for a territory of their own. Reaching Cape Palmas after a difficult voyage, they founded two towns: Gbenelu at Cape Palmas and Taake at Rocktown Point. Both towns were populated by members of the eight patrilineal clans. Subsequent towns originating from Gbenelu belong to the Nyomowe *dako,* those from Taake to Kuniwe.

The origin tale mentions that a slave ship was anchored at Cape Palmas when the Glebo arrived. Although European narratives named the cape as early as 1351, the Glebo date their arrival to 1700. This probably reflects the struggle among numerous groups for access to coastal trade during that period. About the 1780s young men from Glebo communities began working as temporary laborers on European ships and at ports along the West African coast. The Glebo do not seem to have practiced large-scale slave raiding among their neighbors or to have been the subjects of such raids. Instead, they distinguished themselves as free labor for hire—the famous *Krumen* who accompanied traders and explorers along the coast.

In 1822 Liberia was settled by free African Americans searching for a place to build a society free from racial prejudice. In 1847 they declared independence from the white association that had sponsored their settlement and became the first independent republic in Africa. A smaller settlement, Maryland in Africa, founded at Cape Palmas was incorporated into the republic in 1857. The Glebo thus became part of an experiment in black political independence.

The Liberian settler state based in Monrovia slowly consolidated power over the next hundred years. The settlers, who accounted for less than 5 percent of the population, controlled the government, the formal economy, and the institutions of education. They exacted taxes and labor from the indigenous peoples and capitalized on the migrant labor system by charging ship captains "by the head" for each worker who went abroad. In spite of these abuses, the settlers in Cape Palmas lived in close proximity to the Glebo, intermarried with them, and incorporated many Glebo individuals through wardship and adoption. The activities of American missionaries created a group of highly educated "civilized natives" who, while identified as Glebo, took on the material culture and lifestyle of the immigrants.

Intergroup conflict was a constant feature of life on the southeastern coast before and after the arrival of the settlers. The Glebo were quick to recruit the newcomers into their shifting alliances and confederacies. The last major Glebo uprising against the Liberian state took place in the 1930s. The settler state was concerned about the prospect of pan-

Glebo unity and did everything possible to reinforce the Kuniwe/Nyomowe division. Today local ties to town and kin group are much more salient than national or regional identity.

Settlements

The thirteen Glebo towns are all close to the shore. Some communities are positioned on barrier beaches with brackish lagoons on one side and the ocean on the other, an excellent location for maritime trade and defense. Traditional houses were constructed of wattle and daub (a lattice of sticks with mud and clay packed into the spaces) and were round with conical thatched roofs. More recently built houses are rectangular and are roofed with corrugated metal sheets. Although the towns are historically and symbolically important, they are fully occupied only two or three months a year. Most Glebo spend the majority of their time in farm "villages" up to 25 miles (40 kilometers) inland. These villages consist of a single extended family or group of related households that cooperate in farming.

Economy

Subsistence. The Glebo practice shifting, rain-fed rice horticulture that is timed to the alternating pattern of dry and wet seasons. During the dry season, which begins in January, each family chooses an area of secondary tropical forest to be "brushed," or cleared of large vegetation. Large and useful trees are left standing; branches are left on the field to dry in the sun. In March, after the cuttings have been thoroughly dried, the field is burned and the ash is worked into the field as fertilizer. Tree roots, unburned stumps, and trunks are left to control erosion. Rice seed is planted by broadcasting and, if timed correctly to the first rains, germinates a few weeks later. The field must be weeded periodically, and birds and animals must be driven away. The harvest takes place from late July through October, and by mid-November most people have returned to the coastal towns to spend several months. To preserve the quality of the soil, a new field must be cleared each year and not replanted for seven to twelve years.

Cassava is grown on the savanna, and vegetables such as greens, pumpkins, corn, eggplant, okra, and peppers are interplanted in rice fields. The rice is eaten with a sauce of red palm oil ("palm butter") and garnished with fish, shellfish, or meat from domestic or wild animals. A few cows, goats, and chickens are allowed to forage in the coastal zones, and antelope, deer, monkeys, and large rodents are hunted in the forest. Fish is the major protein source.

This subsistence system is not capable of producing a surplus or, for most families, guaranteeing food for the entire year. People supplement their diet with cassava, plantains, breadfruit, and other "hungry foods." Rice is symbolically important and is used for sacrifices, gifts, and offerings. The subsistence economy has long been supplemented by cash and goods from outside the region.

Commercial Activities. Labor migration is a source of material and cultural influences from abroad. The early Krumen were deckhands and longshoremen serving European trading expeditions; they also worked as translators and cultural brokers with other Africans along the coast. The contracts were generally for two years, with payment made in trade goods: European clothing, guns, liquor, iron pots, knives, and axes were especially desirable. In the early twentieth century many southeastern men worked in cocoa and coffee plantations or in mines and railroads in Ghana, Nigeria, and the Spanish colony of Fernando Po. In 1926 Liberia entered into an agreement with the Firestone Rubber Company that brought thousands of indigenous people into the cash economy as plantation workers, rubber tappers, and small-scale producers. Greater opportunities for literate people increased the number of Liberians who became dependent on wages and salaries. Many women turned to full-time marketing to supply the growing urban population. The worldwide recession of the 1970s and the civil war of the 1990s disrupted the national economy and left up to 80 percent of the population unemployed.

Industrial Arts. Indigenous craft technologies in weaving, metalworking, and pottery were largely abandoned after the introduction of Western manufactured items. Carpentry, woodcarving, and basket making have continued for both personal use and sale to neighbors. Sleeping mats and carrying bags are woven from raffia palm fibers. There are no full-time specialists in these crafts.

Trade. The Glebo have a long history of participation in international trade. The forest regions of West Africa supplied slaves, ivory, diamonds, gold, dye woods (tree bark and wood producing colorful dyes, especially reds and purples for clothing), and salt for the trans-Saharan caravan routes for centuries, receiving cattle, kola nuts, and pepper in return. This pattern was disrupted by the appearance of European traders along the coast, and manufactured items replaced local crafts. Internal trading in fresh produce, fish, and medicinal items takes place in organized markets where full-time vendors, mostly women, sell produce from a large region and operate as both wholesalers and retailers.

Division of Labor. The Glebo fall within the "female farming belt" of West Africa. With the exception of felling the largest trees and burning the fields, women are the principal farmers and are responsible for supplying their families with food. Men are expected to provide the family with a house and cash for occasional expenses. Children become economically active at the age of eight or nine, caring for younger siblings, weeding and scaring birds on the farm, and supplying the household with firewood and water. Boys may join men on hunting expeditions and in building fences around rice farms and other construction projects. Glebo men have historically defined themselves as warriors and are organized into age grades that function as military units. Educated or "civilized" Glebo view farming (and for women, selling in the public market) as beneath their dignity and strive for professional jobs in government service or the private business sector.

Land Tenure. Land for farming is allocated through the named patrilineal descent groups, or clans, in each town. A married woman works land belonging to her husband's lineage. All Glebo are eligible for a house plot in the father's town, to be allocated by the lineage elders. Productive trees such as oil and wine palms, rubber trees, and coconut trees may be privately owned even though the land on which they stand is claimed by others.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. All Glebo hold citizenship in a particular town *(wolo)* and membership in a named clan *(pano)* through patrilineal descent. Although children know and interact with members of the mother's group, they do not consider them (or the mother) "family." Towns are divided into "quarters" or residential neighborhoods for each pano, which may vary in number from two to eight. The same *pane* names are found throughout many Grebo-speaking towns in the southeast, and so women who move to the husband's town for marriage are likely to find a local group with the same name who recognize them as kin.

Kinship Terminology. Glebo kin terms distinguish people primarily by generation and classify males and females in the parental, ego's, and children's generations with the same term. Males and females are differentiated in the grandparental generation and in the terms for affines. All terms can be modified to indicate sex and whether the person referred to is older or younger than the speaker. All siblings and children of a parent's siblings are called *diyeyu,* "mother's child." The terminological system reinforces the sense of equality and common purpose among members of the same lineage.

Marriage and the Family

Marriage. Marriage begins with a period of courtship in which a young couple give each other gifts and inform their families of their interest in each other. There may be a trial period in which the couple live together to "learn each other's ways." The rights to a woman's reproductive potential and labor and sexual services are transferred through the payment of bride-wealth, formerly one or two cows or the cash equivalent. In practice, however, a series of small gifts, including some specifically for the bride's mother, may be interpreted as bride-wealth. Small personal items such as toothpaste and soap may be sufficient to establish the paternity of a child; on the other hand, a woman who has been living with a man for many years and has borne several children may deny that a marriage exists because the final large payment has not been made. Marriage can be polygynous, and wealthy men have many wives and children. Some women prefer being junior wives in large polygynous households since in that situation farm work, cooking, and childcare can be shared.

Domestic Unit. The basic household consists of a nuclear family, possibly polygynous or with some extended kin who may be elderly or "visiting" from another location. It is the ideal that each wife in a polygynous household should have her own kitchen and bedroom, which she shares with her children. The average size of a farming household is five persons, although the households of "civilized" Glebo are larger. The domestic unit works together in some tasks, such as rice farming, but men and women may have separate economic ventures selling food or cash crops such as rubber, sugarcane, and palm oil.

Inheritance. Inheritance of productive resources, including use rights to land and land that has been planted with tree crops, is patrilineal, passing from a man to his brothers and sons. Women inherit cloth and household items from their mothers. In earlier times widows were inherited by the male relatives of their deceased husbands and were entitled to access to land though the husband's family even after his death. Some lineages or pane hold title to secular or religious positions such as the town chief or high priest. When these positions are vacant, they are filled by the lineage elders from a field of candidates rather than being passed on from father to son.

Socialization. The Glebo do not have formal mechanisms to initiate children into adulthood. Training in domestic and subsistence activities takes place in the home, and young children are drawn into all forms of adult work from an early age. Subsistence farmers frequently send one or more children to be fostered by "civilized" relatives in the coastal cities in the hope that they will attend school and obtain jobs in the cash sector. Several children, particularly girls, are kept to help with farming, resulting in a severe gender imbalance in government and mission schools.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In comparison with northern Liberian groups, the Glebo are relatively unstratified. Patrilineal descent groups are not ranked, although certain important positions "belong" to particular lineages. The major status divisions are age and gender, with men claiming superiority over women and elders over juniors. Although ideologically under the control of their fathers and husbands, women as a group have a great deal of autonomy and are highly valued as breadwinners. The adult women in each town, some of whom have married in from elsewhere, act collectively in town affairs and have their own elected officers. Men are organized into age grades with ritual property and officers. Elders of both sexes are assumed to control powerful spiritual forces and to be capable of withdrawing protection from those who displease them.

Political Organization. Although Glebo towns are grouped together as dakwe, or confederacies, they operate autonomously in most internal and external affairs. The secular head of each town is the *wodo baa,* a position that is "owned" by a specific lineage and must be filled by its members. Since the implementation of Liberian rule this position has become fused with that of the "town chief and is "elected" by all the inhabitants. The Glebo conform to the "dual-sex" model of many West African societies, and the chief has a female counterpart, the *blo nyene,* who is not his wife or consort but is chosen by the adult women of the town. Each of these officials is advised by a council of elders, male and female, respectively, who represent the resident quarters or lineages. Decision making is by consensus, and the blo nyene and her women elders have veto power over the decisions made by the men.

Other positions include the *yibadio* and the *tibawa,* male officers associated with the men's warrior age grade, and the *maasan,* or women's dance leader.

Social Control. Sources of conflict include competition for land and other resources and the normal irritations felt by people in small, highly interdependent communities. Fear of sorcery is ever-present. Gossip and the daily negotiation of relative prestige are powerful means of social control for most people. Domestic conflicts such as divorce cases and issues

of bride-wealth are settled "in the family" if possible and are taken to the chief's court only if they cannot be resolved. Serious disputes between families or entire communities may be heard by a council of elders or by the high priest.

Conflict. Intergroup warfare seems to have been endemic in southeastern Liberia until the region was "pacified" by the central government in the early twentieth century. Rather than being fought on the basis of "tribal" identity, these wars were usually between closely related groups characterized by similar cultures and high rates of intermarriage. The swidden horticultural system requires that fields be allowed to lie fallow for seven to twelve years; thus, each group claims much more land than is in production at any time. Encroachment on the land claimed by a neighboring group was a common cause of war, as was competition for access to trade with coastal merchants.

Since many adult women in each town had married in from surrounding regions, it was imperative that they not function as spies for their communities of origin during times of war. Therefore, the consent of the blo nyene and her council of female elders were required before the male leaders could declare war. Women also acted as mediators, and marriages between competing towns were encouraged as a means of resolving long-term conflicts. Conflicts between towns in the same dako, or confederacy, could be settled by the ritual authority of the *bodio,* or high priest.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century the Glebo have had to contend with the Liberian government, which claimed the right to tax them, draft them into labor and military service, and subject them to the national legal system. Numerous uprisings, continuing into the 1930s, testified to the Glebo determination to resist interference in their affairs. The state responded with punitive military expeditions, summary executions, and the taking of hostages. In the 1990s the Liberian state effectively dissolved as armed factions struggled for control over territory and resources. Many Glebo lost their lives or spent years as refugees as a result.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Glebo recognize a high god, Nyesoa, who has been assimilated to the Christian deity by converts and missionaries. Most ritual activity, however, involves local spirits who may reside in large rocks, waterfalls, and other impressive places and a person's ancestors. The recent dead in a person's family are considered more likely to be the cause of both success and misfortune than is a distant spirit or deity.

The Glebo concept of *we* is translated as "witchcraft, " "sorcery, " or "medicine. " It refers to a kind of natural power or energy inherent in all living things that is the ultimate cause of events. Human beings can access this power through training, age, and experience or through a great effort of will. While the power has no moral value, it can be used for both good and evil. Christian missionaries have been present among the Glebo since the 1830s, and more the half the population is nominally Christian. The belief in we and the tendency to locate the cause of misfortune in human actors, however, remain central to the Glebo worldview.

Religious Practitioners. The primary Glebo religious authority is the bodio (high priest). Like the wodo baa, this position belongs to a particular lineage in each major town. The bodio shares some of the features of other "divine kings" in Africa; his house is also the town shrine, and his full-time job is the care and maintenance of the religious objects within it. His life is hedged with taboos, and he cannot spend a single night away from the town. The bodio also can settle serious disputes between towns. Since the bodio embodies the health and strength of the community, his death cannot be acknowledged; he receives no funeral, and his successor is installed before the town realizes he has died. His wife, the *gyide,* is also a ritual specialist and is the only woman who is not a rice farmer. Since they cannot participate in subsistence activities, their needs are supplied by the townspeople.

Other ritual specialists include the *diobo,* who are known as "country doctors. " Diobo may be called upon to expose witches, heal the sick, foresee the future, try accused parties through trial by ordeal, and purify those who have confessed to committing crimes.

Ceremonies. The major ceremonial occasions are funerals. A funeral may be held up to a year or more after a person's death because the family must give a feast for the entire community as well as many visitors. Most funerals are held during the break in the agricultural cycle from November to January. The ceremony requires two days of "war dancing" for men and women.

The presentation of bride-wealth that finalizes a marriage may be accompanied by a ceremony and feast in the case of a wealthy man, but since the 1980s this has become uncommon. Sacrifices of chickens, goats, or cows are performed by individuals making specific requests of ancestors and spirits. When a town has experienced a rash of unexplained deaths, a public witchcraft trial is held that may include the trial by ordeal of suspects. The *sidibo,* or warrior age grade, which includes all adult married men, has a set of rituals related to warfare that are conducted by the yibadio and tibawa. The bodio and gyide conduct daily rituals in their home.

Arts. The plastic arts of southeastern Liberia are not as famous as those of the northwest, which is known for spectacular masking traditions. Masks are used primarily for entertainment rather than in religious rituals. The traditional music that accompanies funeral dances is entirely percussive, using different sets of drums, depending on whether the deceased was a man or a woman. Drumming is a male occupation. Brass band instruments originally obtained from European ships have given rise to a new musical form, and band music is incorporated into the funerals of important adults. Men's "war dances" emphasize stamina and the reenactment of battle tactics. The women's dance involves a complex technique, and a skillful dancer has great prestige. Singing and dancing groups for young women are popular forms of voluntary association.

Medicine. Although Western medical knowledge is highly regarded and generally well understood, human intent is seen as the ultimate cause of illness and death. Germs are acknowledged to be the vector by which illness enters the body, but explanations for why a particular individual is affected refer to human relations. A person suffering from an illness usually will turn to Western medicine to treat the symptoms and seek the cause with a *dio,* or "country doctor. " Antibiot-

ics are combined with mending relations with an elderly uncle who might have been offended or identifying an envious coworker.

Death and Afterlilfe. The Glebo see a continuity of consciousness across the states of being unborn, living, and dead. The high rate of infant mortality sometimes is attributed to the intention of the child, who realizes that life is hard and chooses to "go back." The dead remain part of the family and town, and their actions have immediate effects on the living. The elaborate funeral dances are a way of honoring their contributions while alive and acknowledging their continuing presence as benefactors. Newborns are searched carefully for signs that they may embody a known ancestor on a return visit; if at all possible, they are named after that person to acknowledge the connection. The recently dead must be "fed" by the living, who leave offerings of rice and palm oil on their graves and pour a few drops from the glass before taking a drink at any social occasion.

For other cultures in Liberia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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MARY H. MORAN

Greek Americans

ETHNONYMS: Hellenic Americans, Cypriot Americans, Diaspora Greeks, *Helleno Amerikanoi*

Orientation

Identification and Location. As the group appellation suggests, Greek Americans are Americans of ethnic Greek origin or ancestry. The broadest definition of Greek Americans includes all immigrants from Greece, ethnic Greek immigrants from lands outside Greece, and American-born individuals of full or partial Greek heritage. A narrower group definition of Greek American identity is based on affiliation with or connection to formal Greek American institutions. An intermediate, more fluid definition of the Greek American community relies on the self-identity or ethnic consciousness of its members.

Demography. Although no precise statistics exist, it is possible to estimate the Greek American population by synthesizing demographic statistics from three sources: official data collected in U.S. Census reports, community records compiled by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, and unofficial sources, such as information tracked by voluntary associations and scholarly researchers. Based on an average drawn from these three statistical sources, the Greek American community numbered approximately 1,800,000 people in 2000. Of this aggregate number, approximately 500,000 were members of the first, or immigrant, generation; 675,000 were second-generation Greek Americans; 500,000 made up the third generation; and 125,000 people could be counted as members of the fourth generation.

Linguistic Affiliation. Modern Greek, belonging to the Hellenic group of the Indo-European family of languages, remains the chief language of the immigrant, or first-generation, Americans in the Greek American community. Second-generation Greek Americans tend to be bilingual, speaking both English and Greek, but generally identify English as their primary language. Active use of Greek among third- and fourth-generation Greek Americans is limited. Overall, English is used in virtually all private and public interactions between in-group and out-group members, while generational distinction is the principal determinant of Greek- versus English-language use within the Greek American community. The modern Greek language has both functional and, even when only in traces, symbolic value as an instrument for reinforcing group identity.

History and Cultural Relations

The Greek world's limited physical resources have established a long tradition of emigration and diaspora, experiences central to Greek culture and history since antiquity. In the early modern era many Greeks sought economic opportunities and political refuge from Ottoman rule through immigration to Western Europe, Russia, and later, Egypt. These migration patterns shifted, however, as the New World began to compete with the Old World for immigrant labor in the late -nineteenth century. Spurred by mounting population pressures, a series of domestic economic crises, and reports of unparalleled employment opportunities in the United States, Greeks began to immigrate in large numbers to America after 1890. Between 1890 and 1924, approximately 500,000 Greeks entered the United States. The vast majority of these immigrants followed expanding networks of chain migration into industrial labor and mill positions in Midwestern factories and East Coast cities as well as railroad and mining gangs in the far West. In addition to harsh working conditions and other hardships, Greek immigrants, like immigrants from other Eastern and Southern European

countries, encountered prejudice, hostility, and sometimes violent nativist reactions. The American nativist movement succeeded in abruptly halting Greek immigration in the mid-1920s as the U.S. Congress passed immigrant legislation whose quotas were directed against the continuing ingress of Eastern and Southern Europeans.

Unwelcome by mainstream American society, Greek immigrants sought comfort and in some cases protection in establishing their own communities and cultural institutions. While Greek Americans had built voluntary associations, a dynamic press, and countless other group structures, by the 1920s and 1930s the community's life was centered on and dominated by, if not inseparable from, the institutional and organizational hub of every community: the Greek Orthodox church.

Greek American institutions were able to develop quickly and communities enjoyed rapid growth, in part because most Greek immigrants prospered economically. In contrast to most other immigrant groups, the majority of first-generation Greek Americans successfully moved from the working class into the middle class. This upward economic mobility was fueled by entrepreneurial activities as Greek Americans became increasingly successful in and associated with small businesses. This pattern of employment in labor followed by small business ownership also characterized the economic experience of the next major wave of Greek immigrants, some 250,000 to 300,000 individuals who came to the United States after the relaxation of immigration restrictions in the 1960s. Thanks to the decline of nativist sentiment as well as the general social tolerance and respectability, if not acceptance, extended to Greek Americans in the 1940s and 1950s, Greeks who immigrated to the United States from the 1960s onward encountered fewer obstacles than did the preceding generations of immigrants. Nonetheless, the arrival and integration of this large wave at times engendered tension with the earlier generation of Greek immigrants and their American-born children. These tensions, which diminished during the 1980s and 1990s, were overshadowed by the fact that the new arrivals restored considerable cultural and institutional vitality to the Greek American community.

Settlements

Although Greek Americans are widely dispersed throughout the United States, chain-migration patterns led to their overwhelming concentration in urban areas. Approximately 95 percent of Greek Americans reside in urban areas, compared to roughly 75 percent of the total American population. Moreover, the majority of Greek Americans reside in or near a few of the largest metropolitan centers in the United States: 500,000 in greater New York, 200,000 in the Chicago area, 150,000 in the greater Boston area, approximately 50,000 in Detroit and its surrounding communities, and 50,000 in and around Los Angeles. While still concentrated in the historical industrial corridors of the Middle Atlantic region, the Midwest/Great Lakes basin, and New England, Greek American settlements have undergone significant changes since the 1960s and 1970s as former urban ethnic enclaves and concentrated neighborhoods have been depopulated by relocation to suburban areas.

Economy

Subsistence. Greek Americans are fully integrated in the modern post-industrial American economy and thus are not part of a subsistence economic framework.

Commercial Activities. Greek Americans, especially those in the first generation, are highly concentrated in small businesses, such as restaurants and other food-service enterprises, that are often family owned. Second-generation Greek Americans are overwhelmingly concentrated in the professions and diverse entrepreneurial activities.

Industrial Arts. Most of the demand in the Greek American community for culture-based goods—foods, entertainment products, religious materials, and the like—is met by Greek commercial exporters/importers and market distributors. Although many of these goods were produced by Greek American artists and entrepreneurs in the first half of the twentieth century, the Greek American community is, with few exceptions, no longer a source of such goods.

Trade. Fully integrated into the modern post-industrial American economy, Greek Americans do not constitute a distinct trading group.

Division of Labor. Within the Greek American community division of labor occurs along lines of age, gender, ability, occupation, and/or status vis-á-vis economic tasks. These patterns conform to the mainstream American society.

Land Tenure. As a result of the overwhelming urban and suburban concentration of Greek American settlement patterns in the United States, land tenure, as well other agricultural issues, are largely irrelevant to the New World experience and economic condition of Greek Americans.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Reflecting the enduring influence of Old World structures, descent is patrilineal, but bilateral kinship remains a factor in determining family relationships. Although somewhat diminished by American cultural pressures, two basic categories of kinship exist simultaneously within the unified familial system. The foundational category is based on notions of bloodline and is composed of the nuclear and extended family. The second category of relationships is established through sacramental sponsorship in weddings or baptisms and thus unites different families (nuclear and extended) into affinal networks of kinship.

Kinship Terminology. The two basic Greek American categories of kinship—primary and affinal—are denoted in the conceptual terms *oikogenia* (family) and *koumbario* (affinal relation), respectively.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages arranged by parents or trusted intermediaries, especially so-called picture-bride unions, were typical of the immigrant generation that dominated Greek American community life from the 1890s through the 1930s. Traditionally, marriages functioned, at least in part, as economic mergers and alliance structures between families and thus tended to be arranged. Courtship rules, which once were appropriate only to engaged couples, have been relaxed since

the 1970s but remain restrictive, especially as applied to girls and women. Group endogamy, although highly valued, has diminished significantly in post-immigrant generations, with only about one-quarter of Greek Americans marrying within their ethnic group by the 1990s. Post-marital residence in a separate household is preferred, although active lifelong links to the spouses' natal homes is common. Marriages tend to be stable, and divorce, which continues to bear a heavy stigma in Greek American culture, is relatively uncommon, with only about 15 percent of Greek American marriages ending in divorce, compared to roughly half of all marriages in the United States.

Domestic Unit. The nuclear family constitutes the basic domestic unit in the Greek American community. Reflecting general demographic patterns in the United States, the average Greek American nuclear family in the 1980s and 1990s consisted of 3.5 to 4.0 people (husband, wife, and two children) and generally occupied a common residence apart from extended family households.

Inheritance. Although strict primogeniture is not associated with Greek Americans, traditional practices continue to be followed in terms of demonstrated favoritism toward the senior male child's succession to a family's symbolic, if not actual, stewardship. It is not uncommon for the senior male sibling, as well as his children, to receive a disproportionately larger share of an inheritance compared with other siblings and their children. These inheritance patterns have been more prevalent among first-generation Greek Americans, particularly those who arrived during the first half of the twentieth century. Subsequent generations of Greek Americans, as well as first-generation arrivals during the second half of the twentieth century, have tended to abide by a norm of equal shares of inheritance to each surviving child.

Socialization. Mothers tend to be the primary care-givers in most Greek American families, although fathers, as well as grandparents and elder siblings, are actively involved in child rearing. Corporal punishment of children is relatively rare—even if considered situationally acceptable. Strict behavioral controls that are intended to protect family reputation and status are applied to children and are expanded and adjusted with age. Consistent with traditional patriarchal norms, male children generally have more autonomy and privileges than do female children and are subject to less familial and community scrutiny in terms of social conduct. Primary and secondary education are prized as a system for inculcating children with competitive principles. Higher education is valued almost exclusively as an instrument for economic advancement, leading to an emphasis on professional and vocational training at the expense of intellectual pursuits.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Both formal and informal, as well as local and national, structures contribute to the organization of Greek American society. The *kinotis* (community) is the fundamental formal social unit. The kinotis is almost universally fixed to a locality's Greek Orthodox parish, with communicants constituting a community whose group affairs are ostensibly administered by an elected council. The local parish is integrated into a nationwide network of community links through the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America as well as a constellation of voluntary associations within and outside the Orthodox Church. Reflecting changes produced by increasing social and geographic mobility, these traditional organizational structures have since the 1960s become more fluid and heterogeneous. Although all members of a kinotis theoretically enjoy equal privileges vis-á-vis the community's institutions, access to leadership roles, administrative positions, and decision-making processes within Greek American organizations is influenced, if not often determined, by material factors such as an individual's level of education and/or wealth. Financial success and the attendant status remain the primary factor in the acquisition and exercise of power within the community.

Political Organization. Although Greek Americans are to some extent administratively organized through local, parish-based community structures, political organization per se is not relevant to the condition of the Greek American community. Political activism, however, does have a place in the Greek American experience. Although nascent political mobilization of Greek Americans by community leaders took place during both world wars, a permanent or at least long-term lobbying effort was not organized until 1974 in response to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Despite its popular image as a major ethnic political force, the Greek American lobby in Washington is small, does not have significant resources, and has produced mixed results in its efforts to promote awareness of issues concerning Greek Americans.

Social Control. The basis for social control within Greek American culture lies in the integrated principles of honor and shame. Although less openly pronounced today than in earlier periods, these principles continue to resonate within the Greek American social corpus. Honor functions as a moral commodity defining, or at least contributing to, a family's status. Family honor, and hence respectability and status, can be compromised and lost by the deviant actions of any member of the family. The corporate nature of honor consequently requires that individuals conform to the interests of the family in abiding by the norms of the community. Acting otherwise brings shame not only to oneself but to one's entire family. Shame, in the form of community gossip, public derision, and social marginalization, works as an inducement for conformity and a deterrent against aberrant behavior.

Conflict. Although disputes over the leadership and policies of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese have often produced discord, the most serious conflict in the Greek American community stemmed from a political crisis originating in Greece. This crisis began in 1915 and ostensibly ended in the 1920s, but in reality it resonated throughout the interwar period and beyond. Beginning in the period of World War I, Greece was politically polarized between two feuding factions: One group generally identified as republican, backed the country's prime minister, Eleutherios Venizelos, who advocated entry into the war on the side of the Entente; an opposing camp, identified as royalist, supported Greece's king, Constantine, and the monarchy's policy of official neutrality. The intense political and social cleavages produced by the so-called Constantinist-Venizelist schism in Greece were mirrored in the Greek American context. Greek American communities throughout the United States were

marked by intense factionalism, and in some instances parishes broke into two rival communities. These divisions were not fully bridged until World War II, when Greek Americans united to provide Allied Greece with humanitarian aid and to mobilize their communities behind the American war effort.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Like their ethnic and cultural counterparts in the historical Greek lands of the Old World, virtually all Greeks in the United States are adherents of Orthodox Christianity. This has reinforced and maximized the complex and to some extent symbiotic relationship between Greek identity and Orthodoxy in the New World. A small number of practitioners of evangelical, or charismatic, Orthodoxy, organized in independent parish groups, exist within the larger ethnic community, as do some converts to Protestantism. During the first half of the twentieth century even smaller groups of Romaniot and Sephardic Jews from Greece established a handful of immigrant communities in the United States. However, these Greek Jews were almost entirely absorbed into the larger Jewish American cultural landscape in the postwar period.

Religious Practitioners. Orthodox Christianity invests ordained members of the church with full liturgical and sacramental authority vis-á-vis all members of the church. Nevertheless, Orthodoxy, in theory if not always in practice, assigns equivalent authority and shared participatory roles to the clergy, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the laity in the administration of church affairs. This congregationalist tradition or ideal, however, has been frequently undermined by internecine struggles for community power at the local and national levels.

Ceremonies. Ceremony and ritual continue to play important roles in the religious and social lives of Greek Americans. Inasmuch as liturgical and other rites can be regarded as religious rituals, Orthodox Christianity articulates many of its central beliefs through sacramental practices that mark important transitions in Greek Americans' lives (baptisms, weddings, funerals, etc.) and often reinforce individuals' bonds to their community of co-religionists. Major secular occasions, such as Greek Independence Day and other historical events, are accompanied by ceremonial celebrations or remembrances that mark collective memory and group identity in terms of ethno-religious community.

Arts. Traditional and non-traditional forms of art, although neither highly valued nor supported by the Greek American community, have a rich history, diversity, and level of achievement. In the realm of traditional, in particular musical, arts, Greek American performers played a formative role during the first few decades of the twentieth century in the emergence and recording of an original and influential counter-culture-based musical genre known as *rebetika.* Greek Americans and Greek American themes have made an imprint in the world of American literature, where writers such as Harry Mark Petrakis have published major works that showcase, humanize, and make accessible to a broad English-language readership complex aspects of the Greek experience in America. Greek and Greek American issues have been addressed in the novels and films of the Greek American director and writer Elia Kazan. Other material and expressive arts, such as dance, painting, photography, and sculpting, have attracted a new generation of young Greek American artists and performers in California and New York who, in the 1990s, began to explore Greek American issues.

Medicine. The first generation of immigrants who dominated the Greek American community and culture from the 1890s through the 1930s often utilized Old World folk practices in treating many ailments and physical injuries. Modern American or Western medicine has completely replaced these traditional approaches to health issues in the Greek American community.

Death and Afterlife. Centuries-old burial costumes, which were common to the first wave of Greek immigrants in the late -nineteenth and early -twentieth centuries, have been almost entirely supplanted by Greek Americans' deference to modern norms introduced by American commercial morticians. The traditional family vigil over the deceased, during the period from death to entombment, is no longer practiced because of the demands of commercial funeral homes as well as public health laws and other state regulations. The highly public, demonstrative folk-based burial mourning, involving individual lament and chorus wailing, has been increasingly replaced by more private, American-like models of loss. Relatively unaffected by assimilative processes, liturgical funeral rites remain unchanged and are consistent with practices throughout the Orthodox Christian world, which bases its system of death and afterlife on Christological principles of salvation.

For the original article on Greek Americans,see Volume 1, North America.

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ALEXANDROS K. KYROU

Gwich'in

ETHNONYMS: Quarrellers, Sharp Eyes, Squint-eyed Tribe, Loucheux, Koochin, Kootchin, Kutchin, Gwitchin

Orientation

Identification and Location. The northernmost Indians in North America, the Gwich'in live in Alaska and Canada's Northwest and Yukon Territories, straddling the Arctic Circle between roughly 65° and 69° North latitude, and 130° and 150° West longitude. This region consists largely of boreal forest, taiga, and alpine tundra biomes, and is dominated by permafrost and continental climate with long winters and short, surprisingly warm summers. Alexander Mackenzie, the first person of European descent to record his impressions of the Gwich'in, called them Quarrellers, because of their guttural, vociferous speech and oratorical proclivities. French-speaking fur traders called eastern bands of Gwich'in "Loucheux," a translation of the Chipewyan word for them *(yeux louches,* "eyes that squint"). The ethnonyms Koochin, Kootchin, Kutchin, Gwitchin, and Gwich'in are derived from *gwich'in,* which is used in conjunction with a place word to identify people or dwellers who live in a particular location, for example, Teetl'it Gwich'in, "people of the head of the waters," Vantat (Vuntut) Gwich'in, "people among the lakes." The Gwich'in self-designation is *dinjii zhyuh,* or "person, Indian." After 1970, Gwich'in developed steadily as the preferred ethnonym. Despite social and cultural variations among regional bands, the Gwich'in are culturally and linguistically distinct from their neighbors, the K'ashot'ine, Shihta Got'ine, Tutchone, Han, Tanana, Koyukon, and Inuvialuit and Inupiat Eskimos.

Demography. From a mid-eighteenth century total of around 5,400, the population of the Gwich'in plunged because of epidemic diseases to below 1,000 in the late-nineteenth century. Female infanticide further decreased Gwich'in population through the late-nineteenth century. One century later in the 1990s, around 3,000 Gwich'in lived in their traditional territory; because of constant emigration in the second half of the twentieth century, many others lived outside the region.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Gwich'in speak a Northern Athapaskan language, a well-defined complex of dialects with high mutual intelligibility yet internal variation in lexicon, morphology, stem nasalization, and other features. Gwich'in is clearly set apart from other Athapaskan languages. In the 1970s a concerted effort began to develop a modern orthography and curricular materials for children, many of whom understood but could not speak Gwich'in. In the 1990s there were about seven hundred Gwich'in speak-

History and Cultural Relations

Eighteenth century Gwich'in conceived of their history through the cycle of tales in which Raven, a trickster, transformer, and creator figured in the genesis of land, the sun, man, and woman, as well as through other tales about cultural heroes. Archaeologists trace a *7,000-9,000* year succession of big-game hunters and fishers in the Subarctic, which includes a firm Gwich'in tradition during the last millennium. People of European descent first encountered the Gwich'in in the late eighteenth century. Since that time the Gwich'in have increasingly been drawn into the orbit of societies whose reach has become global. From 1806-1858 the Gwich'in encountered explorers and fur traders who introduced not only guns, beads, kettles, axes, and cloth, but also new devastating microbes against which the Gwich'in had no immunity. After mid-century, Anglican and Oblate missionaries interested in saving souls sought to eliminate much of the traditional culture including songs, dances, potlatches, shamans, infanticide, polygyny, and polyandry.

In the early-twentieth century, the Canadian government turned its attention to northern peoples including the Gwich'in, signing a 1921 treaty exchanging entitlements for aboriginal rights and later initiating trapping territories for perceived benefits of individual management.

The second half of the twentieth century marked intense national interest in further directing Gwich'in lives and controlling Gwich'in energy resources. The Canadian government expanded formal education to embrace village but not bush social life, and increased wage labor opportunity, family allowances, old-age pensions, and other transfer payments. In response, the Gwich'in have tried to assert more control over their own lives and placed a heightened value on education, commodities, and jobs. In the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, Alaskan Gwich'in relinquished their aboriginal rights in exchange for cash, and in the early 1990s settled outstanding land claims in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. In 2002, the issues of highest concern involve natural resource development, including sustainable timber and wildlife harvests, control over transportation of natural gas through their territory (which Gwich'in favor), and drilling for oil in Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (which they oppose).

Settlements

The Gwich'in were traditionally distributed in nine or ten regional bands. Each band split into smaller local bands or task groups according to its goals in subsistence, trapping, feuding, war, and trade, and these smaller groups reformed for communal hunting or fishing. Some of these groupings were unstable in membership, while others were relatively fixed. Some were highly mobile and others were more sedentary; by the twentieth century, some bands were quite permanent and localized. After traders arrived between 1806 and 1840, Gwich'in assembled at the posts of Fort Good Hope on the Mackenzie River, south of Gwich'in territory, and after 1840, Fort McPherson on the Peel River and Fort Yukon at the confluence of the Porcupine and Yukon rivers.

In the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the number of bands declined due to population loss from epidemic diseases. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, major Gwich'in communities could be found at Fort McPherson and Fort Yukon, and others in the villages of Venetie, Beaver, Arctic Village, Chalkyitsik, Circle, and Birch Creek in Alaska, Old Crow in Yukon Territory, and Tsiigehtchic in the Northwest Territories. Gwich'in have also been attracted to communities outside their traditional territory, including Aklavik and Inuvik in the Mackenzie Delta.

The aboriginal Gwich'in lived in gabled moss-covered, semi-subterranean houses of wood and moss in fall and early winter, and made use of skin-covered semi-spherical lodges in other seasons; they also made lean-tos and specialized structures such as conical puberty shelters. In the twentieth century (after traders and missionaries arrived with iron tools, twine, guns, and new ideas) the Gwich'in abandoned traditional structures for bush-based log cabins, canvas tents, and (in the late twentieth century) town-based prefabricated housing. Through time, they altered their annual cycle to include longer stays at trading and mission posts for exchange and religious days. After 1950, important changes relating to education in schools caused towns to become the primary locus of family and community life; henceforth, the Gwich'in confined family time in the bush mainly to spring muskrat hunting and summer fishing.

Economy

Subsistence. Depending on season and regional band, the Gwich'in focused energy on hunting caribou, moose, and other large animals, and a variety of small animals like beaver, muskrat, porcupine, rabbit, and birds; fishing for salmon (Yukon drainage), whitefish, inconnu, trout, grayling, and loche; and gathering berries. With snares and deadfalls (and later, steel traps), they trapped beaver, marten, muskrat, lynx, mink, fox, otter, wolverine, and other animals—mainly for their pelts, but some for consumption as well. In summer the Gwich'in tended to fish, gather berries, and kill birds in molt; in late summer and fall, they hunted caribou and moose; and in winter and spring, they trapped and hunted. Small family- or partner-based groups carried out activities like fishing and trapping, while large gatherings of cooperating men and women gathered for the caribou surround or at fish traps.

The Gwich'in preferred to boil or roast their meat and fish. They consumed marrow, fetuses, loche liver, and much else. Raven, fox, wolverine, eagle, and dog were generally taboo as food. They dried and stored quantities of both meat and fish. The introduction of guns and twine made surrounds and fish traps obsolete and increased individualized hunting and fishing practices. Together with new foods such as flour, tea, sugar, rice, and beans, these practices had a lasting impact. Gwich'in today complain that people no longer share food as they once did.

Commercial Activities. The nineteenth century Gwich'in were renowned traders. They preferred beads to guns, axes, blankets and other items, because of their general exchange value. Beads could be calculated both in terms of the Hudson's Bay Company standard "Made Beaver," and used in payment for furs, services of a shaman, moose skins, etc. Some Gwich'in were said not to hunt at all but to live off middle-man profits based on markups of several hundred percent, and to store their beads at the post. Many advertised wealth by wearing bead strings conspicuously looped over their shoulders and by heavily decorating their clothing with beads and dentalium shells.

The twentieth-century Gwich'in became totally involved in a monetary economy but first erased debts taken on in goods procured at the start of a season with pelts at the end and auctioned their own furs outside the North. After 1950, they participating in wage labor and the welfare system, which for decades have dominated the formerly fur-based economy.

Industrial Arts. The Gwich'in made artifacts from stone, bone, skin, wood, sinew, teeth, and other raw materials. In hunting they guided caribou into surrounds constructed from posts, trees, brush, and human-shaped piles of moss where they snared, speared, and shot them with birch bows and spruce arrows tipped with flint or antler. To fish they made wooden weirs and willow basket-traps, and used hooks of caribou metacarpals, twisted willow-bark nets, and bone-pointed wooden spears. To wage war they made caribou-antler clubs and thrusting spears. For winter travel, the Gwich'in fabricated hunting (small) and trail (large) birch snowshoes and sleds on runners turned up at one or both ends; for eye protection they used skin or wooden snow goggles. For summer travel they made spruce-frame moose-skin boats, birch-bark canoes in two sizes—the larger with mast and caribou-skin sail—and rafts, propelling them with spruce paddles. In addition, they fashioned stone adzes, flint arrow heads, stone and bone scrapers, drills, beaver-incisor awls, caribou-antler ice chisels, birch bark and spruce root containers, mountain sheep spoons, rabbit-skin blankets, caribou-leg bags, caribou skin lines (babiche) of various sizes and lengths, and caribou sinew thread and bowstrings. They wore tailored clothing of caribou skins (in winter leaving the hair on the inside), with the "dress" versions decorated with quills, seeds, dentalia, and, after Europeans came, beads. To protect their hands in winter they wore skin mittens and for headgear, either a scant strip of fur tied over the ears and head (men) or skin hoods (women). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries most of these industrial arts disappeared. The Gwich'in substituted flat-bottomed scows for summer travel, toboggans for winter travel, and purchased household goods and productive technology at the store.

Trade. Prior to the arrival of mercantilists of European descent, the Gwich'in traded mainly with coastal Inuvialuit and Inupiat Eskimos, exchanging wolverine skins, spruce root baskets, and other products for seal skins and iron kettles the Eskimos had obtained from coastal traders. Western Gwich'in sought copper knives in exchanges with Indians to their west. With Europeans, the Gwich'in exchanged mainly marten, beaver, and muskrat pelts, meat and fish, and services for various "iron works" and "dry goods": kettles, knives, daggers, files, flints, fire steels, ice trenches, bonnets, belts, capotes, gartering, blankets, and leggings. But the most important trade items were guns, gunpowder, ball, shot, tobacco, and beads and dentalium shells.

Division of Labor. Distinctive but not exclusive, men's and women's roles were tempered by practical exigencies and small-group demography. Men were more likely than women to hunt, trap, twine fishnets, make war, and deal with the implements associated with these tasks. Women were more likely than men to tend to the children, prepare and cook food, haul sleds (dogs being scarce prior to the new trading-post exchange economy), prepare skins and make and repair clothing and blankets, gather vegetal food and fuel, and haul water. With predictable exceptions (e.g., nursing and warfare) flexibility has probably always been the rule, and despite early opinion about women being subjugated "beasts of bur-

den," in reality Gwich'in women held authority within the household and were assertive in other domains.

Land Tenure. While they did not own land as individuals, the Gwich'in did have rights to particular tracts of land for hunting, fishing, trapping, or other uses, which lapsed with non-use. In the mid-twentieth century, trapping rights in specific territories were allocated to Canadian Gwich'in in hopes that management would restore depleted furbearers.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Gwich'in had three nonlocalized matrilineal clans, knowledge of which remains contradictory and incomplete. The clans seem to have been more important for western Gwich'in (influenced by Athapaskans to the west) than for eastern bands, but this might be a result of earlier epidemic diseases in the east and the subsequent loss of people and cultural knowledge. The clans were in theory exogamous, but in practice many marriages were endogamous. This helped give rise to the notion that two clans *(naatsaii* and *ch'itshyaa)* were original and the offspring of endogamous marriages were at first reserved for a new third clan *(teenjiraatsyaa)*. Related to this is the marked tendency for naatsaii and ch'itshyaa to be set against each other, as moieties.

The three clans (naatsaii, ch'itshyaa, and teenjiraatsyaa) were associated with different origins (the head, tail, and middle of a fish, respectively), different ranks (high, low, and intermediate), wealth (rich, poor, "middle class"), animals (raven, wolf/herring gull/fish, and glaucous gull/arctic tern), skin tones (dark, light, moderate), and stature (large, small, intermediate). Clan-based obligations and responsibilities were came into play at marriage and death, in feuds and at feasts and potlatches. Clans receded quickly in importance for all Gwich'in in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and at the end of the twentieth century were recognized mainly (and sometimes only vaguely) in the context of feasts after moose were killed.

Kinship Terminology. Gwich'in kinship terms were bifurcate collateral in the first ascending generation (separate terms for father, father's brother, and mother's brother, and for mother, mother's sister, and father's sister) and basically Hawaiian in ego's generation (male/female parallel and cross cousins, with the possible exception of mother's brother's daughter, were terminologically equivalent to brother and sister). Relative age was also important and was reflected in distinct terms for older and younger siblings and cousins. There were few, if any, meaningful terminological distinctions between father's and mother's sides in the grandparental or grandchild generations. Relative age and status could override genealogy in determining what kinship category (and term) to use. Children were sometimes named after maternal grandparents or for animals, objects, or events; and parents were named after the first-born child (teknomy).

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Some marriages were decided by the prospective bride and groom, unless the bride's mother or other members of her family objected to the status or promise of the prospective husband. Other parents arranged the marriages of their daughters and sons. A young girl's mother might take the initiative in arranging her daughter's initial intimacy and consequent future marriage. Men might also secure wives by living with and serving the parents of an especially young girl until she reached marriageable age, or by successfully wrestling a married man for his wife.

The Gwich'in practiced monogamy (most common), polygyny (chiefs, shamans, and wealthy men often possessed four or five wives and one chief had eighteen), and polyandry (the woman in such a marriage being admired). Partners also sometimes exchanged wives. No matter which post-marital residence rule obtained, in practice matrilocality, patrilocality, and matri-patrilocality were found. A man might beat or divorce an adulterous wife, and a woman could divorce an abusive husband or leave to take up with another man. Evidence for the levirate is equivocal; but following a man's death, his brother, in theory, had to approve the widow's remarriage. In the late-twentieth century arranged marriages disappeared. More young people remain unmarried, and divorce, frowned upon by the church, is rare.

Domestic Unit. Different kinds of arrangements have served as basic social and economic units: the nuclear family and paired family were most important. The latter, a mutable arrangement, formed when brothers, formal partners, or others decided to pool resources and share tasks. Through time the nuclear and extended families have replaced other kinds of domestic arrangements. Adoption was common.

Inheritance. Most Gwich'in owned few possessions, inheritance of which was patrilineal and by primogeniture. If a man had no son his son-in-law inherited his property. Sometimes possessions were destroyed at death or distributed in a potlatch, as with the beads of some wealthy men. Rights in hunting and fishing locales were activated with use and lapsed with non-use. Caribou fences tended to remain within the family.

Socialization. Child training was permissive. The Gwich'in respected and seldom punished their children, checking a wayward child's behavior with gossip or, if need be, switching with a willow branch. Children learned gender-specific roles through imitation and experience, and morality and values from tales. In their games boys learned running, jumping, shooting, and fasting skills important in hunting and warfare. Girls had small wooden dolls clothed in caribou skin. At puberty, a girl was secluded for up to one year in a special isolated shelter. She wore a hood over her head that hung to the waist, suspended from which were caribou-hoof rattles to prevent her from hearing. She avoided meat and other foods, and drank only clear water, sometimes through a goose-leg bone drinking tube. Wealthy parents marked the return of a daughter (and her eligibility for marriage) with a feast. Fathers marked a son's coming-of-age with a feast following his first kill of large game. At puberty, some western Gwich'in boys underwent formal instruction under a teacher.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In Gwich'in society, two classes—the wealthy and poor—crosscut clan membership. Men gained wealth from success as hunters, trappers, mercantilists, shamans, and polygyny, or from inheritance. In the nineteenth

century they advertised their wealth and social standing with beads. The poor worked for chiefs not as dependents but by exchanging services like hunting and packing for presents. Slaves—male Indian captives in war—were rare and could, in time, marry and become as any other Gwich'in.

Political Organization. Gwich'in chiefs were always wealthy men and endowed with appropriate personal characteristics, including strength and physical dominance. They tended to belong to the naatsaii or ch'itshyaa clans. They might also be shamans, and were usually polygynists. They possessed paternalistic authority, influencing such matters as where to hunt or fish, generously loaning tools, hospitably welcoming newcomers to the community, and sharing their food and wealth. Some also wielded power. If he desired and the community approved, a son could inherit the position of chief from his father. A council of mature and elderly men—in which younger men or women might speak—decided weighty matters like war and appointed war leaders. European traders added a layer to political leadership with their appointment of Hudson's Bay Company chiefs as intermediaries between the Company and the band. They sometimes selected men who were not the same as the chiefs the Gwich'in themselves recognized. In the early twenty-first century, under governmental impetus, Gwich'in polity was expressed in the formal band and village institutions that developed among indigenous people in Canada and Alaska.

Social Control. To check unwanted behavior, the Gwich'in depended on informal negative sanctions like gossip and ridicule, but also resorted to physical punishment. Although theft was uncommon, as there was little property, it was punished by piercing and ripping open the thief s fingers with a bone awl. Family- and clan-based conflict was a danger in traditional Gwich'in society: wrongs were avenged on the basis of *lex talionis* (an eye for an eye), although blood money might suffice in compensation for a killing; wealthy men might literally get away with murder. With such a system, feuds were always possible and a large family was an advantage. A man judged dangerous or unstable by the community could be executed without consequence to families involved. In the twentieth century, the greater nation's judicial process, legal institutions, and agents (e.g. Royal Canadian Mounted Police) have been brought to bear on the Gwich'in.

Conflict. The Gwich'in fought the Inupiat and Inuvialuit for revenge, possessions, prestige, and sometimes women. They prepared for war ritually and were led by clan war chiefs. They used weapons such as caribou antler clubs, thrusting lances, and bows and arrows. They brutalized the bodies of the enemies they killed, breaking or slicing their joints, cutting off and displaying heads on stakes, and practicing ritual cannibalism by consumption of stomach fat. Formal partnerships linking Gwich'in and Eskimo men sometimes helped save a partner in the event of a raid. Warfare ended in the late-nineteenth century under pressure from missionaries and traders.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Gwich'in world was inhabited by spirits, ghosts, giant fish, bushmen, various monsters resident in lakes and woods, and supernatural beings in stars and the moon. The Gwich'in believed in reincarnation and that in an earlier day, humans and animals spoke to each other. Following the arrival of Protestant missionaries and Oblate priests, the Gwich'in converted to Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism, yet in the 1990s the belief in bushmen, animal helpers, and reincarnation persisted.

Religious Practitioners. The aboriginal Gwich'in believed firmly in the power of their shamans, most of whom were men who acquired power in dreams during adolescence, when animals came to them, with which they formed alliances. With the aid of an animal-helper and amulets, rattles, and other paraphernalia, a shaman divined the cause of illness, cured the sick, prescribed therapy, killed enemies, and forecast death, hunting success, or the weather. In the mid-nineteenth century, shamans were powerful, wealthy, and prestigious. However, shamans were virtually powerless against epidemic diseases introduced by Europeans and were challenged by Anglican and Oblate missionaries and Gwich'in catechists. Shamanism declined in the late nineteenth century—although in the late twentieth century, some people still derived power from animal-helpers.

Ceremonies. Feasts attended the birth of a first-born, the arrival of the first king salmon (Yukon drainage), the end of a daughter's puberty isolation, a son's first kill of big game, and return from a successful hunt or caribou drive. The most important feast was the potlatch. After an appropriate time of mourning, a rich relative of a deceased man, during a time when food was plentiful, sometimes gave a potlatch in the deceased's honor and to reciprocate members of another clan for services to the deceased. Guests played games with a bladder and moose skin, heard special songs composed and sung in honor of the deceased, and danced in their fine clothing. The potlatcher formally distributed beads, dentalium shells, tools, weapons, blankets, furs, and other gifts, with the understanding that one-half their value would be returned to him when he asked.

Arts. The Gwich'in danced vigorously, played plank and tambourine drums, sang songs of love and war —knowledge of which is incomplete due to missionary suppression— and participated in athletic games. They possessed a rich corpus of stories—tales, myths, histories—about culture heroes, tricksters, bushmen, spirits, giant fish, and other peoples. The Gwich'in also decorated their clothing, possessions, and persons: they rubbed red ochre into the seams of clothing or on snowshoes and sleds. They decorated their tunics with seeds, shells, beads, dentalia, fringes, vegetal-dyed porcupine quills and, after they appeared, beads. Both men and women let their hair grow long (men greased, ochred, and placed feathers in their hair in elaborate and culturally distinctive hairstyles) and wore nasal septum ornaments of beads, dentalia, or whalebone, and pierced their ears. Ornaments and fine clothing were worn and displayed especially on public occasions. Women and men both tattooed their bodies: women their chins for aesthetic reasons, men their arms for victims in war.

Medicine. The Gwich'in believed that they became sick because of taboo infraction, spirit loss, or sorcery. Sorcery—"throwing bad medicine" by shamans or sorcerers—was especially harmful. The healers were shamans, who practiced phlebotomy, drew on healing properties of many plants, used

a variety of therapeutic techniques including steam-heat and surgery, or bit and sucked out disease.

Death and Afterlife. People died from a number of causes that the Gwich'in traced to the actions of shamans or sorcerers or to evil spirits or spirit loss. When a relative died they mourned demonstratively, weeping, throwing themselves into the water, singing their hair, mutilating their bodies, and destroying food and property. Members of another clan were chosen, sometimes under duress on their part because of the onerous taboos they had to observe, to prepare the corpse. A corpse had to be cleaned, painted, dressed, wrapped, and placed in an appropriate grave.

Many Gwich'in preferred placing the dead in trees on stages or scaffolds, or enclosing them in hollow wood fixed in trees. A year or so following the death they burned the body, ostensibly to keep maggots from eating the corpse, a terrifying idea for some. Others interred corpses in the ground (or on the ground, under rocks, if the ground was frozen) and erected a pole atop which was a carved animal over the grave. Some said that cremation was reserved for a few wealthy individuals.

Ultimately, after the arrival of traders and missionaries, all Gwich'in accepted interment in the ground. Before Christianity affected aboriginal belief, the Gwich'in thought their spirits or souls went to the land of the dead, located variously in the north, east, south, or upstream. Spirits could remain in the land of the living as ghosts.

For other cultures in Canada and The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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SHEPARD KRECH III

Haitian Americans

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Haitian population in the United States consists of persons born in Haiti and persons of Haitian descent. Some Haitians refer to themselves as members of "the Haitian community." Depending on the context, that term may encompass Haitians who have settled in a particular location such as New York or Miami or all Haitian immigrants to the United States. The term *diaspora* also has become popular among Haitian immigrants, who use it to convey their sense of belonging to a distinct group that lives in the United States but sees Haiti as its home.

Because the large-scale migration of Haitians to the United States was precipitated in part by the civil disorder that accompanied the beginning of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1957, most of the immigrants at first saw themselves as transients and political exiles. This sense of impermanence, as well as long-standing divisions in Haitian society along class, color, and political lines, prevented Haitians from developing collective responses to the problems they faced as immigrants in the United States. As the migration increased in the 1970s, American political leaders and the media began to brand Haitians as undesirables, and the U.S. government refused to recognize the immigrants as political refugees. In the 1980s the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) classified Haitians as a human immunodeficiency virus risk group. Although the CDC later rescinded that label, its action had negative consequences for many Haitian immigrants, who lost their jobs or faced increased difficulty finding work or housing. As a result of the discrimination they faced as Haitians and as black newcomers, many of the immigrants came to share a common and distinct Haitian ethnic identity. As of 2002 Haitians have entered a period of intense reflection on their position, status, and role within U.S. society and their relationship to Haiti. Issues of naturalization, dual citizenship, empowerment, and participation in American political life have become part of their agenda.

Demography. There are no reliable figures on the number of Haitian immigrants and people of Haitian descent in the

United States. The 2000 U.S. Census reported an estimate of 657,077 people who claim Haitian ancestry. That total does not count the undocumented immigrants in many households. In 1996 the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimated that there were 105,000 undocumented Haitians in the United States. Most researchers of Haitian immigration think these figures considerably underrepresent the size of the Haitian population in the United States, and spokespeople for Haitian media and community organizations generally provide higher estimates. According to the Haitian Television Network, there are 2 million Haitian Americans in North America, of whom 650,000 live in New York and 500,000 live in Florida.

Linguistic Affiliation. Immigrants educated in Haiti have different levels of knowledge of French, but all Haitians speak Kreyol (Creole), which is a distinct language, not a dialect of French. Schooling in Haiti is predominantly in French, but most people are unable to attend school long enough to become literate and attain proficiency in French. Kreyol is the language that developed when slaves integrated linguistic elements and structures from African languages, French, and trading languages used in Africa and the Caribbean. It is a fully developed language for which linguists have developed a standardized system of orthography. However, it is only recently that Kreyol is being taught in Haiti, and so most adult Haitians, even if they are literate in other languages, do not know how to read or write in Kreyol.

In the 1970s a group of exiled Haitian priests launched a campaign to legitimize the use of Kreyol and began to employ it in the celebration of Mass and in other public events in the United States. This created controversy among Haitian immigrants, particularly concerning the adoption of Kreyol as the language to be used in bilingual programs for Haitian students in New York public schools. By the 1990s Kreyol had moved from being the language Haitians used predominantly only among themselves to the language used at most Haitian meeting and public occasions in the United States. The importance of Kreyol is reflected in the recognition by federal and state agencies in areas of dense Haitian settlement such as the New York metropolitan region that Haitian Kreyol is a major immigrant language. About half of first-generation Haitian immigrants can speak English well. Most Haitians learn some English. Many Haitian children raised in the United States prefer to speak English and often refuse to respond to their parents when spoken to in Kreyol or French. Although, in high school or college Haitian students become interested in learning French or Kreyol.

History and Cultural Relations

During the late eighteenth century many free black Haitians came to the United States to participate in the American Revolution. Those revolutionary soldiers included a future leader of the 1804 Haitian revolution, Henry Christophe. Established in 1804 by the only successful slave uprising in history, Haiti was the first black nation in the Western Hemisphere. With the abolition of slavery and the creation of the Haitian state, many slave owners, accompanied by some of their slaves, took refuge in the United States. Haitians continued to arrive in the United States throughout the nineteenth century, settling in New Orleans, Philadelphia, and New York City, where they contributed to the cultural and economic development of those cities. Traces of that immigration are found in traditions, lore, customs, and biographies of some Haitian American or African American families. In the 1920s and 1930s some Haitian intellectuals, artists, and trade unionists were active participants in the Harlem Renaissance in New York City. Until 1932 little was known about the volume of Haitian immigration because the U.S. government kept no records of Haitian immigration. From 1932 to 1950 only 5,544 Haitians entered the United States as immigrants. From 1959 to 1998, 375,938 Haitians entered the United States with permanent resident visas and 1,832,781 arrived with nonimmigrant or tourist visas. Until the 1980s many of the immigrants who arrived with tourist visas were able to regularize their status and become permanent residents and an unknown number of people still overstay their visas in their search for political and economic security.

Between 1971 and 1981 more then 60,000 Haitians arrived in southern Florida on small wooden sailboats. A large number of men, women, and children drowned while attempting to sail to the United States. Sometimes their bodies washed up on Florida's beaches, but this dramatic evidence of a people fleeing a repressive regime did not alter the U.S. policy of refusing Haitian refugees political asylum, placing them in detention camps, and deporting them. The refugees believed they were rejected because they were black and because the U.S. government supported the Duvalier dictatorship. Haitians were portrayed in the United States as impoverished, illiterate, and diseased and were labeled "boat people." Those negative images ignored the diverse composition of the refugee population and the Haitian communities in the United States and the presence of a middle class.

The U.S. government's treatment of Haitian refugees led to mass demonstrations by Haitians, class action suits by American civil rights advocates, and increasing pressure by the Congressional Black Caucus. In 1980 U.S. public attention focused on Haitian immigration when within a few months 12,500 Haitians and 125,000 Cubans arrived on small boats in southern Florida. As a result, the Carter administration was forced to grant temporary admittance to both Haitian and Cuban refugees by creating a special Cuban-Haitian Entrant Status. The practice of deporting Haitians and denying them refugee status continued under the Reagan and Bush administrations. In addition, the U.S. Coast Guard began to stop Haitian boats at sea and return refugees to Haiti.

The 1990 election of Jean Betrand Aristide to lead the first democratic government in Haitian history helped slow the migration. When a military coup of generals with connections to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) overthrew Aristide, Haitians again began to flee to the United States. Most of those individuals were apprehended before they could reach the United States and were returned to Haiti to face the retribution of the military government. In 1994 the INS processed 10,400 applications of persons who filed for refugee status but approved only 18 percent of those applications. The flight of refugees abated when Aristide was restored to his presidential position. However, by the year 2000, Haitians were again risking their lives by boarding small wooden boats to flee their homeland. This time they

fled the political violence of forces maneuvering for power, and the growth of despair and crime that has accompanied economic globalization in Haiti.

The Haitian migrations of the 1950s and 1960s included members of the upper class as well as entrepreneurs, professionals, and skilled workers. Among those who arrived during that period was a relatively large contingent of affluent mulatto families as well as prominent members of the political class. The majority of those immigrants were urbanites, with most coming from Port-au-Prince, the capital. As political and economic conditions continued to deteriorate in Haiti from the 1960s to the 1990s, the social base of the migration broadened. First came Haitians who had been born in rural villages or in towns but had lived in Port-au-Prince, followed by people coming directly from rural areas. Many in the latter group had fewer skills and less education and money than the first ; als.

Settlements

The New York City metropolitan area was the first region of dense Haitian settlement, and in 1993 more than one-third of newly arrived Haitian immigrants continued to settle there. Another third of the newly arrived immigrants settled in Miami or other cities and towns in southern Florida. Boston, Massachusetts; Newark, New Jersey; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Orlando, Florida; and Washington, DC, also have sizable Haitian settlements. However, Haitian immigrants have been willing to settle wherever they can find employment, including cities in California and Illinois. Almost all Haitian settlements are in urban area, although in the 1980s many Haitian immigrants were migrant farm workers. Haitians also settled in areas such as Belle Glade, Florida, and worked in agricultural areas along the East Coast.

Economy

Subsistence. Haitians tend to enter the work force as low-paid wage earners who work long hours, often without benefits. Haitians as a group have a high level of employment. Women are employed almost as frequently as men. In 1990, 34 percent of the Haitian American population worked in service occupations, 21 percent as factory operatives, 21 percent as clerical or technical workers, 9 percent as professionals, 5 percent as managers, and 3 percent as farm workers. In New York Haitians work in industries such as health care, hotels, office cleaning, and transport services. Women in particular work in the home health care industry. Haitians participate actively in trade union activities in the hospital and hotel industries. The Haitian immigrant population is more highly educated than is the Haitian population as a whole.

Because of Haiti's weak economy, further impoverished by political corruption and repression, many doctors, lawyers, engineers, and teachers are unable to find employment or obtain a decent standard of living in Haiti and are forced to migrate. During their first years of settlement in the United States many of these professionals experience downward mobility, impeded by linguistic and racial barriers. However, most Haitian immigrants with a professional education eventually are able to join the American middle class. Beginning in the 1980s, when it became more difficult for foreign-trained medical personnel to obtain U.S. certification, Haitian doctors and nurses faced increased barriers to obtaining credentials.

Education continues to be a goal of Haitians after they migrate, and adults often attend school while working full-time. The 1990 U.S. Census reported that 41 percent of Haitian immigrants have less than a high school education, 48 percent have at least a high school education, and 11 percent have a college degree. Women are about as likely as men to obtain a high school or college education. Among Haitians with a professional degree, 63 percent are men. The second generation includes a sector of young professionals who earn high incomes as lawyers, computer specialists, accountants, and financial analysts. Other members of this generation drop out, discouraged by the lack of resources and opportunities provided by inner city schools

Individual income is low, averaging $11,894 in 1989, with 21 percent of families earning an income below the poverty line. However, the presence in households of several adult wage earners often allows households to pool resources; the mean household income in 1989 was $32,161.

Haitian immigrants are among the growing number of immigrants in the United States who live transnational lives. They have settled permanently in the United States yet maintain strong ties to Haiti, which they still call "home." Haitian people of all class backgrounds live their lives across national borders, connected to family, friends, business associates, and political movements in Haiti. Most Haitians do not arrive in family groups but through chain migration. The immigration of one member of a family household is made possible through a pooling of the resource of those left behind. The immigrant then uses his or her wages to sustain family members still in Haiti and provide money for the migration of other members of the family. Until changes in the immigration law in the 1980s women often migrated first because they could obtain permanent resident status by working as domestics. Remittances from Haitian immigrants sustain households throughout Haiti. As an unemployed man in Haiti put it, "When someone is in the United States, he is the wealth of people here."

Commercial Activities. Neighborhoods of dense Haitian settlement in Brooklyn and Miami provide a base for small businesses, including record stores, travel agencies, restaurants, grocery stores, bakeries, and barber and beauty shops. Haitian doctors and dentists provide services for a Haitian clientele. The reduction in the number of manufacturing jobs, racial discrimination, and the difficulties they face in obtaining legal documentation force many immigrants to begin small informal businesses. Vans operated by male drivers offer regular and inexpensive transportation services in areas with large concentrations of immigrants. Women cater parties, weddings, and other social events, and their living rooms are transformed into day care centers. People sell goods imported from Haiti from their homes; and earn money from dressmaking, tailoring, and repairing automobiles; and obtain commissions by transporting cash to Haiti. Haitian businesses that focus on financial services and the flow *of* money, cargo, and travelers across international borders have been growing in size and significance. The services provided include insurance, accounting, and the transfer of remittances and investments to Haiti. The largest businesses are cash transfer firms that send money and packages to Haiti as part

of the ongoing pattern of maintaining transnational connections. By 1990 remittances sent through money transfer businesses totaled $125 million, which constituted about 30 percent of Haitian state revenue.

Division of Labor. An equal number of Haitian women and men have migrated to the United States. The degree to which Haitian women feel that migration has improved their lives depends on a number of factors, including their class background in Haiti and whether they have been able to obtain an education or employment security in the United States. Most adult women work, and women find that they virtually have two full-time jobs since they also are responsible for housework and childcare. Haitian men have been slow to contribute to the housework, although younger men do some cleaning and child rearing. Women often find their lives much more difficult in the United States because many had servants in Haiti. Some of the burden is relieved by having grandparents or other women in an extended family share the responsibilities of cooking and cleaning.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In Haiti, there are two forms of cohabitation, legal marriage and a common law for a partnership called *plasaj*. There are many historical explanations on the origin of plasaj. Some associate it with a cultural legacy from Africa, others with slavery. Plasaj may also designate a relationship of one man with many women. This is particularly found among the peasantry. In general, a rich peasant may have many mistresses who bear his children. Although historically this latter has always been an arrangement between a man from the upper social classes and poorer women, today in Haiti even poorer men may have relationships with women in several different households. There are also forms of union that do not entail coresidence but include sexual relations, produce children, and require the father to contribute some form of economic support.

In the United States, two-thirds of Haitian adults marry, and marriage is an important and socially prestigious relationship for people of all classes. Formal marriage is less common among poorer people, who favor common-law marriages. Marriage often is seen as a project of mutual interest between a man and a woman rather than a source of friendship. Couples are often divided over long periods when one spouse is able to migrate and uses the opportunity to support family back in Haiti.

Many changes occur in family patterns with immigration to the United States, particularly among members of the middle class. Increasingly, these people tend to see husbands and wives as companions, yet there is also an increased rate of divorce. Most Haitian immigrants marry other Haitians, although there has been some intermarriage with other Caribbeans, African Americans, and Euro Americans.

Domestic Unit. Households often include members of an extended family, including siblings, parents, aunts, uncles, and cousins of the husband and wife. Women rarely live alone with children. Extended kin beyond the household are important in the daily life of immigrant families. Kinship networks provide the primary support for Haitian immigrants when they resettle in the United States. Kin provide housing for new arrivals, assistance in finding housing and employment, and advice on American culture. After a newcomer is settled, an extended network of kin continues to provide companionship, assistance with childcare, and support in times of illness, job loss, or the death of a family member. Weekends often are spent at family gatherings. Husbands and wives often have their own kinship networks to which they look for support.

Socialization. In poorer families children sometimes are sent back to Haiti to be raised by grandparents or kin so that their parents can work full-time or hold more than one job. These separations are often painful for the parents and children but are seen as necessary for the survival of all the members of the family. Children usually are brought to the United States when they are teenagers so that they can learn English, attend an American high school, and obtain work. However, efforts are made to keep children within a Haitian family network because U.S. culture is seen as failing to teach children manners and respect for kin, elders, and teachers. Haitian children born or raised in the United States and living in inner-city neighborhoods interact most often with African American children and tend to adopt the cultural patterns of their peers, especially clothing and hairstyles. When they become young adults, second-generation Haitians often begin to use immigrant networks and family ties and may embrace some form of Haitian identity.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Haitian immigrants have formed a multiplicity of organizations. Participation in organized activities often helps them reestablish a network beyond family ties and provides social support. Haitian organizations also are an arena in which social status can be obtained or validated both in the United States and in Haiti. Organizations tend to be based in a single locality in which Haitians have settled rather than being regional or national. However, many organizations in the United States carry out activities in Haiti. Those organizations include soccer clubs and leagues; Masonic temples; associations of doctors, nurses, and other professionals; associations of artists, including dance troupes and theatrical groups; political organizations; Protestant churches; community organizations; and hometown associations. Many community organizations were established with the assistance of U.S. philanthropic organizations or churches and have been dependent on financial assistance from those sources. The services they have provided to assist newcomers include literacy classes, English classes, and counseling on immigrants' rights. In contrast, hometown associations, which are often called "regional associations," unite people from the same village, town, or city in Haiti to organize activities to assist people "back home." Funds are raised for projects that include clinics, electrification, cemetery reconstruction, and literacy assistance.

Political Organization.

In 1991 the Aristide government formally recognized the familial, economic, religious, social, and political ties between Haitians in the United States and people in Haiti. The territory of the Haitian state is divided into nine geographic divisions called departments. Haitians in the United States were designated part of ``the Tenth Department." By implication, the diaspora became part of the Haitian state. The des-

ignation of the Tenth Department gave public recognition to the fact that Haitian immigrants have participated in political processes that affect Haiti through lobbying, demonstrating, and organizing in the United States. Increasing numbers of Haitians have decided to become U.S. citizens. In the 1990s 102,304 people born in Haiti became naturalized citizens of the United States.

There has been increasing participation in the U.S. political process. South Florida is leading that trend with the election of increasing numbers of Haitian political leaders, including mayors. Both Miami and Rockland County in New York have elected a Haitian judge, and Massachusetts has elected a Haitian state representative.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Most Haitian immigrants self-identify as Catholics. Catholic parishes in areas of significant Haitian settlement, such as New York, New Jersey, Miami, and Chicago, have recruited Haitian priests. Haitian drummers and Haitian music often accompany the celebration of Mass in Kreyol. Haitian immigrants have formed lay organizations to support the Church and have looked to Catholic agencies such as Catholic Charities to provide assistance in settlement. In Haiti many more women attend Mass on a regular basis, but in the United States men have begun to participate regularly in church services. Haitian Catholic priests emerged as important community leaders in efforts to establish a democratic government in Haiti and contributed to the building of transnational political movements and efforts to raise money for literacy campaigns in Haiti. Catholic youth groups have become an important component of community life and provide support for young people who want to express a Haitian identity within an American context.

A growing minority of Haitians both in Haiti and among immigrants belong to Protestant congregations that include Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Methodists, and the Church of God (Eglise de Dieu). At first Haitians joined multiethnic congregations, but in many instances they were assisted by Protestant church organizations in establishing separate Haitian churches headed by Haitian ministers. Some of these congregations meet in established church buildings; others use storefronts. Haitian forms of healing using Protestant prayers and the assistance of *bon an]* (good souls) are practiced by some Haitian Protestants. Protestant churches have assisted in immigrant settlement, providing health fairs, employment assistance, and English classes. Some congregations are linked to churches in Haiti and send money for community health projects and schools there. In general these congregations have kept their distance from Haitian politics.

Ceremonies. The set of religious beliefs that Haitians call "serving the spirits," scholars refer to as Vodun or Vodou, and the U.S. media label voodoo is practiced in the United States. Services are held in the home of the priest or priestess and often last through the night. In New York the basement of a private house often is converted to a place of worship. Singing is accompanied by the use of three drums. The spirits speak through the initiates, who go into a trance and provide guidance, comfort, and healing for immigrants who must deal with the difficulties of adjusting to a new life. Women and men of all generations as well as children participate. Because their practice of serving the spirits has been misunderstood and distorted by the media, most Haitians are reluctant to talk about their knowledge of Vodou. Children learn not to speak about their experiences in public. Vodou also fosters transnational connections. Some believers return to Haiti for initiation or to fulfill responsibilities to the spirits. In public Vodou priests tend to be more prominent than priestesses, while in private women may predominate.

Arts. Haitian painting has achieved an international reputation, and Haitian artists who have settled in the United States have continued this tradition. Because Haiti is linked in the public mind with a "naive" style of brightly colored paintings depicting the Haitian countryside and vodou celebrations, artists who wish to pursue other styles or work in other media have had difficulty finding a place for their productions. Ritual objects such as embroidered and sequin-covered flags depicting spirits have been recognized as an art form and displayed in American museums.

Since the beginning of large-scale migration bands from Haiti have toured in the United States, and recordings of their music are available in Haitian stores. The Haitian music industry has become transnational so that recording for audiocassettes or videos may be done in Haiti while production takes place in the United States. Older forms of dance music, such as minijazz and *compas,* with lyrics focused on male-female relationships, are being replaced by a "roots movement" in Haiti and among Haitian musicians in the United States. This music incorporates Vodou rhythms and melodies into an exuberant style that combines an awareness of Haitian suffering with the joy of resistance. Some of the newer bands include Haitians born in the United States. This newer music has been played on world beat radio programs and in urban dance clubs. *Rara* music, traditionally a peasant Vodun style in which bands take to the streets during Lent, has begun to be performed in parks in New York during the summer. Haitian immigrants with a middle-class background who know little about peasant culture become acquainted with their cultural heritage through the performance of "roots movement" music, including the transformed rara.

For the original article on Haitians, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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NINA GLICK SCHILLER AND CAROLLE CHARLES

Hazara

ETHNONYMS: Berberís, Khawaris, Sayyeds, Hazara Sayyeds

Orientation

Identification and Location. Hazaras are also known in Iran as Berberís or Khawaris. There is a subtribe of the Chahar Aimaq known as Hazara and it is Sunni, unlike most Hazaras who are Shi'ite. Other groups believed to be related to the Hazaras but identified by other names are Taimanis and Tatars. Taimanis were formerly clustered on the eastern and western peripheries of Hazara territories; those in the west have in the twentieth century been associated with the Aimaq. The Tatars (sometimes "Tajiks") of Kahmard and Sayghan were formerly known as Hazara Tatars and retain phenotypic and cultural similarities with the Hazaras; they are now Sunnis. The Moghuls of Ghor may also be related to the Hazaras. Among the Hazaras, and culturally indistinguishable from them, are "Sayyeds" (or "Hazara Sayyeds") who claim descent from Muhammad.

Hazaras are a Mongoloid people historically associated with the Hazarajat of central Afghanistan, once known as Barbaristan and later as Gharjistan; they are now dispersed in neighboring countries. The Hazarajat has been shrinking over the last hundred years. Currently it includes all of Bāmiān Province and the western portions of Ghazni and Wardak provinces and the northern portion of Uruzgān.

Hazaras are also found in Baghlān, Samāngan, Balkh, Jawzjān and Qala-y Naw; there are perhaps as many as four million Hazara refugees in the neighboring countries of Iran and Pakistan. Although their traditional homelands are rural there are large numbers of Hazaras in the Afghanistan cities of Kabul (200,000 to 300,000), Mazār-i Sharif (200,000), and Pul-i Khumrī (250,000), and also in Mashhad, Iran (400,000), and Quetta, Pakistan (500,000).

Demography. Early in the 1980s the number of Mousavi (the Hazaras of Afghanistan) was estimated to be less than a million; in 1998 Mousavi believed their number, including those in neighboring countries, to be four million, and in 2001 it may have reached 7.5 million. Details on their growth rate are vague, but it may exceed 3 percent. The average Hazara woman is said to give birth to seven children, two of whom are likely die before the age of five.

Linguistic Affiliation. Hazaras speak a dialect of Persian known as Hazaragi, notable for its relatively high number of Mongol and Turkic words. Persian is in the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family.

History and Cultural Relations

The origins of the Hazaras are obscure. They seem to be an amalgam of mainly two types of peoples, the Indo-Iranian peoples long ensconced in this region (Tajiks, Persians) and the various Mongol-Turkic peoples who have entered this region for thousands of years. Mousavi argue on several grounds, including the images on the Bāmiān frescos, that a strongly Mongol-Turkic people scarcely different in appearance from the modern Hazaras was already present in this area more than two thousand years ago. Culturally these peoples have been Persianizing for several hundred years. The term *hazār* ("thousand") seems to be a Persianized form of the Mongol word *minggan* ("thousand"), which could designate a fighting unit, or at least a "tribe" able to field a force of that size.

By the fifteenth century the term Hazara meant a "mountain tribe," a shift in meaning corresponding to a retreat into the mountains of the Hazarajat owing to pressure from other groups: on the south and west by Pushtun (Afghan) tribes, and on the north by Turkmen, Uzbeks, and Tajiks.

In the nineteenth century the Afghan rulers pushed their influence more firmly into the Hazarajat, although initially only in the form of minor tribute demands. When Abdul Rahman took power in Kabul in 1880 the Hazara Mirs generally supported his struggle against his Afghan challengers, supposing that they would continue as before. But once the Amir was firmly established he began to increase his demands on them. Because some Sheikh Ali Hazaras had supported the rebellion of the Amir's cousin Ishaq Khan in 1888 the Amir required much larger payments, and in 1890 the Sheikh Alis rebelled. After the rebellion was crushed the Amir introduced oppressive measures in many parts of the Hazarajat, and his troops and officials abused their powers. An outraged group of Hazaras rebelled in the spring of 1892 and support came quickly from other Hazaras as well as from the Uzbeks of Maimana and Hazaras from Kabul. The Amir sought help from Sunni clergy who authorized an all-out religious *jihad* against the "godless" Shi'a; the Amir himself promising land, wealth, and women as a reward to those who

joined. A massive army quenched the rebellion, with difficulty, late in 1893.

The defeat of the Hazaras was total. Several tribes were wiped out (Zavoli, Sultan Ahman, and Ajristan) and the ruling elite of virtually all the tribes were either killed or carried off. The traditional hierarchical structures and the domination of the Hazara Mirs were eliminated and their administrative powers were given to "maliks" or "arbābs, " appointed (usually with some community approval) by the government. As many as half of the population were killed or dispersed into the neighboring countries of Iran (mainly Mashhad), British India (Quetta), and Czarist Russia (Bukhara). Prior to the war the bulk of all Hazaras lived the Hazarajat, but their dispersal created expatriate communities that would develop their own distinct traditions. Within the Hazarajat, new rights of pasturage were given to the Pushtun pastoralists who had participated in the war against the Hazaras, and they herded their flocks into the lush highland glens and meadows of the Hazarajat every summer. The Hazaras have been the most despised and oppressed people in Afghanistan since that time. Even into the 1970s Sunni Pushtun clerics were teaching that killing Hazaras was a religious service.

During the anti-Communist war of 1980 to 1992 the Hazaras took an active part on both sides. The Communists gave important positions to Hazaras in their administration and Hazaras in Kabul were treated more equitably than ever before. In Bāghlān Sayyed Mansur Nadiri, head of the Isma'ilis, took the side of the government. But unlike the urban Hazaras and the Isma'ili Hazaras the Shi'ite peoples of the Hazarajat sided with the anti-communists. When Pakistan established the military organizations to oppose the Afghan Communists it ignored the Hazara and Shi'a peoples, but many Hazara organizations formed independently. The most notable early resistance organization of the Hazaras was the Shurā-i Ittifāq-i Islāmī ("Unity Council of the Islamic Revolution") headed by Sayyed Ali Behishti and a group of notable Shi'ite clerics and elders.

In the period 1983-1989 the attempts of Iran to influence these resistance activities created havoc in the Hazarajat. Frustrated with the independence of the Shura organization the Iranians supported Sāzmān-i Nasr, but eventually gave up on that party, forming instead an Afghanistan version of their own Sepāh-i Pasdarān. These and other Hazara parties fought for dominance. Thousands of Hazaras were killed and others were obliged to flee to Kabul and Pakistan and Iran. Eventually an alliance of several parties was formed in 1987 but failed because of the continued influence of Iran. Finally, in 1989 the totally independent *Hizb-i Wahdat* Hazara party was instituted in Bāmiān and by 1992 virtually all the Hazara resistance groups had joined it.

During this period a strong nationalistic consciousness took form among the Hazaras, expressed notably in the writings of Muhammad Isa Gharjistani and in the preaching of Abdul Ali Mazarí. This nationalistic awareness was enhanced by the strategic importance the Hazarajat gained for resistance parties during the war, as it was the nexus of the off-road traffic that nourished their activities. Also, the rise of armed groups among the Hazaras during the war restrained the Pushtun nomads from entering the region during the summer months so that the Hazaras reclaimed the summer pasturage. The Hazarajat flourished during the latter 1980s.

In August 1992 when the Communist government collapsed the Tajik dominated party, Jamiat-i Islami, took over the government in Kabul. At this time there was a large concentration of Hazaras in West Kabul—indeed the Hazaras believed they constituted nearly half the total population of the city. Tensions arose between the Jamiat government and the Hazaras, who had been shut out of the administrative coalition, and fighting broke out in May 1992. Eventually several Sunni dominated parties took the side of Wahdat. According to Hazara sources the defeat of this coalition in 1995 was caused by involvement of a new force, the Taliban. The Taliban were opposed to the Tajiks, but they failed to hold their own against the Tajiks, and at the same time they sought to disarm the Hazaras. After the Wahdat forces withdrew from Kabul, their leader, Abdul Ali Mazarí, was captured and killed by the Taliban.

The Taliban turned out to be intensely opposed to the Shi'a and at times deliberately sought to exterminate them. The clashes between them could only be called "ethnic cleansing. " In May 1997 when Taliban troops entered Mazār-i Sharīf Hazaras and Uzbek militias cut them down, killing perhaps as many as three thousand. In August 1998 the Taliban returned to Mazār-i Sharif and took their revenge by killing two to five thousand civilians, mostly Shi'ite Hazaras. They later seized Baghlān and Bāmiān. In the period from 1997 to 2001 there were frequent and bloody battles between Hazara forces and the Taliban in Yak Awlang.

The Hazaras are and have generally been poor. In addition to the hardships brought on by the political disruptions there have been severe droughts. A drought in the 1970s forced many Hazaras to flee to the cities. Also, in the period from 1998 to 2001 a drought in much of Central and South Asia owing to weak snows on the Hindu Kush and Himalayas devastated the Hazarajat, and another wave of Hazaras fled. By 2001 Iran and Pakistan were trying to restrain the flow of refugees, many of them Hazara, into their countries.

Settlements

Hamlets *(āghel)* containing several joint households are constructed on the edge of irrigable land. Normally members of a hamlet are related through the male line; they also venerate the same religious authority and share and help each other; there are, however, some exceptions in which even small hamlets are riven by sectarian and other rivalries. Some communities occupy fortresses *(qalā)*, which perhaps reflect earlier attempts to protect themselves from slavers who raided the Hazarajat until late in the nineteenth century.

Economy

Subsistence. The mountainous terrain of the Hindu Kush is favorable for transhumance and it is evident that in medieval times the Hazaras were mainly dependent on animal husbandry, grazing their flocks in the surrounding lowlands, mostly to the south of Koh-i Baba, in winter and in the highland glens and meadows of the range in summer. They kept flocks of sheep and goats and raised horses for fighting. In the modern period, after their defeat by Amir Abdul Rahman in late nineteenth century those who remained in the Hazarajat became more dependent on agriculture. They live mainly by irrigating grain crops and keeping a few sheep and goats as

well as a draft animal. Where the terrain allows, families move into the highlands with their flocks in summer, where they live in zyurts.

The most important yields come from irrigation but wherever possible the people also cultivate dry lands. The most important products are wheat and barley; where necessary these grains are rotated with fava bean. Milk products are the main sources of protein.

Commercial Activities. Carpets, gilams, and woven gloves and mittens have been produced for western consumption. Wheat is the main cash crop, although poplar trees, used in construction, have also been grown as a cash crop.

Industrial Arts. Wool is a source of fiber, woven by the women into a heavy woolen cloth called *barak,* prized not only in Afghanistan but also elsewhere. Wool is also used for carpets, rugs, and spreads; they also make felt for the floors and for their temporary yurts.

Division of Labor. Everyone in the household works in the fields at different times. Women and children help with the weeding. Men do the plowing and gathering of brush for burning. All the housework is done by the women. Children shepherd the sheep and goats.

Land Tenure. Pasturage rights are collective, belonging to members of the whole community or sometimes to several closely-related communities in a single valley. Rights to tillable land normally fall to the sons.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Hazaras reckon rights and status of authority by the father's line. A hierarchical bias of the society is indicated in the terminological distinction between older and younger siblings. In the past the patrilineages were ranked putatively by order of the apical ancestors' births and the dominant lineage was headed by a Mir or *Beg,* The ranking of lineages and individuals must once traditionally have favored a relatively ``deep" memory of descent lines, at least among those of higher status, but the removal of the top echelons of Hazara leadership after the Hazara-Afghan war of 1890-1893 reduced the significance of deep kinship connections; by the 1960s many of the younger generation could name no ancestors further back than their grandparents.

Kinship Terminology. Basic distinctions are made between agnates and affines, and between older and younger siblings. Normally everyone in a community, except for the women who have married in, is by some means reckoned a kinsman on the father's side. The distinction between older and younger siblings is recognized in ego's generation only. Older relatives are addressed by a kinship term, younger ones by name. Older persons in the first ascending generation in the community are addressed as a relative on the father's side (father's brother, father's sister, father's brother's wife). Older relatives two generations removed are addressed as "grandfather" or "grandmother."

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage to a cousin on the father's side is considered desirable. First cousin marriage is allowed; intracommunity marriages are fairly frequent (about 40 percent in one community) in order to avoid dispersing land rights to outsiders. First rights to marry a girl born in a community fall to men within the community, that is, to her close agnates. First rights to a widow fall to the close agnates of her husband. Polygyny is feasible for the wealthy.

Domestic Unit. The basic unit in Hazara society is the patrilineal patrilocal joint household, which may consist of relatives of many sorts. In the Hazarajat this unit normally occupies a single dwelling and jointly owns the livestock, land, and equipment. Families who are able build *awlīs* for themselves—dwellings consisting of several rooms, usually one for each nuclear family unit, plus a room for cooking; they also enclose a courtyard that shields from the outside. Among those able to afford it there is also a *memān khāna* ("guest room"), where visitors are entertained and, if they stay overnight, sleep. In winter the whole household may occupy the kitchen, where the oven, built into the floor, provides heat. Less well off families live in a single room, the kitchen. Houses often have two stories, and the animals are kept downstairs during the severe winters.

Inheritance. According to Hanafi law property should fall to the children, the sons receiving twice that of daughters. In practice land was often claimed only by sons, although daughters sometimes complained to a judge who might honor their claim.

Socialization. In the latter part of the twentieth century the Hazaras distinguished themselves by their interest in education. During the Communist period (1978-1992) they came to see education as a way to advance their place in society, and they increased the number of their schools, including schools for girls. Funds for the schools are raised internally and internationally. The curriculum is wider than that of the Sunni madrassas, including, where possible (for instance, in Pakistan), English and computers. There are several Hazara nongovernmental organizations that, along with the mosques, foster development and education.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Formerly the society was dominated by Mirs, heads of the dominant lineages, who in many ways were able to control and subjugate the ordinary Hazaras. But the Hazara-Afghan wars of 1890-1893 resulted in the complete removal of the dominate elite. The Mirs were replaced by representatives, maliks or arbābs, whose powers were gradually reduced.

A Hazara intelligentsia flourished during the Communist period, but after the collapse of that regime, most of them fled to neighboring countries. They have strong nationalistic ambitions that have been frustrated. Some are Iranian-backed mullahs, but there has been a move away from Iranian influence. The condition of the Hazaras, once so promising, became tragic in the twenty-first century, because of war and drought.

Political Organization. The wars of the 1980s and 1990s produced another kind of leader, a warlord, whose powers were based on the ability to muster military support. His power was partly personal but also circumstantial, as it entailed not only the ability to gain and keep loyal followers, but also to obtain military supplies. The coalitions that

formed around these men were often affected by personal and family loyalties.

Social Control. One of the reasons for the notorious internal feuding among the Hazaras is the tendency for the interests of cousins to clash. Cousins often inherit land once held by a common ancestor, but in the division there can be disputes, as there is no cadastral survey and the boundaries are rarely precise. Cousins also often compete for wives in a field that is always short of girls because of the practice of polygyny.

Conflict. Despite this feuding, Hazaras tend to stand together against their historic enemies, the Pushtuns. There have been mortal clashes between these ethnic types for generations and the conflicts of the late twentieth century generated deep grudges. The Taliban, who are mainly Pushtun, have made Pushtun ethnicity and Sunnism a defining feature and have in some instances sought to exterminate the Hazaras.

In other countries the Hazaras have faired little better than they have inside Afghanistan. Even those who have been in Pakistan for one hundred years are still regarded as outsiders. In the early twenty-first century newly arrived Hazaras had no legal standing and were singled out and persecuted in Peshawar and Karachi, although the influence of Prince Karim Aga Khan in the twenty-first century helped protect the Isma'ili Hazaras. Iran has been dependent on Hazara laborers in the construction industry but the local population has come to resent them because they accept lower wages. In the twenty-first century they were being forced back into Afghanistan.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Most Hazaras are Shi'a. Perhaps 5 percent are Sunni and 1 percent is Isma'ili. The Sunni Hazaras are mostly from Sheikh Ali, Qunduz and Qalay-Naw. The Hazara Isma'ilis are mostly from Wardak, Parwān, and Baghlān; they have a strong presence in Kabul, Karachi, and Rawalpindi. Since the 1980s a small number of Hazaras have espoused Christianity.

Religious Practitioners. Hazara Sayyeds in the past were important but seem to have been relegated to a less prominent status in the war years (after an initial prominence in the Shura party). The Shi'ite clergy looked to Iran for leadership and many of them have studied in Qum and Mashhad. Ayatollah Khomeini was popular among the Hazaras when he came to power but his influence declined after the rise of Abdul Ali Mazarí, who promoted a Hazara nationalism that offended Iran. Isma'ilis pledge allegiance to Karim Aga Khan, their forty-ninth Imam.

Ceremonies. Hazaras celebrate some rites of childhood but not the birth of a child, as child mortality is so high. Women celebrate the appearance of the first tooth. A child's first year of life is marked by shaving the head. Circumcision is prescribed for all males prior to their participating in the Islamic prayers; the rite is normally performed between the ages of one and five and often in the fall of the year. Marriage is marked by a series of gatherings, one to celebrate the engagement ("shirinī khorī"), one to mark a continued commitment to marriage that may not be consummated for some time ("toykhorī"), and the marriage ceremony itself, done according to Islamic formulas. Religious holidays are observed according to Islamic stipulations.

Arts. Women are especially adept at embroidering. They make and wear colorfully embroidered hats, and their "distarkhāns" (a cloth on which food is spread) exhibit especially fine workmanship.

Medicine. Forms of curing follow Islamic traditions of treatment. Hazaras traditionally believe that charms prepared by their Sayyeds will cure diseases. They also believe that some of them can divine the future.

Death and Afterlife. Hazaras as Muslims accept the Islamic teachings about death and the afterlife and follow common rituals of burial.

For the original article on the Hazara, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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ROBERT L. CANFIELD

Hehe

ETHNONYMS: Wahehe

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Hehe occupy portions of the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, at about 8° S in the Iringa and Mufindi areas of the Iringa region. The northern border lies along the Great Ruaha River at an elevation of about 2,460 feet (750 meters). The country rises through rolling grasslands to a southern border with elevations over 5,900 feet (1,800 meters) along the Kilombero-Uzungwa scarp.

Demography. It is difficult to estimate the current population because ethnic affiliation was not included in the first postcolonial census. In the last colonial census (1957) the Hehe totaled about two hundred thousand. The 1988 census indicated an Iringa region total of just over one million. This number fits the national estimated growth rate of 2.8 percent year but does not include the Hehe alone.

Linguistic Affiliation. Hehe is a Bantu language self-identified as *KiHehe* and closely related to the neighboring *KiBena,* with which it is generally mutually intelligible. Kihehe and KiBena are clustered together with the Sangu, Kinga, Wanji, and Kisi languages.

History and Cultural Relations

Western reference to the Hehe began with Richard Francis Burton's brief mention of the group in 1857. This was hearsay, since he and John Hanning Speke traveled north of Uhehe along the central caravan route. Hehe traditions begin with migrations from the southwest at an unknown date, involving several different groups that are named for their leading families. They spoke a common language but maintained political independence. It is likely that they were affected by the northward movement of the Ngoni, who reached southwestern Tanzania in the early 1840s. The highly predatory organization of Ngoni age regiments and the incorporation of defeated peoples generated a broad reorganization of warfare and politics in the area. The Sangu were the first of the newly consolidated states that resulted from this impact.

Sangu power created a reaction in the Iringa Plateau, where the Muyinga clan under Munyigumba (also called Muyugumba and Mui'gumbi) consolidated a centralized and aggressive Hehe state around 1860. Wars of consolidation among the Hehe and against the Sangu and the Ngoni became a way of life and continued under Mkwawa (also known as Mahinya), the son of Munyigumba, who succeeded his father in about 1879. The organization of the Hehe seems to have been patterned on the Sangu version of Ngoni social and cultural forms, including age regiments under the command of local leaders. The age regiments were named, possessed praise names (certain of the earliest names are Sangu), were armed with short spears and shields, and fought in highly disciplined close formations.

The ambitions of Mkwawa and his lieutenants made the Hehe a powerful force in the region by 1890, when German incursions began. German authorities sent troops to end Hehe raids on caravans in 1891. The defeat of those troops led to a war that lasted until the death of Mkwawa in 1898.

The incorporation of the Hehe into the German colony followed. The role of the Hehe in a stable colonial administration was not lost on the British when they took control of Tanganyika in 1919. When the British introduced indirect rule in 1925, the Hehe state received recognition through the installation of Sapi, a direct descendent of Mkwawa, as "Chief" or head of the Hehe Native Authority, with and the *Vanzagila* (Lords) as "Sub-Chiefs," a set of native courts corresponding to those jurisdictions, and a native treasury with the power to collect a head tax.

Sweeping political and administrative changes were instituted after independence in Tanzania in 1961. Chiefship was abolished, and tribal affiliation lost the key role it had played in the administrative system of British colonial rule. Those affiliations have not been forgotten, and the Hehe language has not been abandoned, although Swahili is the language of the schools. Age regiments had disappeared long before independence, and the initiation of young men, many marriage forms, and a host of mortuary customs have been abandoned or are considered oldfashioned or rural by many people.

Settlements

Nineteenth-century European travelers described the Hehe region as lightly occupied and dominated by cattle keeping and temporary settlements. By 1990 the central regions were nearly fully occupied by fields and homesteads, pasture, and fallow lands. A goal of the government during the mid-1970s was to create compact communities everywhere to facilitate the delivery of services and increase political participation. After that initiative settlements varied from house rows to scattered farmsteads, depending on government planning, terrain, and proximity to streams, main roads, and urban areas, among other factors. Regardless of their form, these settlements are often called villages in the literature.

The old-style house is rectangular in form and built of mud, consisting of three to four rooms connected by interior doorways. It may grow as a family grows, adding an ell at each end to form a U shape. If a family is very large, it may form a square with a central courtyard. Conical granaries of wattle and daub construction, an open-sided kitchen, an enclosure for livestock and a small house for adolescent boys complete the homestead. Such homesteads were the center of diversified family farms in the past and served as an expression of the development of those families. Population growth, eco-

nomic change, and migration have led to variations that depart greatly from this pattern.

Economy

Subsistence. Mixed farming and stock keeping have been the primary goal of most Hehe since the beginning of the colonial era. Travelers described them as cattle herders in the late nineteenth century but noted that the women cultivated millet and suggested that raiding rather than breeding kept up the herd sizes. Farming ranges from bare subsistence in areas where rainfall is very low to good returns in well-manured fields in areas where rainfall is higher and livestock is kept. The most important change has been the engagement of men in all aspects of cultivation. Manuring of fields is now a major purpose of livestock keeping. Maize became more important than millet by 1930, and many other crops have become important in certain ecological zones.

Industrial Arts. Blacksmithing is said to have been learned from the Kinga, and iron was smelted in Ubena and traded. Smiths were also woodworkers, making hafts for metal tools and weapons. Weaving of mats and baskets and cordage making are widely practiced. Pottery making was important in areas where suitable clay could be found, but pottery has been displaced by the use of plastic and metal containers.

Trade. Salt and iron are said to have come from Ubena, and salt also was obtained from the north. Travelers in the middle of the nineteenth century complained about the difficulties of traversing the highland country and obtaining supplies there and attributed that situation to a Hehe lack of grain and lack of interest in exchanging the little grain they had for the goods of the travelers. Nevertheless, Mkwawa conducted military campaigns against the caravan route along the Ruaha River.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, there was a gender-based division of labor in which men and boys did the herding and milking while women cultivated and did the cooking, grain milling, and brewing. Men lopped the trees and brush, piled the cuttings, and burned them; women planted millet, beans, and squash in the ashes. Although men still cut trees in areas where there is land to be cleared, both sexes have cultivated for many years. Work parties for house building and field opening once were common but have become rare.

Land Tenure. Traditions assert that the king allocated all land, although in practice he delegated that power to his subchiefs. In that system sons might expect to be given land by their fathers at marriage, but that required witnessing by the subchief to formalize the gift. Under colonial rule the subordinate of the subchief, termed in Swahili the *Jumbe,* allocated land or witnessed suballocations. As land became scarce in favored locations, lending of land between friends without the presence of witnesses grew. Disputes between friends or the sons of friends made those transactions perilous. Rental of land (with witnesses) is widespread, particularly as a means for non-Hehe to gain land use. Women are allocated land by their husbands and have full rights to the harvest from that land. Standing crops and planted trees belong to the person who planted them. Land sale occurs in areas where lands were alienated under colonialism.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. A person is a member of both an agnatic kin group *(Mulongo)* and a localized bilateral kindred *(Lukolo).* Patrilineages are relatively shallow with the exception of chiefly lineages. Their main functions are ritual enactments such as marriage and mourning, avoidances connected with totemic animals and plants, and, in the past, judicial proceedings. Cross-cousin marriage is considered desirable but is no longer common. The mother's brother has obligations to the sister's son, and this bond emerges in the local group.

Kinship Terminology. The father, the father's brother, and more distant structural equivalents are grouped. The father's sister and the mother's brother are distinguished. The mother, the mother's sister, and structural equivalents are grouped. Parallel cousins and own siblings are grouped but are distinguished by seniority. Cross cousins are terminologically grouped and distinguished from siblings, and no seniority is denoted. The wife's sister and the husband's brother are addressed by same terms used to address spouses. Grandparents are grouped and differentiated by gender only.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In the past, betrothal was arranged at an early age for girls and for some boys but cohabitation often was delayed for many years. Polygyny was common, and the marriage age was late for men. Residence is virilocal and often is in the neighborhood *(lukolo).* The transfer of livestock at marriage was practiced only by chiefly families until the death of Mkwawa in 1898. Inflation in such transfers and then the replacement of stock by money followed. Brides are not incorporated in the groom's lineage and usually are called by the name of their own lineage with the feminine prefix Se. Cross-cousin marriage, although favored, required an extra payment "to cut the family." The levirate and the sororate once were practiced but have become virtually extinct.

Domestic Unit. The nuclear family is the primary unit. Full marriage traditionally required payments between the lineages, the construction of a house, and the allocation of fields to the bride. In polygynous marriage separate rooms in a longhouse rather than a separate house was deemed acceptable. Cohabitation over a long period without payments between lineages is accepted as a marriage form that legitimates children and establishes rights of inheritance.

Inheritance. Land was not inherited in the past but it was the prerogative of chiefs to allocate as they saw fit. As land scarcity increased in some areas, chiefs simply witnessed allocations that fathers made to their sons. Father-to-son inheritance became common by the 1950s, with precedence established by birth order, although residence on the land privileges a younger son in relation to an absent older son. Movable property, including livestock, is inherited one item at a time by birth order among the sons. In a family without sons, daughters inherit, and daughters inherit the property of the mother, including livestock.

Socialization. Infants are carried by their mothers and gradually are placed under the care of older siblings. Daughters usually take on these duties, but in a family without daughters, sons are expected to provide that care. Children

begin visiting their grandparents at an early age, and grandmothers have a special bond with grandchildren and a substantial responsibility for their training and instruction, often through songs and stories with didactic content. Since independence, schools have become more important, but boys begin herding duties at about age ten. All aspects of the former age regiments have disappeared, but abbreviated initiation ceremonies still exist for both boys and girls. These formerly elaborate and lengthy rituals of instruction have gradually attenuated as formal, secular schools have been developed.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The military discipline of the nineteenth century is echoed in a strong interest in police and army careers. For most people, however, the family and the round of agricultural tasks are the center of social life. Local and national politics, church, and school have replaced the chiefly order and the ritual and instructional role of gender and age initiations. Nevertheless, traditional chiefly rank and descent from captives are still known and are reflected in educational attainment over several generations, access to a wider range of jobs, and informal types of status differentiation.

Political Organization. The power and charismatic authority of Hehe kings drew the area into an intensely centralized but simply organized state at the end of the nineteenth century. Colonialism transformed the area into a hierarchy of bureaucratic chiefs who served as administrators, judges, and tax collectors. The independent government of Tanzania replaced that system with elected local authorities and a national structure of democratic participation.

Social Control. The power of Hehe kings was direct, personal, and absolute. No man in Uhehe has exercised such power since 1898. Men had authority over women and children, but abuse was mitigated by the right of a wife's patrilineage to intercede in domestic conflicts. National law gives more rights to women than did the older practices. Many local disputes were arbitrated by chiefs aided by influential elders under colonialism. Witchcraft is combated by diviners and curers who use both natural materials and supernatural action. Accusations of witchcraft serve as a powerful means of informal control. However, making an accusation of witchcraft can lead to countersorcery and court action. National law prohibits all such actions, and these charges may lead to heavy fines.

Conflict. Warfare and cattle raiding were endemic in the second half of the nineteenth century, when all nearby groups were targets. The warfare of that era appears to have been motivated by territorial objectives as well as the desire for booty as goals, but there is also evidence of the use of personal representatives to make peace. Marriages arranged between the kingly lineages of adjoining states were utilized to stabilize relations. These techniques never led to lasting peace and did not result in alliances against German military pressure. Land disputes and domestic violence are common sources of conflict.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The relationship between the living and their ancestors is a focus of prayer and ritual. Small groves often surround burial places and are the site of offerings of water and porridge and a yearly ritual of weeding, drumming, offerings, and singing. Some men of the royal lineage were thought to have rain powers, but that power was not always inherited and there were nonroyal elders who also had it. The duty to conduct yearly rain prayers at the royal burial groves was delegated if the king lacked those powers. There is a concept of a creator god, but that god has little interest in daily affairs and it is not clear that the belief did not come from early Christian and Muslim missionaries. Christianity and Islam have been widely accepted.

Religious Practitioners. Rain priests, especially the king if he had the power, performed rituals to ensure rainfall in this relatively dry area. Diviners serve as diagnosticians and refer people to both herbalists and magicians for appropriate treatments. Witches are thought to inherit their power but must engage in evil actions to enhance it. Magicians may be beneficial or evil and are considered dangerous. A famous oracle has existed for several generations and is widely consulted through its "servant," a man thought to be chosen by the oracle to serve its needs. Christian and Muslim clerics are given respect and leadership roles.

Ceremonies. Rain ceremonies at royal burial sites were formerly an annual observance. Coming of age rituals for girls are said to be ancient, whereas such rituals for boys are felt to have emerged with the age regiments that regulated life during the late nineteenth century. All these rituals have declined with the rise of schools, the end of the Hehe monarchy, and the influence of Christianity. Rituals of mourning for the dead are probably the most common forms of enactment. There are also rituals of marriage and birth, especially the birth of twins.

Arts. Music is a major form of expression. Singing, drumming, and the playing of stringed instruments, both plucked and bowed, are widely practiced. There is little graphic or plastic art aside from minimal decoration of pottery and the carving of wooden stools.

Medicine. Herbalists have a wide knowledge of plants, and combinations of plants are used to treat almost all illnesses, including those thought to be caused by witchcraft and sorcery. Herbalists gain knowledge through apprenticeship and work closely with diviners in treating disorders. Some treatments are almost entirely mystical and involve drumming, trances, and singing, but herbal decoctions nearly always figure in treatment. Ingestion is the most common delivery method, but bathing and the making of small incisions into which medicine may be rubbed also are practiced. Islamic amulets are widely worn, and injections have become a popular form of treatment, using Western medications obtained at pharmacies.

Death and Afterlife. The spirits of the dead are extremely important in the affairs of the living. Neglect of the proper treatment of a corpse, the funeral ritual, or periodic offerings can lead to illness, misfortune, or death. The aim of most ceremonies is to help the dead leave the day-to-day world. Prayers for help and advice from the ancestors are also com-

mon and involve spitting water or pouring libations. Much of the oral history of the great warrior-king Mkwawa involves accounts of his visits to the graves of his father and grandfather to seek advice or interpret misfortune. It is said that the German commander had those graves destroyed to combat Mkwawa's power.

For other cultures in Tanzania, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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EDGAR V. WINANS

Hokkien Taiwanese

ETHNONYMS: Formosan, Changchoujen, Ch'uanchoujen, Quanzhouren, Zhangzhouren, Hoklo, Holo, Daiwanlang

Orientation

Identification and Location. Hokkien Taiwanese are the Han Chinese descendents of immigrants from Fujian (Fukien, or "Hokkien" in Fukienese) Province, who came to the island beginning in the seventeenth century from the prefecturai cities Zhangzhou and Quanzhou and their surrounding regions. Slightly larger than the combined states of Maryland and Delaware at 12,460 square miles (32,260 square kilometers), Taiwan straddles the Tropic of Cancer (23° N latitude), the same latitude as Burma and the Bahamas. The island is an outlying extension of the rugged Fujian countryside, separated from the mainland by the shallow and treacherous Strait of Taiwan. Taiwan's massive Central Mountain Range covers two-thirds of the island and contains forty peaks over 9,800 feet (3,000 meters), including East Asia's tallest, Yushan at 13,110 feet (3,997 meters). The island's semitropical climate is affected by two major weather patterns that produce dry and wet seasons in the north and south at opposite times of the year. Southwestern monsoonal winds bring thundershowers and storms to southern Taiwan in the summer and a Siberian outflow brings a cool steady drizzle to northern Taiwan in the winter. The monthly average temperature for Taipei in 2001 ranged from 62° Fahrenheit (16.4° Celsius) in January to 85° Fahrenheit (29.3° Celsius) in August. Typhoons and earthquakes are frequent occurrences.

Demography. Hokkien Taiwanese constitute 70 percent of Taiwan's 22,277,000 (2000 estimate) people. Most of the population is confined to the one-quarter of the island that is arable, along the west coast; in the Taizhong, Pulì, and Taibei basins; and in the Taidong rift valley. Other ethnic groups include the Austronesian original inhabitants *(yuan zhumin),* Hakka Taiwanese *(keren),* and mainlanders *(waishengren),* who constitute 2, 13, and 15 percent of the population, respectively. About 60 percent of the population lives in the four metropolitan areas of T'aipei (Taipei, or Taibei), Kaoshiung (Gaoxiong), T'aichung (Taizhong), and T'ainan (Tainan). The 2000 estimated birthrate is 14.42 births per 1,000 population.

Linguistic Identification. Hokkien Taiwanese speak a Southern Min language *(Nanminhua),* which they share with people living south of the Min River in Fujian Province. (Nanminhua-speaking people can also be found in Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia and Myanmar, and total 49,000,000 [1991] worldwide.) Nanminhua is part of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is a tonal language of eight tones distinct from Mandarin (four tones) and Cantonese (seven tones) with which it shares 50 percent cognates. There are some dialectical differences in vocabulary and pronunciation between people from Quanzhou and Zhangzhou prefectures. During the Japanese occupation (1895-1945) education was in Japanese and older Hokkien Taiwanese speak Japanese. After 1945 the language of education, government, and culture became Mandarin.

History and Cultural Relations

Although the Pescadores (Penghu Islands) in the Taiwan Strait were settled as early as the twelfth century, the island of Taiwan was home to only a few hundred Hokkien fishermen, traders, and pirates until the Dutch established a trading factory near present day Tainan in 1624. The Dutch built two forts and encouraged Hokkien immigrants to settle the surrounding countryside. During the 38-year Dutch occupation the number of settlers increased to 35,000. The estimated west coast aborigine population at the time was almost *70,000.* In 1662 the Dutch lost their lucrative trading post when fleeing Ming loyalists under Zheng Chengkong (Cheng Ch'eng-kung, or Koxinga) took over the island. Taiwan became a Zheng kingdom and outpost of Ming resistance to the Qing dynasty. The Zheng continued to expand Hokkien settlement, establishing garrisons to the north and east of Tainan. The population increased to 120,000 by 1683 when Qing forces drove the Zhengs off the island, incorporating Taiwan into the empire as a prefecture of Fujian Province. Qing migration policy vacillated between ones of opened and

closed doors. Concerned with the possibility of Taiwan becoming another rebel outpost, the court favored an unpopulated, undeveloped, and passive Taiwan. However, the Fujian gentry-merchant class saw the island as a source of much needed grain, as well as profit for developers and traders. Even when the ban on migration was in effect, a steady flow of immigrants continued to come to the island. Many were refugees from the clan wars being waged in their home districts. New immigrants settled further out on the coastal plain leasing "deer fields" from the original inhabitants, which they reclaimed and turned into paddy.

The aborigines' loss of territory undermined their productive capacity based on hunting and swidden cultivation. Impoverished, they became attached to Hokkien families or left for a new life in the mountains. Some fought and rebelled. Fighting became endemic to the region as settlers also battled amongst themselves over rights to land, water, and markets, dividing along subethnic lines: Hakka, Quanzhou, and Zhangzhou. Several families rose to prominence out of this conflict and tied themselves to the fortunes of the camphor and tea trade. The Sino-French War of 1884-1885, which saw fighting on the Pescadores and northern Taiwan, prompted the Imperial Court to reorganize Taiwan's administration and upgrade it to provincial status. However, this new status was short-lived when Taiwan became annexed by Japan following China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Over the next ten years, the Japanese pacified the island. They built irrigation systems, hospitals, post offices, railroads, harbors, and sugar mills, but frustrated the rise of an indigenous bourgeoisie.

Taiwan returned to China after Japan's defeat in World War II. In 1947, a year before the Chinese Nationalist *(Guomindangy* or KMT) army retreated en masse to Taiwan, the local garrison waged a murderous campaign wiping out local leadership. This violent rampage infamously known as 2-28 was in response to a general uprising by Taiwanese set off by an incident on 28 February 1947 in which KMT policemen killed a woman vendor for selling contraband cigarettes. The Korean War renewed the United States interest in Chiang Kai-shek and Taiwan, and hundreds of millions of U.S. aid dollars poured in to build up the economy and military. When the aid was phased out in 1963, Taiwan switched to export manufacturing as a source of foreign revenue and in a short time became a highly successful supplier of inexpensive light consumer goods to an affluent U.S. market. Taiwan's per capita Gross National Product increased from $400 (U.S.) in 1962 to over $13,000 (U.S.) in 1996. Economic success and political oppression fueled a growing Taiwanese consciousness and independence movement, which culminated in the election of Taiwan's first Taiwanese (Hakka) president Lee Teng-hui in 1990 and the first Hokkien Taiwanese president and opposition party leader, Chen Shuibian in 2000.

Settlements

Hokkien Taiwanese are found throughout the island, with concentrations on the west coast and in the Taipei and Taizhong basins. Of the Hokkien immigrants, the Quanzhou people came earlier and settled along the coast. The later arriving Zhangzhou people settled in the interior closer to the mountains. Built around a common wellhead, villages were nucleated, which also afforded protection against aborigine attacks. In the north, where settlement occurred later, there was less danger from native attacks and more abundant water, which resulted in more dispersed settlements. Wide fast running rivers on the west coast form natural borders between counties, each with a hierarchical settlement pattern of capital city, market towns, and villages. Housing varies from the older U-shaped single level compounds built around a courtyard, to multistory town houses *(yanglou),* and large urban apartment buildings.

Economy

Subsistence. Until 1950s, Hokkien Taiwanese were farmers, growing rice and vegetables for their own consumption and for sale in markets. Fish in rivers, lakes, and the ocean were another source of food. Once a major exporter of rice, Taiwan now imports grain as rural households have reallocated their labor to more profitable industrial work.

Commercial Activities. Growing and milling sugar cane was introduced by the Dutch and expanded under the Japanese, who built plantations, but left most of the cane cultivation to individual households. In the colonial period, Taiwan was the world's largest producer and exporter of sugar after Cuba and Java. Other major industries in the nineteenth century were tea and camphor. Fish farming occurs on the west coast tidal flats where the government has built a vast checkerboard of levies. A significant ocean fishing industry is based on the northern and eastern coasts. The interior mountains have become an area of fruit growing, including such varieties as apples, pears, guava, pomegranates, star fruit, mangoes, and pineapples. Today Taiwan is a modern market economy with national brands, chain stores, and a stock market.

Industrial Arts. Temples display a variety of Hokkien craft skills from the intricately carved wooden ceilings, walls, doors, altars, palanquins, and josses; and colorful murals and glass (later plastic) roof statuary. Household-based straw hat making was a major industry between the wars and afterwards turned into shoe making. Hokkien have responded to government incentives and opportunities afforded by export markets to produce a variety of light consumer goods, from umbrellas to computers. In homes, workshops, and small factories men operate machines that mold, extrude, or stamp the plastic and metal components, and women assemble them to produce an array of electronic and other consumer goods for export.

Trade. Hokkien Taiwanese have produced goods for export since the Dutch era. Rice, sugar, tea, and camphor were major export items in the nineteenth century. The Japanese increased the production of these commodities and those of processed foods. In the second half of the twentieth century the United States opened up its large market, which absorbed anything and everything the Taiwanese could manufacture. Such opportunity was a spur to industry, which expanded to every corner of the island as manufacturers utilized the labor of farmers and housewives. Taiwan's tight-knit society allowed for friends, family, neighbors, schoolmates and in-laws to be tapped as workers, investors, or important links to foreign buyers. By the end of the century Taiwan's accumulated foreign reserves from trade was over $100 billion (U.S.), the

largest in the world after Japan. Taiwan's current affluence has priced it out of the world's cheap labor market. Entrepreneurs have gone abroad connecting with Hokkien communities across southeast Asia and establishing factories in Fujian Province, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

Division of Labor. The Japanese discouraged development of a local entrepreneurial class with laws forbidding independently owned Taiwanese businesses. Hokkien Taiwanese became farmers and workers. The policy was reversed by the Chinese KMT, who supported a strong indigenous entrepreneurial class and forbid direct investment by foreign companies. The KMT also implemented land reform, returning land to the tiller and giving former landlords stock in national companies that the KMT took over from the Japanese. The savings farmers accumulated became seed money for rural industry a generation later. Although excluded from government, Hokkien Taiwanese became active participants in Taiwan's industrial development. The labor-intensive production of light consumer goods for export required minimal capital outlay. More important was the labor recruited through preexisting kin ties and other social and religious networks that ultimately connected them to foreign buyers. Whereas most manufacturers were Hokkien, traders were mostly mainlanders who had the English skills and familiarity with foreigners. However Hokkien Taiwanese quickly acquired the necessary skills and knowledge to become traders as well. They also had the added advantage of coming from the same community as manufacturers. Because export manufacturers had no control of market share to protect their capital investment they spread the risk by dispersing ownership across tens of thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises, which helped to spread prosperity across the island. A new middle class of Hokkien entrepreneurs rose in the cities and countryside and has made Taichung in central Taiwan one of the wealthiest cities on the island.

Land Tenure. Real property is a male birthright in Hokkien Taiwan's patrilineal society, with the oldest son as designated caretaker of aging parents usually getting a larger share. Property that is acquired by a family in its lifetime might be distributed differently based on individual contribution to the household and may include women. In the pioneer period, patent holders held the subsurface rights, or ``bones of the field" *(tiangu)* and settlers the surface rights, or *skin of the field (tianpi)*. Settlers also leased land to tenants creating a three-tier system of land tenure. Japanese land reform got rid of the patent holder and later the KMT land reform did the same with the landlord. One land reform case had to untangle seventeen different claims to the same piece of land, which was not uncommon. The new Constitution protects private property rights.

Kinship

Kinship and Descent. For Hokkien Taiwanese kinship is conceived in relational terms between part and whole. The word *fangzu* refers to the relationship between family and lineage, the former embedded in the latter. The same term is used to refer to the relationship between son and father, the son's nuclear family and the extended family of the father, the extended family in relation to the localized lineage, and the localized lineage to the larger dispersed lineage. *Fang* also refers to the son's room within his father's house, his share of his father's estate, and the father's estate that has been separated out from other lineage holdings. In these latter instances it refers to the material basis of the respective kin group. Kinship is more than family relationships; it is the system by which local society reproduces itself, including the inherent rights and means for the group to survive and prosper, whether those means are land or machines.

Kinship Terminology. Patrilineal system employs a Sudanese kin term classification system in which kin terms distinguish between mother's and father's side of the family and between older and younger siblings on the father's side.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Historically, three patterns of marriage were practiced. Major marriage was the most common and involved a matchmaker, engagement, both a dowry and brideprice, and wedding ceremony. Minor marriage *(simpua)* involved parents adopting an infant girl and raising her to adulthood and then marrying her off to their son. Uxorilocal marriage involved a man marrying into his bride's family, which contravened patrilineal values. Minor marriage was a means to avoid the high costs of a major marriage and perhaps more importantly it allowed a mother-in-law to raise an obedient daughter-in-law. Uxorilocal marriage was an option for poor men with no property or family and, on the bride's side, for a family without an heir or in need of extra male labor. Universal education and industrialization has affected marriage patterns by increasing women's value in the household beyond that of the bearers of children for the patrilineage. Working in factories or offices, women became an additional source of income for the household. Ostensibly working to pay off their families for raising them and to put together a dowry, young women since the 1960s are marrying later. A falling fertility rate and rising divorce rates are other trends that indicate increasing female autonomy.

Domestic Unit. The ideal family (called "joint" or "grand" family) consists of parents and married sons and their families all living together under one roof. As families grew in size new wings were built onto the existing house creating a distinctive U-shaped plan of rectangular buildings surrounding and interior courtyard. In towns and cities, families adopted the Japanese townhouse and added floors as the family expanded. Grand families were rare in the past and rarer still in the modern industrial period when the family is no longer the basic unit of production. Although the government has encouraged the spread of "household factories," these workshops draw their labor from the larger community, including affines, and are not strictly a "family" unit. Today, the most common form of family is the stem family in which parents live with one married son, usually the oldest. Married siblings continue to keep close ties although they may live in separate households, and as is often the case, in separate towns or cities.

Socialization. Children are treated leniently until six years of age, when they are thought capable of understanding reason. Fathers are affectionate with both sons and daughters until that age, after which they begin to distance themselves from their sons, but continue to be affectionate with daugh-

ters. The situation is reversed for mothers who begin to burden their daughters with domestic chores in order to instill a good work ethic expected of a good wife and cultivate a close attachment with sons who are their protectors in old age. All schooling is in Mandarin and focuses on Chinese culture and history. Classes are coed and girls quickly learn that they are by no means inferior to boys. At home children learn that they are bearers of family reputation and honor and must behave themselves accordingly in public. Children are shamed into correcting bad behavior.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Unrelated or distantly-related immigrants coalesced around gods whose idols they brought with them from the mainland. Many of the gods were originally historical figures and builders of community in the Song dynasty (960-1279) when Fujian was a frontier. On Taiwan, immigrants passed the idol from household to household until the community was wealthy enough to build a temple. Hamlets, villages, towns, and cities each had a shrine or temple at which residents worshipped and donated alms. Surname groups encompassing several villages or towns formed for defensive purposes. Surname groups were nominally kin associations based on shared surnames and common origin on the mainland. Still larger associations and socio-religious networks formed around the more famous gods, creating a basis for regional intercourse. The institutionalization of lineages and building of lineage halls occurred only after land was reclaimed, irrigation systems built, markets established, and wealth accumulated—in some areas, as late as one hundred years after the first village temples were built. Japanese administration replaced the governing role of surname groups.

Political Organization. Between 1947 and 1987, the Hokkien Taiwanese suffered under martial law. Obsessed with retaking the Chinese mainland, the KMT would not counter any opposition or dissent. Many indigenous leaders were hounded, threatened, forced into exile, and murdered. Opposition parties were forbidden, although people could run for office as "non-party" candidates. Hokkien Taiwanese were excluded from national politics. Political factions based on personal networks and loyalties characterized local politics. Leaders were dependent on the patronage of the KMT to gain and hold office. The KMT continually switched allegiances to undermine the growth of local power bases. In 1987 the government legalized opposition parties and Hokkien and Hakka Taiwanese jointly formed their own party, the Democratic Progressive Party, or DPP. Emergency Rule was lifted in 1991 followed by constitutional amendments in 1992, 1994, 1997, and 1999, which opened up the government to all Taiwanese and strengthened civil rights. In 2000, Chen Shui-bian, leader of the DPP and a Hokkien Taiwanese was elected president of the Republic of China.

Social Conflict. As the west coast plain filled with immigrants, competition for land, water, and markets became intense. The immigrant population nearly tripled between 1756 and 1824, increasing from 600,147 to 1,786,883. Between 1684 and 1895, 159 armed clashes and uprisings occurred on the island, most concentrated in the mid-Qing period between 1768 and 1860. In this period established landlords, through their control of religious associations and secret societies, mobilized fighting bands to protect their property and maintain control of water rights. Local officials had little recourse but to play one band against another. By the end of the mid-Qing period wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few families too powerful to challenge. After 1895, the Japanese carried out an island-wide pacification program ridding the island of all "bandits." The KMT intensified surveillance and waged a secret campaign of terror against political dissidents. A mass demonstration in 1977 in the town of Chungli forced the KMT to rethink their repressive policies and begin to share power with the Hokkien Taiwanese and other ethnic groups.

Religion and Arts

Religious Beliefs. Hokkien Taiwanese practice so-called folk or popular religion, which includes beliefs from China's three major religions (the Three Teachings, or *Sanjiao):* Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism, with animist beliefs in ghosts, ancestors, and nature spirits. Hamlets, villages, and towns are all organized around the public worship of particular gods. Also, individual supplicants can approach gods privately to make personal requests and vows. God cults have their origin in the propitiation of hungry ghosts, which eventually become gods if and when their following increases in size. More than one god can adorn an altar, which attests to the historical connections among communities. The most popular god is Mazu, the god of seafarers. Guangong is the god of war and trade and is usually the primary god in the market town temple. As a community's fortune waxes and wanes, so does the fame of its god. More famous gods attract followers from a wide area, which served to broaden social intercourse and commerce, and in the post-World War II period, the spread of rural industry. In this latter period, new religions emerged to accommodate rapid social and economic changes. One new religion, Yiguandao, has roots in millenarian sectarian movements of the past. It blesses all initiates with the Dao and promises release from the cycles of death and rebirth.

Religious Practitioners. Sanjiao has its Buddhist monks and nuns and Taoist and Confucian priests. Community temples have shamans, or *tonqi,* who practice trance, spirit writing, and other forms of communication with gods and spirits. The charismatic masters of Yiguandao draw around them disciples creating an order of religious lineages.

Ceremonies. Family members living in different parts of the island gather for New Year's, beginning on the eve of the lunar new year and ending two weeks later with the Lantern Festival. Families also gather for the spring cleaning of ancestral graves *{qingming)*. God's birthdays are also celebrated at temples and with street processions and banquets. The more devoted travel on a pilgrimage to the god's original temple, usually located in southern Taiwan.

Arts. Pictorial art is influenced by nineteenth-century European, classical Chinese, folk, and modern painting. Fukienese opera is performed live and with puppets. Dance companies incorporate folk, modern, and aboriginal dance themes and styles in their work. Folk, popular, and classical Western and Chinese music are also widely performed. Popular television series have classical themes but also depict con-

temporary scenes such as the life of a family troop of traveling puppeteers or the dorm life of women factory workers.

Medicine. Healthcare mixes Western and Chinese medical practices. Western missionaries and doctors founded the first hospitals along the west coast and the Japanese established island-wide clinics, hospitals, and the healthcare system. Traditional Chinese medicine makes use of herbal remedies, acupuncture, moxibustion, and millennia-old yin-yang (five elements philosophy). Temple shamans also dispense charms to cure illness and gods can be asked to cure as well.

Death and Afterlife. Buddhist belief in reincarnation and karma, Confucian burial and mourning practices, Taoist propitiation of ghosts, and ancestor worship are all part of Hokkien Taiwanese death and afterlife. Graves are situated in places with good geomantic properties. Ancestral tablets are kept on the family altar. Those who die without a family to worship them and incorporate them into the domestic realm—as was the case for many early pioneers—become wandering ghosts, which are propitiated in a three-day ceremony in the middle of the seventh lunar month. Cults form to appease particularly ornery ghosts, ultimately bringing good fortune to its members. Around every ten years the gods are carried out of the temple and marched down the streets to shoo away the town's over accumulation of hungry ghosts.

For other cultures in Taiwan, *see* List of Cultures in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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IAN SKOGGARD

Italian Americans

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Italian peninsula is the European homeland of Italian Americans. Most Italian Americans trace their ancestry to the southern regions of Italy, although the earliest immigrants came mainly from the northern areas of the peninsula. Between 1880 and 1920 about five million Italians migrated to the United States from the poor southern regions, including Sicily. Many of the immigrants had little sense of an "Italian" identity, self-identifying instead with their hometowns or regions.

Italian Americans have settled throughout the United States, and there are "Little Italies" in New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and San Francisco. Italians also settled in many less populated areas throughout the country. Most Italian immigrants were unskilled laborers who worked on the railroads, in the clothing shops, and on construction projects. In California many worked in the shipyards or on fishing boats. Today Italian Americans are found in every occupation, including Supreme Court Justice, commissioner of baseball, university president, teacher, lawyer, and businessperson.

Demography. The 1980 census noted that there were twelve million Americans who identified themselves as Italian Americans, six million of whom claimed Italian descent on both sides of the family. The 1990 census listed about fifteen million people who claimed Italian ancestry. There has been a rapid assimilation of Italian Americans into American culture, along with intermarriage with members of other ethnic groups. However, the largest proportion of intermarriage occurs with other members of the Catholic faith, especially Irish Americans. Although Italian Americans reside throughout the United States, they tend to cluster in the urban or suburban areas of the East Coast and West Coast.

Linguistic Affiliation. In the past most Italian immigrants spoke the language of their native region. More recent immigrants generally have been educated in Standard Italian based on the *lingua di Dante* of Florence and used in Italy by the government, schools, and television. In the United States a common version of Italian mixed with a great deal of English facilitated communication among the new arrivals. Second- and third-generation Italian Americans have basically lost the language unless they study it in school. Many in the fourth and later generations have done that to establish an "Italian" ethnic identity comparable to those of Hispanics and African Americans.

History and Cultural Relations

Italians came to the New World four hundred years before there was an Italian state. Beginning with Columbus and continuing with other early explorers, Italians came to explore and later to settle in the New World. Italians worked in Spain, England, France, Portugal, Germany, and the Netherlands and worked on ships from those countries. Italians also were found among the missionaries who came to convert Native Americans in every region of North and South America. In 1621 a group of Venetian artisans settled in James-

town. About 150 Waldensians came to North America in 1657 to escape religious persecution. Other Waldensian Italians joined them in the eighteenth century. Maryland was a haven for Italians and other Catholics. Those early settlers generally remained in the colonies and merged into the population. Many of them fought in the American Revolution. Nevertheless, by 1871 only 12,000 Italians, mainly from the north, had come to the United States.

After Italian independence in 1861 about six million Italians came to the United States. A major reason for the immigration was famine in the *mezzogiorno,* the area south of Rome, including Sicily. The famine was a consequence of the unequal distribution of land and the northern bias of the new government, which did little to correct the landholding problems in southern Italy and Sicily. Government taxes were another burden on the poor. Many southern Italians had no love for the new state and had seen their standard of living fall drastically in the nineteenth century. America promised a better life. Although the major eastern urban centers attracted Italian settlement, Italians spread out to every region of the country and eventually into every industry. Italians who had come to the United States and learned enough English to deal with Americans became labor brokers called *padroni.* The padroni relied on a sense of unity with the immigrants to gain their trust, which was often misplaced. They recruited workers, found people places to rent, and served as bankers—all at a price that was often exorbitant. A more recent and neglected wave of immigration took place after World War II, when the restrictions of the antiimmigration laws of the 1920s were lifted for refugees. There is still a large movement of Italians to the United States, but that movement has not been studied rigorously.

Settlements

Many Italian immigrants settled in New York City in the area around Mulberry Street, the center of that city's Little Italy. Other Eastern cities also had famous Little Italies, such as Philadelphia's South Side and Boston's North End. Western states had their own Italian sections. New Orleans had Italian areas whose residents made contributions to jazz.

Many Italians moved to central and western New York to engage in the textile trade, while others who had worked in Sicily's sulfur mines went to the coal mines of Pennsylvania or West Virginia. Relatively few were able to do more than farm on weekends since the era of free or cheap land was over. Nonetheless, Italians took advantage of the economic opportunities of the time and moved into various professions and industries.

Economy

Commercial Activities. The earliest immigrants tended to be skilled artisans or professionals. From about 1880 until the 1920s migration shifted from the north of Italy to the poorer mezzogiorno region. These migrants worked at anything they could get. The building trades, ditch digging, factory work, mining, and, for the lucky, shopkeeping in mom and pop stores formed the bulk of their work.

There were always Italian American doctors, lawyers, and businesspersons. It took some time for priests of Italian descent to be accepted. Some dioceses refused to allow Italians, especially those from the southern regions, to be admitted to seminaries. By the 1920s and 1930s, however, Italian Americans were beginning to be assimilated into American life. World War II was a major turning point for the acceptance of Italian Americans in mainstream American society. There were, however, further battles to be fought, and Italian Americans continue to battle against ethnic slurs and stereotypes.

Trade. There have been Italians in trade since precolonial times. Many Italians entered the San Francisco fishing trade. Others started restaurants, tailor shops, stores, and other small businesses that catered to those of any background who craved high-quality service and excellent food. The Bank of America is a major Italian-founded business.

Division of Labor. Ostensibly, men ruled in more traditional families, but the reality was more complex. Frequently, major domestic decisions were made by women and confirmed by men. Women had a great deal of behind-the-scenes power, especially those who had a son. As the marriage progressed, a woman gained power. Moreover, many women were able to find jobs more easily than men, and in spite of the norm prohibiting women from working outside the home, many women in the early twentieth century found it necessary to work to make ends meet. Italian American women worked outside the home whenever necessary and then returned home to do the housework. Although the stated norm was for men not to work in the home, many did so. As women became more Americanized, they took up mainstream values and fought for education and equality.

Land Tenure. Ownership of land was an obsession with Italian immigrants. The period after World War II saw Italian Americans joining others in the move to the suburbs. Land ownership is a point of great pride among Italian Americans, as is a high degree of personal freedom in one's occupation.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Italian American community binds its members together with multiple connections. Descent is traced bilaterally, and affinal ties further strengthen those bonds. It is not uncommon for an individual to be related to another person on both sides of the family. Which ties are chosen for emphasis at any given time depends on a number of factors, including affection, expediency, work opportunity, and financial need.

Coparenthood is a quasi-kinship relationship that is extended to godparents at baptism and confirmation as well as best men and maids of honor at weddings. Italian Americans typically lived within an easy commute from their relatives, forming family clusters that could provide emotional and material support in times of crisis.

Kinship Terminology. Italian American kinship terminology is basically consonant with that of the wider North American mainstream. It is of the general Eskimo variety with the added feature of terms of address for fictive coparents *(comare* and *compadre).* In Italian gender differences are expressed in terms that are otherwise similar for a given relationship. The terms for "aunt" and "uncle" are *zia* and *zio,* respectively.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Few immigrants planned to settle permanently in the United States. The first Italian immigrants from the 1880s forward were generally males who first established themselves and then sent for their families. If their wives did not come, they typically married another Italian in the United States. There was little intermarriage in those days. Some unmarried men sent to Italy for brides whom they had never met. These immigrants established solid families, or so the myth holds. In fact, there was a good deal of male desertion in the early 1900s as men found it difficult to support a family while fighting against discrimination.

Weddings unite two families, not just two people. They symbolize the uniting of those families, the legitimacy of the children, and the continuation of families into the next generation. They are a means for bringing relatives together in a show of unity, displaying the wealth and stability of the family and the love between the parents and the children. They are a means for symbolizing the continuation of life and the affirmation of trust in God and His saints, especially the Holy Mother. Food, music, excitement, and spectacle are all part of the wedding, making Italian weddings famous in folklore, movies, television, and song.

Domestic Unit. The nuclear family is the major domestic unit. The extended family provided protection against hard times until World War II, and even after the war it was not unusual for a married couple to live with a parent, usually the bride's, until they saved enough money to set up an independent household.

Inheritance. Parents generally leave equal shares of their possessions to all the children after both have died. Special gifts of keepsakes may be made shortly before death or in a will. This equal sharing of property is a point of pride, and it is considered very bad form to argue over the shares. However, this norm is frequently violated in practice.

Socialization. The family is the primary unit of socialization. Strong family loyalty is taught from a child's earliest years. Children are taught to excel in their endeavors. Success in school traditionally was seen as the key to future success. Generally, the professions were stressed over learning for its own sake. There were exceptions if a child could prove that he could earn a living without schooling. Until fairly recently education beyond high school generally was not considered important for women. Women were taught to be subordinate to men, at least in public. In public, young girls were taught to clean, cook, and care for children—so-called women's work. Men were expected to protect women and provide a steady income. Women were taught to be chaste, to be virgins when married, although they were also taught how to fool their husbands if they were not. Choosing the date of one's wedding to coincide with the end of one's period was one method to achieve this deception. As women grew older, they had more to say about public affairs and were considered to be socially more like a man. A true man was considered, in folklore at least, to be irresistible to women, and women therefore had to be chaperoned because they were "weak" and could not resist the male sexual force. Their lives were restricted, but young women found ways to trick parents who had "outsmarted" their own parents. However, one had to be careful not to bring shame on one's family; face had to be saved at all costs. Women were deemed dangerous because they could easily shame a family in a culture that stressed male dominance.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The family, nuclear and extended, is the most important unit in Italian American social organization. The coparenthood relationship is a sacred one. Often a best man and a maid or matron of honor are immediately referred to reciprocally as compare or comare (cofather or comother). When a child is born, they are most frequently chosen as the godparents. The child will call them *padrino* and *padrina,*, "little father" and "little mother," or sometimes compare and comare. When a person was confirmed, he or she would use similar terms for the sponsor. The relationship was a way to tie people together through fictive kinship. It was common for people to choose powerful persons as sponsors to aid their children's chances in the future.

There are numerous societies in Italian American life: burial societies, clubs from one's home region or town, and social clubs for recreation, savings, political action, and gambling. These societies helped people adjust to American society. They also provided a basis for business and political power and united large numbers of people to work for common causes. Some of these groups, such as the Sons of Italy and the business clubs, attempted to combat discrimination and prejudice by pointing out Italian contributions to world culture and Italian American patriotism in the United States. There has also been an allegiance to American patriotic societies such as the American Legion to prove that one's allegiance is to the "new country." Italian American Civic Leagues, Casa Italianas, and other business organizations have promoted political action and social advancement.

Political Organization. Political and economic organizations worked together in Italian American society. Banned from other business groups, Italian American businessmen formed their own associations. Similarly, doctors and lawyers formed groups to advance Italian professionals. Political action in both major parties followed to help end discrimination and promote the interests of Italian Americans. The move to make Columbus Day a holiday was an example. The appointment of Italians to the Supreme Court, such as Antonin Scalia, was another. The appointment of cabinet officers and the election of senators, congressional representatives, mayors, and other elected officials of both parties demonstrated the assimilation of Italians in American life. Various political and civic groups followed throughout the United States, such as the Sons of Italy, UNICO (Unity, Neighbor, Integrity, Charity, and Opportunity), and the Italian American Civil Rights League.

Social Control. Peer pressure within the family plays a major role in social control. The family exerts strong pressure throughout a person's life. Ridicule threatening one's *bella figura* ("beautiful figure," or self-image) is a strong means of social control.

Conflict. Italian Americans claim that they are the last group that it is safe to ridicule in the media. They have faced discrimination in employment and other spheres. The association with the "Mafia" has plagued many honest people. It

has been difficult to present a united front since there are many Italian identities as a result of the fragmented nature of Italy for many centuries.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Ninety-eight percent of the population are Roman Catholic. The other 2 percent are mainly comprised of Jews, along with some Muslims, and Orthodox and Eastern Rite Catholics. The general supernatural beliefs are those of the Catholic Church as mixed with some older beliefs stretching back to antiquity. In Sicily, for example, Arabic and Greek influences have mixed with popular Spanish beliefs and have been incorporated into Catholicism. Thus, there are beliefs in the evil eye, charms, spells, messages through dreams, and various other types of omens. Witches have powers and there are anti-witches. Many of these beliefs have yielded to the rationalism of the modern age. Others however, exist below the surface.

Rome, or more precisely Vatican City, is the center of the Roman Catholic religion. Thus, the Pope, cardinals, bishops, monsignore, priests, members of various male and female religious orders, and others are omnipresent. The seven sacraments form a framework for religious life. Churches are plentiful and also attract the tourist dollar. There are more folk-like practitioners who carry on "magic" or "superstitious" practices—various healers who may have the gift of hands, witches, purveyors of charms and spells, and many others.

Religious Practitioners. At first the Irish- and German-controlled American clergy regarded southern Italian immigrants as pagans. Eventually, Italian Americans took a prominent position in the American Catholic Church. Catholic priests, nuns, brothers, and other officials form the vast majority of religious practitioners among Italian Americans. However, there are also local religious people who are healers or curers and others who have visions and can interpret dreams and tell the future. Protestants and Jews among Italian Americans have their own religious specialists. Originally, church attendance was mainly a female sphere. However, as time passed and the group became more "Americanized," more men began to attend church on occasions other than baptisms, weddings, and funerals.

Famous Italian American clergy include Bishop John Baptist Scalabrini, founder of the San Rafaele Society in America; Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini, the first American saint and a disciple of Scalabrini; Father Aurelio Palmieri, who advocated for a more open approach to Italian immigrants; and Joseph L. Cardinal Bernadin, the first Italian American cardinal.

Ceremonies. Religious ceremonies are frequent. In addition to the usual holy days of the Roman Catholic Church—Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Immaculate Conception, there are local saints and appearances by the Pope. The sanctification of new saints, various blessings, personal, family, and regional feast days and daily and weekly masses add to the mix. There are also various novenas, rosary rituals, sodalities, men's and women's clubs, and other religious or quasi-religious activities.

Arts. Italian Americans have made their mark in literature, popular and classical music, the plastic and fine arts, and other artistic fields. The most famous names are Frank Sinatra, Louis Prima, Tony Bennett, Frankie Valli, Jerry Vale, Perry Como, Lou Monte, Arturo Toscanini, Mario Lanza, and Chuck Mangione in music; Lorenzo da Ponte (Mozart's librettist), Emmanuel Carnevali, John Ciardi, Jerre Mangione, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Helen Barolmeo in literature; Ugo Mochi, Robert DeNiro, Sr., Giuseppe and Frank Stella, and Constantino Brumela in painting; and the actors Jimmy Durante, Dean Martin, and Robert DeNiro, Jr.

Medicine. Folk healers and folk remedies have survived to the present time. Candles are placed on the source of an illness and covered with a glass to draw out the evil. Hands are placed on a break or sprain and moved to cure the patient and heal the injury. Olive oil is placed over the head of the sick person, and prayers are recited as the container is rotated over the person's head.

Death and Afterlife. Most Italian Americans follow the general Roman Catholic beliefs regarding heaven, hell, and purgatory. They generally believe in a life after death in which the good are rewarded and the evil are punished. Funerals take place in funeral parlors and tend to be elaborate. Respect for the dead is expected and displayed through remembrance and special prayers. There are also special shrines that people promise to visit upon the death of a family member. Failure to attend a wake for a family member or friend is cause for a breach of relationship.

For the original article on Italian Americans, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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FRANK SALAMONE

Japanese Americans

ETHNONYMS: Nikkei, Nihonjin

Orientation

Identification and Location. Japanese Americans are the descendants of people from East Asia who settled on the four major islands of what is now Japan. Japanese people began

to migrate to America during the Meiji era (1868-1912), a period when Japan was undergoing modernization and industrial, economic, and military growth. Japanese people who moved to the United States in the late nineteenth century came from the southern agricultural region and settled in the Pacific Coast states and Hawaii. The physical environment of those areas had some similarities to the climate and topography of Japan (mildly temperate) but had more land available for cultivation. Because many of the first immigrants had an agricultural background, the land and climate of Hawaii and the western United States was a good match for their occupational skills.

Demography. In 1880 there were 148 Japanese in the United States; despite restrictive immigration laws, that number increased with each decade through the twentieth century. In 1890 the number was 2,039, and shortly before World War II, in 1940, the population was 285,115. The 1990 population was 847,562.

Linguistic Affiliation. The vast majority of Japanese Americans speak English. First- and second-generation immigrants are largely bilingual. The third and subsequent generations are likely to be monolingual English speakers, but there has been a resurgence of interest in the Japanese language among the more recent generations. The linguistic roots of the Japanese language are not agreed upon. Historical linguists suggest a "hybrid" theory by which the language emerged from the Altaic (Turkish, Mongolian, Korean) languages with some contributions from Austronesian (Pacific Islands, Australian) languages.

History and Cultural Relations

For many centuries Japan was a closed country where emigration was prohibited. In 1853 Commodore Matthew Perry sailed into Tokyo Bay to open trade relations. This signaled the beginning of contact between Japan and Western nations and, as a result, increased migration of Japanese to North America and other parts of the world. According to Ichioka (1988), Japanese immigration can be broadly divided into two periods: 1885-1907 and 1908-1924. Those periods coincided with restrictions on Japanese immigration enacted by the U.S. government. During the early period, the pattern of immigration was called *dekasegi*, or the practice of going abroad to work, and eventually there was a return to the homeland. Between 1885-1894 nearly thirty thousand Japanese went to Hawaii to work as contract laborers on sugarcane plantations. The earliest Japanese settlement on the mainland United States was the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony near Gold Hill, California. The colony was not successful and was abandoned by 1872.

The bulk of Japanese migration occurred after 1880. The passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 led to a decline in the number of laborers available for the developing Western industrial economy, and Japanese immigrant laborers filled the gap left by the exclusion of the Chinese. Initially, many Americans viewed Japanese immigration as desirable. As a group the Japanese were often compared favorably with the Chinese, but those positive comparisons were short-lived. By the early twentieth century labor leaders and politicians became concerned with the increasing Japanese population and the relative success of those immigrants in agricultural ventures. Anti-Japanese activists sought to end Japanese immigration. In 1905 the San Francisco Board of Education wanted to move all Japanese students in that city to the Chinese school. This was met with a great deal of resistance by the Japanese community and the Japanese consulate in San Francisco. Through the consulate's intervention, the students were allowed to stay in their neighborhood schools. By that time the event had drawn national attention, and President Theodore Roosevelt was pressured to address the concerns of the leaders of the anti-Japanese movement. The Gentlemen's Agreement (1907-1908) was established in response to growing pressures for immigration restrictions. The United States agreed not to pass any formal exclusion laws concerning the Japanese, and the Japanese government agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers who wanted to work in the United States. Thus, both governments saved face at a time when relations between Japanese and American workers and the government were tense.

By 1908 returning to Japan had become less common among the *Issei* (first-generation) workers. The Gentlemen's Agreement discouraged many from returning because there was no assurance that they could reenter the United States as laborers at a later time. Many decided to stay and entered into arranged marriages or sent for wives so that they could establish families and communities in the United States. By the 1920s families with children constituted a large proportion of the established Japanese American community. Japanese immigration came to a halt in 1924 with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 (National Origins Quota Act), which prevented further immigration from Japan. It was not until 1952 that the ban on immigration was lifted by the McCarran-Walter Act and the Issei became eligible for citizenship.

Settlements

There were major urban settlements in Seattle, Washington; Portland, Oregon; and San Francisco, San Jose, Sacramento, Fresno, Los Angeles, and San Diego, California. Major rural settlements included the Yakima valley of eastern Washington state and the Central, Central Coast, and Imperial valleys in California.

During World War II more than 120,000 Japanese Americans in California, Oregon, and Washington were forced to move to relocation centers. Ten centers were built by the U.S. Army and operated by the War Relocation Authority, a branch of the Department of the Interior. Those centers were in operation between 1943 and 1946 and were located in Arkansas (Rohwer, Jerome), Arizona (Gila River, Poston), California (Manzanar, Tule Lake), Colorado (Amache), Idaho (Minidoka), Utah (Topaz), and Wyoming (Heart Mountain). The living quarters were built using army specifications for barracks. The rooms were 20 by 16 feet (6 by 5 meters), and one room would house an entire family with children or a group of single men or women. Cooking and eating areas, washrooms, toilets, and shower facilities were centralized.

Japanese Americans in Hawaii were not interned because of the logistic difficulties of mass incarceration. It was believed that the Hawaiian economy would collapse if such a large proportion of the population were removed from the islands.

Economy

Subsistence. Japanese immigrants engaged in commercial activities to obtain and distribute food and other necessities.

Commerical Activities. Japanese immigrants engaged in a wide range of activities to generate income. They worked in the lumber and railroad industries and in urban areas worked as domestics, gardeners, and small business owners (grocery and sundry stores, restaurants, and boardinghouses). The largest percentage of Japanese immigrants was involved in agricultural endeavors. They grew a number of specialty crops such as strawberries, lettuce and other vegetables, deciduous fruits (apples, cherries, pears, and peaches), potatoes, and wheat.

Division of Labor. Women traditionally were responsible for child rearing and management of the home. Men typically did tasks outside the home, working for wages, or worked in their own homes for production, such as agriculture. In early immigrant communities women's traditional homework was often combined with work to support the family. Women did paid work outside the home, took in work (such as laundry) for pay, or took care of children and other boarders (hired hands or workers on the farm). Children were educated in the American public education system. For the most part these schools were not segregated by race but might have been characterized by de facto racial segregation because of the composition of ethnic neighborhoods and the locations of the schools that served those neighborhoods.

While the Issei generation worked in jobs that were essential to the developing Western economy, such as agriculture, the *Nisei* (second) generation was encouraged to obtain a formal education. Many Nisei obtained college and professional degrees but had difficulty finding jobs in their areas of specialization because of their ethnic background. After World War II the third and fourth generations *(Sansei* and *Yonsei)* experienced less discrimination than had the previous generations. There are greater opportunities now that some of the more obvious forms of discrimination have become illegal. Thus, there is a much higher proportion of third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans in skilled and professional occupations.

Land Tenure. A large number of Japanese immigrants worked in agriculture. Beginning in 1913, several states (California, Arizona, Washington, Louisiana, New Mexico, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and Kansas) began to pass laws restricting ownership of land by non-citizens. Japanese immigrants were not eligible to become naturalized citizens of the United States, and so those laws affected their livelihoods. Despite the laws, Japanese farmers devised a number of ways to continue farming. They put the land in the names of their underage American-born children who were U.S. citizens, found sympathetic whites who would lease land to them, and formed corporations that leased land as a business entity. Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants are no longer prohibited from purchasing or using land for any purpose.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Most Japanese American families recognize patrilineal descent. Families that have similar surnames may have common ancestors and other relations, but those family ties and relations generally have not extended into the practices of kin relations in the United States. Kin groups are closely tied to the domestic unit of the household.

Kinship Terminology. Japanese Americans use a distinct nomenclature to refer to different generational groupings in the United States. The Issei are the immigrant generation. The Nisei are the second generation but are the first generation born in the United States. *Kibei* are a group of Nisei who are educated and raised in Japan. Sansei are the third generation, Yonsei are the fourth generation, and *Gosei* are the fifth generation. Because of the restricted time period of Japanese immigration, each generation has had unique experiences. Japanese immigrants who came to the United States after 1950 are usually designated *shin issei,* or new Issei.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages are one of the major life events for Japanese Americans. They are not marriages of individuals but represent the bringing together of two families. During the early immigration period "picture bride" marriages were common. This type of arranged marriage allowed male immigrants to become engaged to and marry a woman in Japan without being physically present during the ceremony. Afterward the bride's name would be entered into the groom's family registry as a member of the family and the bride would be eligible to immigrate as the wife of a Japanese immigrant worker in the United States. The 1907-1908 Gentlemen's Agreement did not affect the picture brides of men already living in the United States. Divorce was uncommon in the United States, but it did occur. Women could exercise some degree of control during the early immigrant period by leaving marriages in which they were unhappy and finding new partners without getting a legal divorce.

Domestic Unit. Issei families were based on the traditional kinship structure of the *ie,* or household. The term refers to both the physical structure of a household and its members and the past and future members of the household. Each individual was a registered member of a household; this included all the members marrying into the family unit. In the United States these were usually nuclear family units with the husband, wife, and children living in one household. Other family forms emerged but were less common. Households may have also included other male laborers (boarders) or unmarried or married relatives of either the husband or the wife. Thus, it was possible for families to be extended in the sense that there were non-parental relatives. Post-World War II Japanese American families are generations removed from the Meiji-era Japanese immigrant families of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Yanagisako (1985), "the ideal family is one that is a balanced compromise between a traditional past and a modern past." Japanese American families incorporate traditional Japanese values (particularly duty and obligations to filial relations) into American cultural traditions and lifestyles.

Inheritance. Families in Japan had patrilineal lines of descent in which male progeny, in order of age, receive an inheritance. In this system females marry into other family and clan groups and do not receive an inheritance. Successor-son inheritances have been replaced by equal inheritance among siblings.

Socialization. Children's relationship with their parents is extremely important in traditional Japanese society, and these values have carried over to Japanese American families. The basis of the relationship lies in the *oyako,* parent-child relations that stress reciprocal obligation. There is a strong emphasis on children obeying adult (parental) authority. Parents provide for their children because in their old age and retirement the children will be responsible for taking care of them.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Family and kin are the most important primary group obligation for Japanese Americans. Beyond this, the Japanese American community has always had a strong history of social organization. The early immigrant communities were organized around prefectural associations called *kenjinkai. A* prefecture is a geographic area roughly equivalent in size to a small state or large county. Immigrants from certain prefectures in Japan, such as Wakayama, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka, formed associations based on common interests and familiarity with the homeland region. Those associations reinforced individual ties to Japan and emphasized Japanese national identity. As anti-Japanese hostility increased, prefectural associations served to organize people against those attacks. The Japanese government was concerned about the welfare of its citizens abroad. In cooperation with local Japanese consular officials, the Issei organized the Japanese Association of America. There were branches of this organization in cities that had substantial Japanese populations. In addition to the kenjinkai, Japanese immigrants had organizations such as farmer's cooperatives and business and trade associations that served the needs of individuals in certain occupations. Buddhist and Christian churches and Japanese schools also formed the basis of secondary group associations in the United States.

The post-World War II Japanese American community continues to have a high level of social organization. Ethnic churches; sports leagues for basketball, bowling, and golf; and cultural community functions (Japanese day camp for children, arts and crafts) continue to serve as primary and secondary group social outlets for many Japanese Americans.

Political Organization. The Japanese American community follows many of the same rules and practices of leadership, politics, and decision making as other groups in American society. Since the great majority of Japanese Americans are American citizens, they are active in the political process. Urban Japanese Americans tend to be Democrats, whereas rural residents are split between the Democratic and Republican parties. Several Japanese Americans have served in prominent political positions locally, regionally, and nationally, including Senator Daniel Inouye and Congresswoman Patsy Mink of Hawaii, and Congressmen Robert Matsui and Norman Mineta of California. Mineta became the first Japanese American appointed to a cabinet position, serving in the Clinton administration as secretary of commerce. Later, he was appointed to the cabinet of the Bush administration as secretary of transportation.

Social Control. Traditional Japanese culture required a great deal of social control and conformity from its members. Individuals with different status levels defer to those of higher status. Status positions are defined within the family (parent/child) as well as within the community (profession/age/family name). The norms and values of the culture include a sense of obligation and loyalty to one's family and community. By violating these norms, one risks being socially ostracized. Japanese norms in the United States have been adaptive, developing in response to the historical situations and necessities of life in a Western cultural world. However, some aspects of traditional Japanese culture conflict with American values and expectations. Though several generations removed from the culture of Japan, Japanese American culture recognizes status deference and obligation in social relations, and this conflicts with American societal values of egalitarian relationships between individuals.

Conflict. Japanese Americans have experienced conflict with other groups in American society. The anti-Japanese movement had its origins in the anti-Chinese movement of the late nineteenth century. The anti-Japanese movement is most frequently traced to economic competition between Japanese and non-Japanese workers. Other explanations for the movement suggest cultural factors: The Japanese were perceived as foreigners from a culture that would not fully assimilate into American society.

After being confined in camps during World War II, the community had to reestablish itself. Many individuals and families lost their savings and investments and had to start over. Compensation for those losses was not adequate. In the 1980s the Japanese American community rallied around a national redress and reparations movement. The issue was settled in the early 1990s, when approximately two-thirds of the surviving former internees were awarded *$20,000* each in compensation for losses incurred during the war.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Japanese Americans have a range of religious affiliations, although most are Buddhists or Christians. Most Japanese Americans adhere to the Jodo Shinshu Nishi Hongwanji (Pure Land) tradition of Buddhism, which originated in Japan. Among Protestant Christians there are a range of denominations, including Baptist, Methodist, and Methodist-Episcopal. Missionaries from those sects worked with the Japanese community by teaching Sunday school and English classes and provided other social welfare activities within the community. The missionary work of Protestant denominations formed the basis of the Christian Japanese American ethnic church and congregation.

Religious Practitioners. The first Buddhist churches in the United States did not have ministers because religion was not a weekly activity, but religious philosophy and practice were part of everyday living. In the early Christian churches the ministers were not Japanese, but lay leaders in the church might be members of the Japanese American community. In contrast to the early religious leadership, both Buddhist and Christian Japanese American churches are now headed by men and women who are Japanese American.

Ceremonies. Japanese Americans, regardless of religious affiliation, observe different seasonal and religious holidays *(matsuri)* that are both secular and religious in nature. Members come from different parts of the community and include

non-Japanese outsiders, and these events have become symbolic of Japanese American ethnicity. The events typically occur as seasonal celebrations, such as the fall and spring festivals *(Hanamatsuri and Akimatsuri)*. Japanese traditional holidays such as Girls Day and Boys Day are celebrated within a Japanese American context. During the months of July and August, most Buddhist churches celebrate *obon,* an event that honors the dead. This takes place as a festival that includes Japanese dancing and music. Obon festivals have been transformed into larger Japanese American community events and may include games for children and adults; food, flower, and produce vendors; and other cultural activities.

Arts. Some of the artistic activities traditional to Japan have survived in the United States. The art of *ikebana* (flower arranging), classical Japanese dance, and music played on the *shamisen* and the *koto* (stringed instruments) and the *taiko* (drum) continue to be practiced and interpreted in new ways. In Los Angeles during the 1980s the band Hiroshima had several hit songs in the progressive jazz music scene. The band used traditional Japanese instruments (koto and taiko) and consisted almost exclusively of Japanese American musicians.

Japanese American writers and poets have made contributions to the literature of American society. They include prose writers such as Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, Cynthia Kadohata, Toshio Mori, John Okada, Yoshiko Uchida, Hisaye Yamamoto, and Karen Tei Yamashita and the poets Lawson Inada and Mitsuye Yamada. Visual artists include Matsusaburo and Hisako Hibi, Chiura Obata, Mine Okubo, and Henry Sugimoto. Many writings and art works document and provide a literary and visual interpretation of the World War II internment camp experience.

Death and Afterlife. Japanese Americans' views of death coincide with different religious and spiritual affiliations. Death is one of the major events that bring people from the community together. Funerals and memorial services represent a significant social responsibility and obligation by members of a family to the deceased and the deceased's family and thus can be very large affairs. There is a strong obligation to attend a funeral to recognize the accomplishments of the deceased and show respect to the surviving family members. A mortuary offering of *koden* (money) is commonplace among those attending a funeral. Because the members of a family may have different religious affiliations (the Issei generation may be Buddhist, while the Nisei and Sansei may be Christian), there is some overlap between Christian and Buddhist funeral services.

For other cultures in The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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WENDY NG

Kagwahiv

ETHNONYMS: Parintintin, Tenharém, Juma, Urueu-wau-wau, Karipuna

Orientation

Identification and Location. *Kagwahiv* is the self-designation of a number of small groups that live in the region of the middle and upper Madeira River and central Rondônia, fragments of a "Cauahiba" tribe that in the early nineteenth century lived on the upper Tapajós. The groups that call themselves *Kagwahiv* or *Kagwahivanga* all speak a language in the Tupí-Guaraní family and share features of social structure, including a pair of patrilineal exogamous moieties named for contrasting bird species. The self-designation *Kagwahiv* in its widest sense denotes "our people, " as opposed to *tapy'yn,* "enemy. "

Today the various groups that call themselves Kagwahiv are known by separate names, many conferred by enemy groups. The northernmost group is known as *Parintintin,* possibly from a Mundurucú designation. When this group was pacified in 1922, its territory extended on the eastern side of the Madeira from the Maicí and Ipixuna river drainages south to the mouth of the Machado. (The reservation now is cut off on the south by the Transamazon Highway.) East of that group are the Tenharem, who live along the Transamazon Highway east of the Marmelos River. Several other groups that occupied the area between the two—the Pãi' , the Kutipãi' , the Diahoi (Nimuendajú's *Ojahub),* and the Jupa (Bocas Pretas)—are extinct as tribal entities, their few surviving members mostly having merged with the Parintintin and Tenharem. Nimuendajú (1924) speaks of a group he calls Apeirandé. The only Kagwahiv-speaking group to cross the Madeira was the Juma, of whom seven survivors (among thirty-eight at first contact) live on the west bank.

The southernmost groups are the Urueu-wau-wau (a name given by the Warí, meaning "flute players") and

Amundava, who traverse the central Rondônia plateau and who were contacted by the FUNAI (Indian service) around 1980 after conflicts with settlers being introduced in the region. On the western end of the Rondônia plateau, north of the Paácas Novas Mountains, are the even more recently contacted Karipuna, whose name results from their being confused with a Carib group that used to be designated by that name and was settled in that area. One report mentions a group that the Warí call *Oroín* ("the painted ones"). To these groups may be added the Tupí-Cawahib visited by Lévi-Strauss on the upper Machado River; the Wyrafed, Paranauat, and Takwatyb that Rondon and Nimuendajú had earlier contacted; and the elusive *Kagwahiv do Madeirinha* on that affluent of the Rio Roosevelt, who continue to resist contact.

Linguistic Affiliation. Although there are slight differences from group to group, all these groups share a common Kagwahiv language, a Tupí-Guaraní language of the ``h" variety characterized by gender-differentiated pronouns *(ga* and *he~*). There are two major dialects: a northern dialect spoken by the Parintintin and Tenharem, along with the few surviving Juma, Pãi'i, and Diahoi among them, and a southern dialect spoken by the Urueu-wau-wau, Amundava, and Karipuna; these dialects are distinguished by small but significant differences in vocabulary. All are presumably descendants of the "Cabahyba" who inhabited the Tapajós headwaters in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one of the group of upper Tapajós tribes designated by Carl Friedrich von Martius as "Central Tupí, " which included, besides the Kagwahiv, the Kayabí (whose language shares gender-differentiated pronouns) and the Apiacá.

History and Cultural Relations

There is a limited record of the Parintintin before their pacification by an expedition led by Curt Nimuendajú in 1923 except for melodramatic accounts of their raids on rubber tappers on the Madeira. Phonological affinities with the Urubú (Ka'apor) of Maranhão suggest a coastal origin, which is confirmed by legendary accounts of a journey upriver from a ``land without water" to the present location, crossing an expanse in which the shore was out of sight for two days (possibly the lower Amazon).

The first historical references to the Kagwahiv or Cawahib do not occur until the end of the eighteenth century, when, according to Nimuendajú(1924), they were located at the confluence of the Arinos and Juruena rivers, which form the Tapajós. Nimuendajú reconstructed the history of their ancestral tribe, denoted the "Cabahyba" by Martius, from the first mention of them on the Tapajós in 1797. They were driven from the Tapajós by Portuguese-armed Mundurucú in the nineteenth century, scattering westward in several waves (Menenedez 1989) to the Madeira, where the Parintintin are now situated; to the Machado, where Lévy-Strauss and before him Rondôn and Nimuendajú encountered the "Tupí-Cawahíb"; and across the Machado to the central Rondônia highlands, where the Urueu-wau-wau, Amundava, and Karipuna are located.

Fission was a continuing process; a Pãi' chief described how the Kutipãi' split off from the Pãi' over a leadership issue. The many Kagwahiv groups at war with each other in the region might have split apart after arriving in the area or might have come successively from the Tapajós.

The Kagwahiv-Parintintin are a small, once warlike Kagwahiv group that after the mid-nineteenth century fought with rubber tappers along 250 miles (400 kilometers) of the Rio Madeira. Pacified in 1922, the Parintintin now live in clusters of small settlements scattered along tributaries throughout the territory they once dominated, which borders the eastern bank of the Rio Madeira from the Rio Marmelos (8° S) to the mouth of the Machado and east to the Maicí.

In the late nineteenth century Byahú (who died in an ambush by a Pirahã) may have been chief of all the Parintintin. After his death they divided into subregional groups: Byahú's son Pyrehakatú opened up the Ipixuna valley and became the chief there, and Diai' led the upper Maicí region, where Nimuendajú established his pacification post. A third group farther south, near the mouth of the Machado, was led by Uarino *Quatro Orelhas.* After pacification, Indian Protective Service (SPI) posts were established at Canavial on the Ipixuna and near Calamas under Garcia de Freitas, who later turned it into his personal *seringal* (rubber producing estate). In 1942, when the SPI experienced a fiscal crisis, the SPI mandate was terminated on the pretext of punishing a rebellious appointed chief, Pyrehakatu's son-in-law Paulinho Neves (Ijet), who then became the Ipixuna area chief.

Groups of Parintintin also live near Tres Casas on the seringal of Manuel Lobo, who had called on the SPI to initiate the 1922 pacification. The post of a newly established reservation under the Porto Velho agency of FUNAI (the new Indian service) is located on the Maicí Mirim. In a new policy initiative for FUNAI, the *cheje de posto* (agent in charge of a contact post) is a Parintintin, as is the teacher.

Settlements

Parintintin settlements were never very large and now average three to five nuclear families. The largest prepacification settlements of Pyrehakatú were little more than two or three times that size. Tenharem settlement was somewhat more nucleated owing to decades of subjugation to a Portuguese landowner. Settlements are typically located on *igarapés* (small waterways) for access to canoe transportation and aquatic resources, although the largest Tenharem concentration is now centered on the Transamazon Highway. Fewer water courses are available in the altiplano of Rondônia where the southern Kagwahiv are located, but even Urueu-wau-wau settlements are likely to be located near a stream.

Traditional settlements consisted of a single longhouse *(ongá)* in which each nuclear family was allotted a segment between the central pillars and the outer wall stanchions to stretch its hammocks. Only exceptionally large settlements had two longhouses. Around the longhouse was a plaza *(okará)* that was kept rigorously clear of growth, and a thriving settlement would be ringed by fruit trees. In the northern Kagwahiv groups that have a long history of contact, the ongá has been replaced by individual family houses in the style of Brazilian rubber tappers' houses, made of poles and thatch with one or two separate sleeping rooms and an open front room to receive guests. Three or four of these houses make up a present-day settlement. More recently contacted groups such as the Urueu-wau-wau and Amundaua retain

the larger longhouse, to which they may return after a long visit to the FUNAI post.

Economy

Subsistence. The traditional Kagwahiv economy is based on hunting, fishing, the gathering of nuts and palm fruits, and shifting (slash-and-burn) cultivation. Fishing is done with a bow and arrow from canoes or, during the rainy season, from triangular platforms *(mbytá)* made of poles tied between trees in the flooded forest. As the rains tail off, pools left in the forest by the receding waters are poisoned with *timbó;* the vines are beaten against logs, and the stupefied fish are speared on the surface with fishing arrows. Hunting, now done with shotguns, was once done with feathered arrows of bamboo with notched hardwood tips inserted for small game or a larger corner-notched bamboo point attached to a hardwood tip for larger game (or for warfare). Small catches of game or fish were distributed by the hunter according to family ties; larger catches were brought to the headman or the hunter's father-in-law (usually the same man), who would distribute it to the community according to the rules of allocation.

Shifting fields are cleared annually for gardening in jungle areas selected by the headman, who may assign specific areas to each family head. A man calls a collective work party to help clear the garden, repaying their labor with a feast. Women used to plant and harvest, although today this is increasingly done in family groups. Traditional crops included several varieties of maize that have been lost; now manioc and several varieties of potatoes and yams are cultivated. Fruit trees are planted in the garden areas close to the settlement site and also around the edge of the settlement clearing. Turtles are picked up in the forest, and turtle eggs laid on the beaches in dry season are gathered as a delicacy. Men cut down honey trees after the bees are smoked out.

Commercial Activities» Cash is needed to buy shotgun shells, metal tools, coffee, sugar, and clothing. The Parintintin and Tenharem buy some items they once made, such as hammocks. Economically dependent on gathering Brazil nuts and tapping rubber and *sôrva* (a latex from a jungle tree that is used in natural plastics and chewing gum), the Parintintin are hard-pressed economically. Exploitation of their resources by neighboring Brazilian settlers further threatens their livelihood. They are diminishing in numbers, counting fewer than two hundred individuals, many of whom oscillate between living on the reservation and working along the bank of the Madeira or in the nearby cities of Humaitá and Porto Velho. Men work in construction on the roads or in the cities, and women work as domestics. Some have achieved success as cooks or boatmen on *recreios* (passenger boats) and *regatóes* (vending or trading boats) on the Madeira, and a few work as translators and functionaries for FUNAI. One has achieved success in boat construction.

Industrial Arts. The main day-to-day vehicle for transportation is the canoe. Canoes are still made from hollowed tree trunks, but wooden canoes are often bought from Brazilians. Older Parintintin make excellent bows and arrows. Hammocks used to be woven from cotton planted in settlements; now they are made from the threads of worn-out commercial hammocks. Pottery has not been made in the memory of living informants. Purchased metal utensils are used for cooking; they were introduced before pacification during raids on rubber tappers' households, as were raised floors in houses.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, men cleared gardens in the dry season and women were responsible for planting, weeding, and harvesting food crops. Men, however, always gave some aid to their wives in weeding; working in the garden was understood to be a time for sexual activities as well. Today, under the influence of neighboring Brazilian settlers, harvesting manioc and other crops is much more a family activity. Men and women work together in the toasting of manioc flour and *beijus* (flat breadcakes made from manioc).

Traditionally, men hunted and women did most cooking, and this is still the case. Men now build the platforms for smoking cuts of large game for preservation. Women, and today some men, make excellent baskets, including carrying baskets for transport over trails. Women weave hammocks.

Children are often detailed to pick fruit from the settlement's fruit trees, and young boys shoot lizards and small fish with miniature bows and arrows.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Nonlocalized exogamous patrimoieties are named after birds: among the Parintintin, the *myt* *(mutum,* or curassow, a ground-dwelling game bird) and the *kwandú* (harpie eagle), with the latter also being associated with the red-headed macaw, *taravé.* While all Kagwahiv groups have the myt as one moiety, the other moiety is identified with different macaws in each case: taravé for the Tenharem and Parintintin, *kanindé* (the blue and yellow macaw) for the Urueu-wau-wau, and a different macaw for the Karipuna. Among the Parintintin the system is complicated by a third group, the Gwyrai'gwára, who are considered Kwandú but marry indiscriminately with other Kwandú or with Myt and so effectively constitute a third patrisib.

The moieties are not localized. Since the Parintintin marriage pattern is uxorilocal, the moiety of a settlement's headman will often alternate from generation to generation. On the largest Tenharem reservation all the headmen happen to be Myt , but there were Kwandú headmen before them.

The Kagwahiv are unique among all the societies of the Tupí-Guaraní family in having exogamous moieties. (The Tapirapé have nonexogamous moieties, and the Mundurucú, who have exogamous moieties, are of the Tupí macrofamily but are not Tupí-Guaraní.) It is unlikely that the moieties were borrowed from their old enemies the Mundurucú, as their Red and White moieties are quite different in structure. However, it is probable that the moieties were borrowed from a neighboring group. The most likely source is the Rikbaktsa, who were neighbors of the ancestral Cawahib tribe immediately upriver on the Arinos River. The Rikbaktsa have a pair of moieties named for birds: the yellow and scarlet macaws, both of which are among the eponymous birds of Kagwahiv moieties. Such borrowing from neighboring tribes, even hostile ones, is not uncommon among Tupí-Guaraní societies.

Kinship Terminology. Kagwahiv kin terminology is a two-line (Iroquois) system that is appropriate to moieties. All cross cousins—same-generation members of the opposite moiety—are designated *amotehé,* a term that means "lover"

in other Tupí-Guaraní languages. Bilingual Parintintin translate it into Portuguese as "unrelated. " Married amotehé traditionally observed a formal avoidance of one another, although by the 1960s only a few of the very oldest generation took that practice seriously.

Marital terms show divergence between the northern and southern dialects of Kagwahiv. The northern Kagwahiv groups—Parintintin and Tenharem—have symmetrical terms for wife and husband, with these descriptive terms meaning "she whom I have go with me" and ``he whom **I** have go with me" *(rembirekoh* , "wife, " and *rembireko'ga,* "husband"). Southern Kagwahiv speakers, as in many other Tupí-Guaraní languages, use this construction for "wife" but conserve the ancient Tupí root *men* for "husband" *(mena'ga* with the Kagwahiv masculine suffix).

The Parintintin have a distinct series of kin terms for deceased relatives. In speaking of a deceased relative, one cannot use the term employed for that person while he or she was living but must use a series of kin terms that apply only to deceased persons, some of them adding the suffix "-ve'e" to the regular kin term but some of them completely distinct: "father" = *rúva,* "deceased father" = *poría.*

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Parintintin marriage was traditionally determined by a series of arrangements beginning at birth. When a woman had a child, it would be named by a brother of hers who had a small child of the opposite sex. The brother's act of naming his sister's child established a betrothal between the named child and his own child. When of age—at the completion of the girl's menarche ritual—the betrothed pair were married, with the bride being given away by two real or classificatory brothers. Those brothers thus gained the right to give a name to her newborn child and claim that child for betrothal to one of their own children.

A man completed his marriage through a period of bride-service rendered to his father-in-law *(tutý).* At the completion of this period—about five years for a first wife, less for a subsequent one—the marriage was considered fully realized. The couple then moved to their own sector of the ongá or, more recently, were free to construct their own family house. At that point the son-in-law was free to leave the settlement if he could persuade his wife, but in practice the couple usually remained in the wife's father's group and the husband became one of his father-in-law's core followers.

Polygyny was practiced, preferably sororal, and was limited in regard to the number of wives by family complications. A first wife was free to leave if her husband took a second wife, but in some cases the first wife urged her husband to take a second one, often her sister.

Many marriages still follow the rules of moiety exogamy, but it is increasingly difficult for young people to find appropriate spouses in the opposite moiety, and the system of social relations is rapidly changing. Monogamy is enforced by the Salesian bishop who comes once a year to sanctify marriages as well as by social relations with neighboring Brazilians, who often serve as godparents for Parintintin.

Domestic Unit. During the period of bride-service the bride and groom and their children are part of the bride's father's domestic unit. They hang their hammocks in the father-in-law's section of the longhouse (today in the sleeping room of his family house) and cook at the same fire. The son-in-law delivers all his game to his father-in-law for distribution and repairs his house. He has no garden of his own but helps clear his father-in-law's garden.

On the completion of bride-service, the new family unit (by this point usually with children) traditionally would move to its own section of the longhouse and establish a separate cooking fire. By the end of the twentieth century the new family built its own separate house, with an adjacent cooking shelter. Ostensibly the husband is free to move to another settlement, but wives are usually reluctant to leave their fathers and the family usually stays in her settlement, with the son-in-law serving her father as a follower rather than being a dependent. This is how the core following of a group headman is formed.

This developmental cycle is followed most strictly in the case of marriages that are first marriages for both partners; in earlier times these marriages usually were arranged at birth. When one partner has been married before, the new couple have greater autonomy, with the extent of dependence being determined by the relative prestige of the new husband and his wife's father.

Socialization. Infants are freely nursed, carried on the mother's hip to have free access to the breast. A child continues to nurse for three years or more after birth and may be given the breast even at age four or five years when sick. Two children cannot nurse from the same mother simultaneously, and so when a child is born, its next older sibling is weaned. Feelings of sibling rivalry on the part of the displaced child are recognized and laughed about. A strong effort is made to space children at intervals of at least five years, using contraceptive herbs, to avoid what is considered premature weaning.

After a period toddlers are cared for by an older sibling, usually a big sister. The task is not entirely welcome on the older sibling's part, but a special lifelong bond grows between the young child and its caretaker. Children are given considerable freedom of choice, and physical punishment is strongly avoided, but the value of generosity and sharing is insisted on from an early age.

An infant traditionally was given its first name (*mbotagwaháv,* "play name") by a mother's brother in the naming ceremony. At initiation, a boy received his face tattoos and his first *ka'á* (penis sheath) from a father's brother who bestowed on the boy a new moiety-associated name that replaced his birth name. Thereafter, new names were taken when there were major changes of status such as marriage or entry into a new stage of life or at certain special events such as a woman on the birth of her first child and a man on taking an enemy head. A woman's initiation came at menarche, when she was isolated for ten days in a hammock behind a partition, observing strict taboos on movement and eating. At the end of that period she was carried to the river by her father or a brother and ritually bathed, and her face was tattooed. Her wedding followed this ceremony.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Because patrilineal exogamous moieties are combined with bride-service, a mature traditional

Parintintin household consists of a father and daughters of one moiety and sons-in-law of the opposite moiety. The mother's brother (tutý), as the future father-in-law, is regarded with the same respect due a father; it is the father's brother *(ruvý)* who, along with the mother's sister *(hy'ý)*, provides the warm, supportive relationships in the ascending generation.

Political Organization. Leadership in Kagwahiv societies lies primarily with the headman of the residential local group or settlement, who is called *mborerekwára'ga,* "he who binds us together, " or more often *ñanderuviháv,* which may be translated either as "our residing person, " or as "our father-person. " Among the Parintintin, the leading headman was designated the paramount chief or, later, the chief of a particular river drainage *(ńanderuvihavuhú/ mborerekwaruhú).*

A man with married daughters would become the nucleus for a settlement, with his sons-in-law as his core followers. Often the headman's authority is reinforced by a brother as coheadman, *garaúna.* The headman's wife has important duties of hospitality and as a leader of the women in the settlement; traditionally, the headman retired when his (first) wife died. He would be succeeded either by a son or by a son-in-law. A son who is expected to succeed his father may be excused from bride-service or return quickly to his father's settlement after an abbreviated period of service.

Social Control. The means of controlling conflict and unwelcome behavior in Parintintin groups is avoidance. A major focus of child socialization is to discourage competition and fighting between playmates. Undesirable behavior such as failure to share is dealt with by social pressure and ostracism. A headman works to minimize friction in the group, leading by persuasion rather than by coercion and mediating disputes. In cases of irreconcilable conflict, one party to the conflict moves out of the group. Thus, intragroup conflicts are channeled into intergroup ones, leading to a situation of rivalry and antagonism between neighboring groups.

Conflict. Since intergroup discord may lead to fission of a society, this situation may lead to warfare among neighboring Kagwahiv groups. Warfare was a cultural focus of precontact Parintintin society, as in other coastal Tupí societies. Raids could be organized by any warrior and were led by two *ñimbolpáranga,* "raid organizers, " whose position lasted only for the duration of the raid. A focus of male prestige was the taking of an enemy head, which would be exhibited at an *akangwéra torýva* ("head-trophy dance"), a lavish festivity celebrating the exploit. It was cosponsored by the head taker, who thus achieved the honored status of okokwaháv, and another prominent warrior, often a headman. There is evidence of the ritual consumption of certain body parts of the slain enemy to gain prized qualities or to help women have a male child. The killer was obliged to undergo a period of ritual seclusion like a woman's menarche seclusion. He then assumed a new name.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The cosmological frame of the Parintintin world view is laid out in the myth of Pindova'umi'ga (or Mbirova'úmi'ga), the spiritually powerful ancient chief/*pajé* (shaman) who brought into being the Sky People (Yvága'nga), who appear to shamans during their healing ceremonies. After going successively into the sky, into the river, underground, and into a tree and finding them already occupied by, respectively, too many vultures, fish, ghosts, and bees, he lifted his house and the most productive forest land to the vacant second level of the sky, where he and his offspring became the Sky People. The mythical model for shamans, he is distinguished from the trickster-creator Mbahíra (Maír in other Tupí mythologies), who brought fire to humankind and originated many cultural items and processes as well as shaping the landscape but does little in the current world. A third ancestor, "Old Woman" (Ngwãiv), was cremated by her sons and transformed into corn, manioc, and other tubers.

These myths and a few others form the core of the extensive Parintintin mythology, and some of them are also told among the Tenharem and Uru-eu-wau-wau.

Ceremonies. A major festivity was the celebration of the taking of an enemy head. Like the women's initiation ritual, it is no longer practiced. One area of ritual has survived. Food taboos are an enduring and central part of the lives of older Parintintin. These taboos probably are more generally observed among the more recently contacted tribes. Different sets of food avoidances (mainly fish, meat, and honey) apply during pregnancy and after the child's birth, for all parents from the birth of the first child until old age, and during a sickness. Avoidance for sickness, especially a child's, applies to close relatives as well as the sick person. Handling manioc is dangerous when one is sick. Eating agouti, which makes one lazy, is prohibited for young men of the age when they used to be warriors.

Sex is prohibited when timbó is being used to poison fish; it will interfere with the action of the poison. Sex between parallel cousins (members of the same moiety, clan siblings) will cause the deaths of the children of the offenders.

Certain acts make a hunter *paném,* unable to kill a certain species of animal or fish or any species with an affected weapon. Hunters who suspect they are paném now go to a *curandeiro* (syncretic Amazonian curer) to be freed from that state.

Religious Practitioners. Curing beyond the herbal level was done by a shaman *(ipají)* in a ceremony called the *tocáia* ("hunting blind"). One ipají would go into trance inside a small hut (tocáia) in the plaza, undergoing a spirit journey to all sectors of the cosmos to summon the spirits to come and blow on the patient to heal him or her. Another shaman would remain outside the tocáia to engage in a dialogue with the spirits that were summoned. The regions to which the shaman journeyed in his trance corresponded to the sectors of the cosmos visited by Pindova'umi'ga. The journey concludes with a visit to summon the Sky People, climaxing with Pindova'umi'ga. Each spirit would announce himself with a signature song (sung through the voice of the ipají in the tocáia) and was greeted by the ipají outside, who would ask for its help. Shamans had special relationships with spirit familars *(rupigwára),* and also used dreams to bring about desired events.

The central religious rite of Parintintin culture, the ritual of curing by an ipají, is no longer practiced. The transmission of shamanism is a complicated process that started with

an older shaman dreaming the birth of his successor, and the chain of transmission was broken by the premature death of many shamans in the epidemics that followed pacification. Many of the children dreamed by the last ipají are still alive, but he died before he could pass on his knowledge to them.

Medicine. Parintintin travel to Humaitá to use the public health system or to Pôrto Velho to be treated by FUNAI doctors, but to supplement these medical treatments, they regularly turn to local Brazilian curandeiros, whose methods blend old Iberian curing traditions with indigenous practices.

Death and Afterlife. Death was often announced by the spirit of the dying person in dreams of close relatives. Relatives would gather around the body and wail through the night. The body was then buried by members of the opposite moiety, wrapped in a hammock and accompanied by the deceased's personal possessions. Affines of the deceased made gifts to the deceased's relatives. Concepts of the afterlife are little developed. The dead become ghosts *(añang),* which are much feared; contact with añang can cause death or madness. Ideas that the soul *(raúv)* goes to join the Sky People may be traced to missionary influence.

For the original article on the Kagwahiv, *see* Volume 7, South America.

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WAUD KRACKE

Kirikiri

ETHNONYMS: The Kirikiri consist of three dialect groups. These groups call themselves Kirikiri, Taû, and Faia. Except where indicated, Kirikiri is used here to refer to all three dialect groups.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Kirikiri live in the western Lakes Plains region of Papua (Irian Jaya) Province in Indonesia, about 220 miles (350 kilometers) west of the provincial capital, Jayapura. The Kirikiri area encompasses about 200 square miles (500 square kilometers). The area is a vast sago swamp with many small rivers, lakes, and back-waters in the Rouffaer river basin. The elevation is 490 feet (150 meters) above sea level and there are no significant differences in rainfall or temperature throughout the year.

Demography. As of 2000, the largest group of the three groups was the Taû with 175 members, followed by the Kirikiri and the Faia, with 70 and 50 people respectively. The population density is less than one per square mile. The people generally do not speak any of the national language nor have they received formal education of any kind.

Linguistic Affiliation. Kirikiri is classified as Papuan, Geelvink Bay Phylum, Lakes Plains Superstock, West Lakes Plains Family, Kirikiri. The three dialects share 95 percent cognate words. Kirikiri is an isolating and tonal language with six phonemic consonants (f, b, t, l, s, k), seven phonemic vowels (i, I, e, a, o, u, U, where I and U are fricated variants of the high vowels) and six phonemic tone patterns.

History and Cultural Relations

The known history of the Kirikiri people covers about twenty years. In 1928 brief contact probably was made by the Smithsonian Institution's Matthew Stirling expedition as it passed through the area on its way to the Nassau Mountains in search of pygmies. However, no oral history of that event was known by Kirikiri living at the end of the twentieth century. Outsiders first contacted the people who spoke the Kirikiri dialect in 1978, and this name subsequently was used for all three dialect groups. The Taû group was contacted in 1982, and the Faia group in 1990.

In 1985 the Bauzi people from the Van Rees Mountains nearly exterminated the Faia group by killing every adult. The children were taken captive and raised by Bauzis in native Faia territory. Although these children (in 2000 constituting about fifty adults) no longer speak Faia, they and the land of their parents are still considered Faia by the Bauzis and by neighboring language groups. Throughout their history the Kirikiri groups did not integrate with the more numerous neighboring groups. This has produced unique characteristics, such as a language very distinct from the neighboring languages, and the fact that 30 percent of the Kirikiri people are left-handed and one in fourteen births consists of twins. Even interaction between the Kirikiri groups was limited. Until 1995 the Kirikiri and Taû groups did not know that the Faia group existed. Whereas the Faia group fought and traded with the Bauzi, Biri, and Deirate peoples, the Kirikiri and Taû groups fought and traded with the Fayu and Elopi peoples.

Settlements

The Kirikiri do not live in villages but in single dwellings along the riverbanks. Each house is inhabited by a nuclear family (a man and his wife or wives and children) and is less than half a mile from the nearest neighboring house. Sometimes brothers live at the same location, either in another house or in one large house. Before the mid-1980s extended families lived under a single roof. The houses are about forty-three square feet (four square meters) and are built on poles about three feet (one meter) off the ground. The frame is made of wood from small trees; the floor is made of palm bark and roofs are made of sago leaf thatch. Some houses have an outer wall that faces the river. There is one village in each of the dialect areas where there is an airstrip, a church, and other public buildings. Each family has a house in these villages, but the people occupy these houses only when there is a specific need to be in the village (for instance, for celebrations, immunizations, and church services).

Economy

Subsistence. The Kirikiri are hunter-gatherers and change residence every few weeks in search of new food supplies. The primary food sources are sago flour obtained from the sago palm and breadfruit. The primary sources of protein are fish and other river animals as well as wild pigs, birds, and insects from the forest. The Kirikiri plant bananas, taro, and sugarcane in clearings but do not tend gardens or engage in animal husbandry. After around 1995 this lifestyle began to change as some Kirikiri experimented with sweet potato gardens and pig raising.

Commercial Activities, Since 1995 some Kirikiri men have worked for money as menial laborers for a lumber company. They buy knives, axes, clothes, salt, and other items with the money they earn.

Industrial Arts. Kirikiri men produce bows and arrows, dugout canoes, musical instruments, and some household items such as bone and bamboo knives, fetishes, bamboo and flint fire makers, and body ornaments. As recently as 1988 some Kirikiri were using stone and bone tools exclusively. The women produce fishing dip nets, string bags, and household items such as sleeping mats, bark cloth, and bark containers. Traditionally, the Kirikiri do not have cooking containers. Since 1990 they have traded and bought pots, metal knives, woks, and other cooking equipment.

Trade. Traditionally, the Kirikiri traded among themselves or with outside groups with which a family had an alliance. This trade centered on the exchange of girls and the settlement of the bride-price. Items in the exchange included bows and arrows, ornaments, and food. Since 1990, the exchange has also included knives, axes, clothes, and other store-bought items.

Division of Labor. Men hunt, make canoes and houses, and protect the family and clan. They also help in making sago flour by cutting down the sago trees and pulverizing the pith. Since the mid-1990s men have gone to work at a lumber company for three to nine months at a time. Women do most of the fishing and food gathering, including most sago flour processing. They also raise the children.

Land Tenure. Both men and women own land. A child has the right to hunt and gather food on his or her father's and mother's land. There is no concept of trading or selling land. Non-food-producing trees are considered common property. As of 2001 there were no outsiders occupying Kirikiri land, but timber concessions frequently are granted to lumber companies by the government to take timber from the area.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Each of the three Kirikiri groups consists of a number of clans, each with a headman. These clans hold food-gathering rights to a specific territory. Lineage is determined from the father's clan. Alliances are made between clans through the trading of brides.

Kinship Terminology. In the Kirikiri kinship system, the father and all his siblings are given one kin term and the mother and all her siblings are given another kin term. However, the children of the parent's same-sex siblings are considered siblings, whereas the children of the parent's opposite-sex siblings are considered cross-cousins. Males and females use the same terms, ``older'' and ``younger, '' for siblings of the same sex as the speaker, but males have a single term for older and younger female siblings and females have a single term for older and younger male siblings.

In the affinal system, a woman calls her husband's sisters by the same term a man uses for his wife's brothers and his wife's sister's husband. Additionally, a male has a kin term for his wife's sisters and a different term for his wife's brother's wife.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages are arranged by males in the extended families of the couple. These arrangements include the bride-price, which, in addition to goods, can include the groom laboring for the bride's family and the promise of future brides from the groom's clan. Girls can be pronounced "married" as early as age eight but typically are twelve or thirteen. Boys are married at ages eighteen to twenty. Consummation occurs after the girl's first menstrual period, at which time the couple moves out of the bride's family's house and begins liv-

ing together in their own house. A marriage is considered an alliance between two families or clans. One is not allowed to marry someone for whom he or she has a cons anguine al kin term. A man may have more than one wife, but the additional wives are almost always widows. Widows with children do not require a bride-price, but a widow's late husband's brothers must approve of her remarriage. If a marriage is intolerable for the woman, she can, at risk of her life, run away.

Domestic Unit. Typically, a household consists of a man, his wife or wives, and his children and stepchildren. If he is the oldest son and has a widowed parent alive, the parent also will live with him. Each adult woman has her own hearth. Each woman has on average four children who live to adulthood. On occasion brothers live together in one large house.

Inheritance. Property is not inherited; instead, one has rights to hunt and gather on land owned by one's parents and one's spouse. At the owner's death, material possessions are buried with the deceased or left on top of the grave.

Socialization. The mother and the father are the main caretakers and teachers of children. Skills are learned by observation, and care is taken that mistakes are never made. At about age eight boys learn about the sacred flute cult and begin consuming semen from their older, usually unmarried, kinsmen. This practice ensures that they will grow up to be masculine and virile. At about age sixteen a boy is allowed to participate in community "fights" that consist of threats but rarely bloodshed. These fights are over trivial matters and are designed to give a boy the opportunity to prove that he is someone to be reckoned with.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Kirikiri organize themselves by clan. Each clan is of equal status, and although there is a headman, within each clan individual male members have equal status. However, headmen are more persuasive and/or aggressive than other males. A person receives clan allegiance from his or her father. Women are equal in terms of rights to land and have an opportunity to voice opinions on family matters, including the choice of husband for one's daughter. Men, women, and children eat together and share food equally. Most people over age ten are expected to find the bulk of their food themselves and share the excess with family members.

Political Organization. Decisions are reached by discussion in which every adult is given a chance to express an opinion. The headman of the clan is considered the wisest, and his opinion carries the most weight. Although most go along with a group decision, no one is obligated to do what the group or the headman decides. The headman sometimes is called on to negotiate with other language groups on behalf of his clan. After the mid-1990s a new hierarchical system of authority was introduced by the Indonesian government. This system requires that the Kirikiri be represented by one person and that everyone accept the authority of the government. As of 2001 this introduced system has not had any practical impact.

Social Control. Conflict most often arises from the theft of food, extramarital affairs, and accusations of sorcery. Theft is resolved through dialogue and payment. The other two sources of conflict can result in violence and death. If death results, revenge by reciprocal murder is sought and a cycle is started that is difficult to end. When peace is made, a large payment is settled on, and in some serious cases where the offense is clear, the offender is executed by a family member of the offended.

Conflict. When these conflicts are with other neighboring groups (mainly the Elopi, Fayu, and Tause peoples) and the issue is murder, a member of the offending family can hand over one of its members to the offended family, usually for execution. Since the early 1990s this has become increasingly rare. Governmental and religious institutions are encouraging dialogue rather than fighting and are mediating intergroup disputes.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Kirikiri believe in a seen world and an unseen world that coexist. Malevolent spirits of deceased acquaintances who have somewhat supernatural powers over health, hunting, and fertility inhabit the unseen. These spirits have to be kept at bay through a host of food and sex taboos and by placating them with symbols of affection. Animals also have spirits that can adversely affect the living. The Kirikiri cosmos does not include a creator being or other superterrestrial beings. In their folklore, women spirits (especially those who died in childbirth) are particularly dangerous and bird spirits can be benevolent.

Christianity was introduced to the Kirikiri in the mid-1980s by evangelists from the highland Dani group. Because these evangelists could not speak the Kirikiri language or understand the culture, the impact has been superficial. However, changes in burial practices, better hygiene, and the near elimination of intergroup warfare were major effects.

Religious Practitioners. There are no religious specialists in Kirikiri culture. All males are taught to control power from the spirit world though the use of sorcery. However, men who are renowned for being better at sorcery than others are sought out. Since all human spirits are malevolent, all sorcery drawing on their power is malevolent as well.

Ceremonies. Sorcery is done by obtaining something from the intended victim (hair, feces, a possession) and cursing it through the help of the spirit world. The Kirikiri also have a secret flute cult. Bamboo flutes (28 to 47 inches long; 70 to 120 centimeters) are made by men at the time of their use. They are blown in pairs (usually by brothers) hocket style, with no break in sound between the players. The sound is said to be the voice of the cassowary and helps ensure good hunting. When the blowing session is finished, the flutes are smashed and thrown into the river. Only men are allowed to see or blow the flutes. If a woman sees them, she will be gang raped and then killed.

Arts. The Kirikiri traditionally do not express art communally. They sing individually (while working, accompanying a child, and mourning) and improvisationally, using a four-note "scale. " Since intergroup warfare ceased in the early 1980s the Kirikiri have borrowed many songs and some dances from neighboring groups.

Medicine. The Kirikiri believe that all ill health is due to the malevolence of the spirit world, directly or through a curse. Treatment includes bloodletting and burning the affected area. A pig is sacrificed if the problem is deemed especially serious. Lesser ills, such as sore muscles and headaches, are treated by rubbing stinging nettles on the area or by blowing magic.

Death and Afterlife. When a Kirikiri dies, his or her spirit enters the spirit world and becomes malevolent. The degree of malevolence depends on the nature of the death. Traditionally, the body was placed in a tree or kept in the rafters of the house until the flesh rotted off the bones. These bones were kept for their power. Signs of mourning include covering the mourners' bodies with mud, especially the face, and all-night singing. Mourning can last several weeks to several years. Since the advent of Christianity, the Kirikiri have buried their dead. If he is male, they make a coffin out of his canoe, tear down his house, and build a small shelter over his grave. His belongings are buried with him or put on the grave. Women's burials are similar except that the coffins are made from whatever materials can be found locally.

For other cultures in Indonesia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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DUANE A. CLOUSE

Korean Americans

Orientation

Identification and Location. Before 1965 Korean immigrants settled primarily in Hawaii, California, and other West Coast states. The earlier immigrants were found particularly in Honolulu, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Post-1965 immigrants are more widely distributed throughout the United States, but California is still a magnet for Korean immigrants, with a heavy concentration in Los Angeles and Orange counties. The New York-New Jersey area is the second largest Korean center after southern California. Other cities such as San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Atlanta, and Dallas also have significant Korean populations.

Demography. The Korean community in the United States is largely the by-product of the immigration law that has been in force since 1965. The U. S. Census shows that the Korean population increased from approximately 70, 000 in 1970 to 800, 000 in 1990 and to 1, 100, 000 in 2000. Taking into account Korean Americans not counted in the 2000 census, the Korean population was close to 1. 3 million in 2000. In 1990, 28 percent of Korean Americans were native-born. The proportion of native-born Korean Americans increased in the 1990s.

Linguistic Affiliation. Korean immigrants in North America are a very homogeneous group in terms of culture and historical experiences. Language probably is the most significant element of ethnicity, and Koreans speak a single language. This monolingual background has helped Korean immigrants maintain their ethnic attachments. Koreans used Chinese characters for many centuries, but in the fourteenth century Great King Sejong created the Korean alphabet, *Hangul.* All Korean immigrants can speak Korean and can read the alphabet. Thus, they exclusively speak Korean at home and depend on the Korean-language media for information and recreational activities. Although second-generation Korean Americans feel more comfortable speaking English, many of them also speak the mother tongue.

History and Cultural Relations

Approximately 7, 200 Koreans came to Hawaii to work on sugar plantations between 1882 and 1905. They composed the first wave of Korean immigrants to the United States, although nearly a hundred Koreans had crossed the Pacific bridge after diplomatic relations were established with the United States in 1882. Economic hardship in Korea precipitated by a nationwide famine was the primary factor in the movement of pioneer Korean immigrants, along with the shortage of manual laborers in Hawaii.

Most pioneering Korean immigrants planned to return to Korea as soon as they earned enough money. Most were younger males who had lived in Seoul, Inchon, and other urban areas of Korea, where they had worked as manual laborers. Forty percent of them were Christians, and the majority attended Korean Christian churches in the United States. The exposure to American missionaries in Korea was a major factor that influenced Koreans to migrate to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century.

Early immigration came to a sudden end in the summer of 1905, when Korea became a Japanese protectorate after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War. Under pressure from the Japanese government, the Korean Foreign Ministry instructed the mayors of port cities to stop issuing passports. Before Korean immigrants went to Hawaii, Japanese workers monopolized plantation work on those islands. The immigration of Korean workers to Hawaii hindered the monopoly of labor by Japanese workers. Thus, the Japanese government pressured the Korean government not to send more emigrants to Hawaii to protect the economic interests of Japanese workers.

After 1905, about 2, 000 more Korean came to Hawaii and California before Asian immigration was banned in 1924. Almost all Korean immigrants between 1906 and 1924 were either "picture brides" of the earlier male immigrants or students and politicians engaged in the anti-Japanese movement that followed the annexation of Korea by Japan

in 1910. Korean community leaders in Hawaii and California led the immigrants' activities in the anti-Japanese independence movement. Korean churches became the most important ethnic organizations for pre-1965 immigrants by helping them maintain social interactions with fellow Koreans and preserve their cultural traditions. The national origins quota system that came into effect in 1924 completely barred Korean immigration until the end of World War II.

The close political, military, and economic connections between the United States and South Korea that began with the Korean War in 1950 caused immigration to resume. Between 1950 and 1964 more than 15,000 Koreans were admitted to the United States as legal immigrants. Most of the Koreans admitted during this intermediate period were the "war brides" who married American servicemen in Korea and later were invited by their spouses to come to the United States. The Korean orphans adopted by American citizens composed a significant proportion of the immigrants in this period. Both the rate of intermarriage and the adoption of Korean children by American citizens increased in the 1970s and 1980s.

The Immigration Act of 1965 led to a dramatic increase in Asian immigration, and South Korea has been one of the major source countries for the new immigration. Between 1976 and 1990 South Korea sent more than 30,000 immigrants a year to the United States. Post-1965 Korean immigrants have been primarily economic immigrants seeking a higher standard of living. Also, many Koreans moved to the United States to give their children a better opportunity to obtain a college education. In addition, U.S.-Korean political, economic, and military links and U.S. cultural influence in South Korea were important structural factors that have contributed to the mass influx. Korean immigration peaked in 1987 at about 36,000 but has fallen since 1988. In 1994 the number of Korean immigrants dropped to about 16,000, less than half the number in 1987.

Improved economic, social, and political conditions in South Korea are largely responsible for this recent gradual reduction. The standard of living in South Korea has risen greatly, and social and political insecurity has been reduced substantially. South Korea had a presidential election in 1987, ending a 26-year military dictatorship. Also, economic recession in the United States affected Korean small business owners. South Koreans are increasingly well informed about the difficulties Korean immigrants have adjusting to the United States. Recently, many immigrants have returned to Korea permanently, giving up their "American dream."

Settlements

In the late 1960s most Korean Americans resided in the West, with the largest number in Los Angeles. New Korean immigrants usually settled in the areas where they could get help from relatives and friends. As a result of chain migration, Los Angeles and other West Coast cities, such as San Francisco and San Jose, continued to attract Korean immigrants. However, economic opportunity was the primary motive for Korean immigrants to settle in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, and other cities where there were few Koreans in the late 1960s.

In the 1970s many Koreans were admitted as occupational immigrants, particularly as medical professionals. Large numbers of those immigrants chose New York, Chicago, and other Eastern and Midwestern cities because they received job offers from hospitals. Once Korean occupational immigrants established an immigration chain in these cities, they continued to bring their relatives and friends. Post-1965 immigrants usually chose to settle in large metropolitan cities.

Korean immigrants tend to establish ethnic enclaves. Since the later 1970s Koreans in Los Angeles have developed an enclave known as "Koreatown." about three miles west of downtown Los Angeles. Koreatown is the home of about half the Koreans in Los Angeles. There are approximately 3,500 Korean stores with Korean-language signs in Koreatown, where coethnics find Korean food, groceries, books and magazines, and services. About one-fourth of Koreans in New York City are concentrated in Flushing, Queens, which has emerged as the Koreatown of New York. Most Koreans in Flushing live near the downtown area, where they have established a Korean business district, *Hanin Sanga.* Koreans in Chicago, San Francisco, and other cities have established their own ethnic enclaves. New immigrants with language difficulties have settled in Korean enclaves, drawn by the availability of ethnic foods and other ethnically-oriented services and the potential for employment in Korean-owned stores.

Economy

Commercial Activities. Korean immigrants have developed a unique method of economic adaptation by concentrating in a limited range of small businesses. Korean immigrants in the late 1960s and early 1970s expected to obtain white-collar and professional positions in the fields in which they had been trained. However, because of the language barrier, familiarity with American customs, and other disadvantages, most had to switch to low-level, blue-collar occupations. Many reluctantly turned to small business as an alternative to blue-collar employment. In the early 1970s many Korean immigrants engaged in trade between their host and home countries, importing manufactured goods such as wigs, handbags, jewelry, and clothing from South Korea. Korean importers distributed the merchandise mainly to Korean retailers.

Korean immigrants moved into other types of businesses such as groceries, produce and liquor retailing, dry cleaning, and garment manufacturing. Koreans in Los Angeles, New York, and other major centers are overrepresented in these businesses. Korean grocery, liquor, and produce stores are heavily concentrated in African American neighborhoods, and this situation has produced Korean-African American tension and conflict. Many Korean stores in black neighborhoods have been subject to boycotts and other forms of rejection, and during the 1992 Los Angeles riots about 2,300 Korean stores were destroyed.

Division of Labor. Because of the influence of Confucianism, traditional gender role differentiation has been preserved in South Korea. Only one-fourth of married women in Korea participate in the labor force. However, the immigration of Koreans to the United States has led to a radical increase in women's participation in the labor force. In 1990 approximately *60* percent of married Korean American

women worked outside the home, in comparison to 58 percent of white married women. Because of their involvement in small businesses, married Korean immigrant women usually work long hours. Korean immigrant women increased their economic role without changes in their husbands' conservative attitudes toward genders; this, along with overwork and work-related stress, has contributed to marital conflict in many families.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Confucianism was dominant in Korea before Christianity was adopted in the beginning of the twentieth century. Confucianism emphasizes consanguineal ties and ancestor worship, and Koreans consider kin ties beyond the nuclear family very important.

Although Korean immigrants maintain strong kin ties, they have adapted to an American nuclear family system that focuses on married partners and their unmarried children. Less than half the Korean elderly in the United States live with their adult children, a significant decrease from the 75 percent in Korea. Korean elders who live with their children were usually invited to live with them in the United States. The Koreans who immigrated to the United States in their forties and fifties have reached their retirement age in the United States and mostly live independently. Korean immigrants tend to depend more on relatives than on friends to help them adjust to the United States, yet they gradually switch from kin members to nonkin for friendship and recreational activities. Few Korean immigrant families observe the rituals of ancestor worship, as the vast majority of them are affiliated with Korean Protestant or Catholic churches.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Both legally and by custom, divorce is more difficult in Korea than in the United States, although the divorce rate has increased radically in South Korea over the last several years. Thus, Korean immigrants have a substantially lower divorce rate than do white Americans. However, Korean immigrants have a much higher divorce rate than does the population in Korea. Even intact Korean immigrant families have far more marital and generational conflicts than do intact families in Korea.

Domestic Unit. Whereas the vast majority of the early twenieth-century Korean immigrants came to the United States as temporary, single male laborers, most contemporary immigrants have arrived in family units. This suggests that most Korean Americans live in intact families. The 1990 census showed that 15 percent of Korean Americans lived in single-person households and that 83 percent of Korean American families were married couple families. In the United States, adult children usually live independently from their parents. But many Korean American adult children, especially daughters, live with their parents until they get married.

Socialization. As a consequence of the Confucian cultural tradition, child socialization in South Korea still emphasizes children's obedience to and respect for parents and other adults. Korean immigrant parents, the vast majority of whom completed their formal education in South Korea, are more authoritarian than are most American parents, although there are significant class differences in child socialization practices. Another core element of Confucianism is an emphasis on children's social mobility through education. Many Korean immigrant parents came to the United States to give their children a good education. Korean parents pressure their children to succeed in school and make them study for many hours after school. Korean parents also practice a traditional form of gender socialization, treating boys and girls differently.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Korean community has a large number of ethnic organizations that provide services, facilitate social interactions among Koreans, and provide information. These organizations include ethnic churches, alumni associations, ethnic media, social service agencies, cultural organizations, recreational associations, occupational associations (trade and professional), and surname and provincial associations. As of 2000, there are approximately 4,000 Korean Protestant or Catholic churches in the United States. Korean ethnic churches provide important practical services for immigrants. Each major Korean community has developed a number of ethnic media, including newspapers and television stations. The ethnic media play a central role in integrating geographically dispersed Koreans and supply news from Korea.

Political Organization. Each major Korean community has a central organization whose president usually is elected every one or two years. The two major functions of the organization are to mediate between Koreans and the government and other ethnic groups and to provide services for new immigrants. Each major community has several specialized political organizations, including those established by younger-generation Koreans, which have particular objectives. For example, younger-generation Koreans in Los Angeles established the Korean American Coalition in 1983 to increase Koreans' political power and protect Korean interests in relation to the media, governmental bodies, and outside interest groups. Korean trade associations protect merchants and have been involved in boycotting white suppliers and lobbying government agencies to protect Korean American business interests.

Conflict. Korean immigrants have been involved in major intergroup conflicts because of their middleman economic role, connecting low-income minority customers and white suppliers. Many Korean grocery and liquor store owners in African American neighborhoods have been subject to boycotts, and many were destroyed during the 1992 Los Angeles riots. Korean merchants have had conflicts with white suppliers, white landlords, and government agencies over economic interests. Koreans' business-related intergroup conflicts have strengthened their ethnic solidarity. The fate of Korean merchants during the Los Angeles riots awakened Korean immigrants' political consciousness and younger-generation Koreans' sense of ethnic identity.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Korean immigrants came largely from the Christian population in the home country. About 55 per-

cent of Korean immigrants attended Christian churches in Korea before immigration. Many immigrants who were described as Buddhists or nonreligious are now affiliated with Korean Protestant or Catholic churches in the United States. Today about 75 percent of Korean immigrants are affiliated with Korean Christian churches whereas less than 5 percent are affiliated with Korean Buddhist temples. Korean Buddhists and those with no religious affiliation can convert relatively easily to Christianity because their Confucian values and customs regulate much of their behavior and attitudes.

Religious Practitioners. Most Korean Christians attend church for religious purposes. However, Korean immigrant churches also serve several practical social functions. Perhaps their most important social function is to provide fellowship for new immigrants. Separated from their relatives and friends in Korea, the immigrants need new networks to cope with alienation in the larger, foreign environment. Korean churches are places where new immigrants can meet and socially interact with other Koreans, and these churches also provide many services, including immigrant orientation. Through their participation in Korean churches, immigrants can maintain their cultural traditions and identity. Most of these churches have established a Korean school to teach the younger generation the native language, culture, and history. Churches in each Korean community have established an association or a council that is very influential in the community, such as the Council of Korean Churches in Greater New York. When Koreans need to mobilize people for demonstrations, boycotts, and other collective activities, they receive support and cooperation from the Council of Korean Churches. The council has often had conflicts with the Korean Association of New York, the central political organization, over holding the annual Korean festival on Sunday and other community issues.

Ceremonies. In traditional Korean society a wedding ceremony was held at a groom's home following Confucian customs. Nowadays, however, a western-style wedding ceremony held at a commercial wedding hall or a church is widely accepted in South Korea, although the traditional wedding is still practiced in many rural villages. In the Korean immigrant community where the majority of the population is Christian, a Christian-style wedding ceremony is usually held at a Korean church and presided over by a pastor, with prayers given in the Korean language and hymns sung by all participants. The same is true of funerals. While most people in South Korea still perform the Confucian-style funeral ceremony, Korean immigrants usually hold a Christian-style memorial service in a chapel. Even if the family involved is not Christian, the wedding or funeral more often than not follows the Christian style because most participants are Christians. Major changes in Korean Americans' wedding and funeral ceremonies reflect the impact of the Christianization of the Korean immigrant population on Korean ethnic culture.

An important element of Korean traditional wedding and funeral ceremonies that has not changed from South Korea to the United States is the custom of invitees to donate a significant amount *of* money to help the involved families cover wedding or funeral costs. As of 2000, each couple invited to a wedding contributes an average of $250 to a bride or a groom. Because more than one hundred couples are usually invited to a wedding, a new marital couple can save some money after paying off wedding costs. While this custom of a generous donation is good for the host families, it imposes financial burdens on the invited families.

Arts. Korean Cultural Service, a semigovernmental organization that promotes Korean culture, is located in New York and Los Angeles. It regularly displays Korean artistic and calligraphic works and shows traditional Korean films. It also invites performing artists from Korea to introduce traditional Korean dances and music to Korean Americans and other American citizens. Koreans emphasize their children's musical talent. As a result, there are many internationally known Korean pianists and musicians. Carnegie Hall and Lincoln Center in New York have Korean dances and concerts almost every month. There are a number of Korean cultural organizations, including several dance groups, choirs, and symphony orchestras, in New York and Los Angeles that regularly put on concerts of Korean dances and music.

Medicine. Koreans in the United States usually participate in the American health care system, but there are a number of acupuncture clinics and Asian herb shops in Korean enclaves. Elderly Koreans and new immigrants depend partly on acupuncture and Asian herbs. Many immigrants who participate in the American health care system prefer Korean physicians, nurses, and pharmacists because of their common language.

For other cultures in The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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PYONG GAP MIN

Koreans in China

ETHNONYMS: Korean/Chaosen

Orientation

Identification and Location. Koreans in the People's Republic of China (PRC) self-identify as *Chosun Saram* ("Men of Chosun"), which the Chinese government calls *Chaosenzu* in accordance with Chinese pronunciation. They have a strong sense of connection to their homeland, although the younger generation, especially those under age thirty, tends to separate nation from state, saying, "Korea is our motherland, but PRC is our fatherland." Because of this ideological and emotional divide, tension and conflict exist between the older and younger generations. As a whole, however, these people maintain their cultural tradition, a strong sense of ethnic identity, and feelings of cultural superiority to other ethnic groups, including the majority Han.

Demography. Koreans in China are the seventeenth largest of the fifty-six official minority groups in China. According to the 1990 census, 1,920,597 Koreans live in China (0.169 percent of the total population). Most Koreans (97 percent, or 1,864,760) are concentrated in the three northeastern provinces of Jilin (1,181,964), Heilungjiang (450,398), and Liaoning (230,378). The next largest concentration is in Inner Mongolia (22,641), and the rest are dispersed throughout the country.

Most Koreans live in rural areas, but some live in urban areas. Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin Province has 821,479 Koreans, or 43 percent of the total population. In the cities in the prefecture, 183,994 live in Lungjing, 177,547 in Yanji, 136,894 in Holung, 92,100 in Hunchun, 85,049 in Wangqing, 69,166 in Turnen, and 24,745 in Antu. There are 14,508 Koreans in Changbai Korean Autonomous County. Cities with over 10,000 Koreans are Jilin, Tunghua, and Baishan in Jilin Province; Mudanjiang, Harbin, Jiamushi, Jixi, and Yichun in Heilungjiang Province; and Shenyang, Fusun, Tieling, and Bonxi in Liaoning Province.

Linguistic Affiliation. Koreans in China speak Korean of the Tungus-Altaic linguistic family and use an alphabet with ten vowels and nineteen consonants called *Han-gul* that was invented in 1443 C.E. Korean words lack gender, number, and case. Gender is expressed by a prefix denoting sex, number is expressed by adding a particle denoting plurality, and case is determined by particles known as postpositions. The basic word order in a sentence is subject-object (or complement)-predicate. Adjectives come before nouns, and adverbs come before verbs. Koreans are concerned about propriety in language behavior, and there are seven or eight different levels of honorifics. Various forms of verbs and different words are used as terms of address and terms of reference denoting the relationship between the speaker and the addressee or a third person.

In Yanbian the Korean language and alphabet are used as the official language along with Han Chinese. At most schools for Koreans in the northeastern region, from elementary school to college, classes are taught in Korean by 1,800 Korean teachers. There are twelve newspapers and twenty journals and magazines published in Korean, and five radio and television stations broadcast in Korean. Students, businesspeople, and officials in urban areas speak both Korean and Chinese.

History and Cultural Relations

Historically, the northeastern provinces were inhabited by various ethnic groups of the Tungus family, including the Ye, Maek, Buyo, Suksin, Malgal, Yeojin (Yurchin, later called Manzu), and Khitan. The first three were the names of subgroups of Koreans that established the ancient Korean kingdoms of Ancient Chosun (according to myth, 2333 B.CE.-109 B.C.E.), Kokuryo (313 C.E-668 CE.), and Palhae (668 C.E.-926 C.E.) in northeastern China (Manchuria). There had been close ethnic and cultural interactions among these groups. After the Tang conquered the Kokuryo kingdom and later the Khitan and Palhae, many Koreans were dispersed and lost their identity. However, throughout the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties of China, Koreans inhabited the region.

Although the Qing government closed the Manchurian border, Koreans continued to migrate and cross the Yalu and Turnen rivers to cultivate wasteland. In the 1930s the Japanese colonial government resettled a large number of impoverished Korean peasants, who lost their land to colonial settlers from Japan, in the wastelands of Manchuria. More than 2.5 million Koreans moved to China to escape retribution for their anti-Japanese independence activities. At the end of the World War II about 800,000 returned, but the rest were blocked as China closed its borders in 1949.

The southern part of Jilin Province along the Turnen River is inhabited mostly by descendants of the migrants from Hamkyung Province in North Korea, and the southern part of Liaoning Province along the Yalu River is dominated by people from Pyoung-an Province in North Korea. The latecomers from the southern part of the Korean peninsula settled in the regions north of Jilin and Liaoning provinces, and some went farther up to Heilungjiang Province. Because of this migration history, each region has subcultural differences in terms of dialects, food, family rites, manners, and propri-

ety. In general, they share a cultural tradition and a strong consciousness of their national history and ethnic identity.

Settlements

Koreans have a tendency to form ethnic communities in rural as well as urban areas. Through the use of geomancy *(pungsoo),* their villages are settled on the plain with a mountain at the back and a river at the front. Since they bury the dead on the hillside behind the village, the world of the living and that of the ancestors are not separated but form a single conceptual community.

The typical Korean house has a small front yard where people grow vegetables. Walls with a gate surround the grounds and the house. Space inside the house is divided by sex and age. Women's rooms are near the kitchen and are called *anbang* (inner room) or *aretbang* (lower room), while rooms for men, away from the kitchen, are called *sarangbang* or *wutbang* (upper room). Korean houses feature a heating system called *ondol* The floor of the room is made of flat stones covered with thick oiled paper, and heat is supplied by smoke going through the trenches underneath the stones.

Economy

Subsistence. Rice is the main staple and cash crop; Koreans introduced wet rice cultivation into the northeastern part of China, and their rice is regarded as the best in the country. People say, "Where there is a rice field, there are Koreans." With rice Koreans make various kinds of "Korean" rice cakes *(ddok)* and liquor *(sul)*. In addition, they cultivate beans, with which they make bean paste, chili paste, soybean sauce, bean curd, and bean sprouts, which are parts of the daily diet. Together with *kimchi* made of white cabbage, turnip, chili, scallion, garlic, ginger, and salt, these foods are seen as symbols of Korean ethnic identity. Tobacco and corn are other major cash crops.

Commercial Activities. As a result of their Confucian heritage, Koreans tend to regard white-collar jobs highly while looking down on merchants and industrial artisans. Some Koreans run small businesses, but often the shops in their villages are run by Chinese itinerant merchants. In cities there are ethnic restaurants that specialize in barbecue, cold noodles, and dog meat served with kimchi.

Industrial Arts. Industry is limited to the manufacture of ethnic products such as pottery, traditional costumes, and musical instruments. These people also produce "Koreans-style agricultural tools. Some young Koreans are engaged in sea fishing and work as migrant laborers in construction projects in South Korea.

Trade. A few entrepreneurial merchants engage in cross-border trade with Russia and North Korea, selling commodities for everyday use and buying furs, dried sea products, and medicinal materials. Many now engage in small-scale trading between China and South Korea, bringing ginseng, dried mushrooms, and medicinal materials into Korea and taking clothing, electronic appliances, and small home appliances back to China.

Division of **Labor.** A male-centered system of authority and a hierarchy based on seniority influence the division of labor. Women engage in housework and laundry, while men do most of farming and outdoor activities. Men monopolize roles in ancestral rites and community rituals. Although women run businesses and work in the public sphere as teachers and government employees, men exercise authority over women despite the socialist ideology of sexual equality.

Land Tenure. When socialism was established in China in 1949, private property and land were confiscated by the state. Since the 1980s the state has started to decollectivize the economic system and introduce a system of contracts under which peasant households are given the right to cultivate land that is still collectively owned by the village (the brigade in the earlier commune system). Since the second half of the 1980s Koreans in China have accumulated wealth by working in South Korea. Some have migrated to urban areas to start small businesses or find better educational opportunities for their children and sublet the land allocated to them to their Korean neighbors or to Chinese farmers. In this way a new tenancy system has developed.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Based on the patrilineal descent rule, local lineage groups are formed and ancestors are worshiped by agnatic descendants, among whom kinship ties are traced by reference to genealogical records. Family names and properties are inherited through the patrilineal line of succession, and married-out daughters are not regarded as members of these patrilineages.

Korean names have three elements: a clan name inherited through the patrilineal descent line, a generational name of a person within the clan, and a personal name. The clan council decides on the generational names. The clan name is further distinguished by its origin *(bonkwan)*. People sharing a clan name with the same origin are regarded as descendants of the same apical ancestor and form an exogamous group.

Agnatic descendants participate in ancestor worship rites on the death date and at seasonal occasions. Descendants of an ancestor in four ascending generations are referred to as *dangnae* and share a special sense of identity that provides cultural capital in political, economic, and social life.

Since people have migrated on an individual or family basis, the actual category of patrilineal kinship is limited and incomplete, and so it is premature to establish a lineage organization. A history of revolution and collectivization of property by the socialist state has undermined the ideological and economic basis for lineage organization. Since the mid-1990s Chinese Koreans have begun to revitalize networks with lineages in Korea. In everyday life, patrilineal principles are not strictly followed and people maintain a practical concept *of* kin to accommodate matrilineal and affinal relatives so that they can overcome the limitations *of* idealized unilineal kinship categories.

Kinship Terminology. Koreans in China share kinship terminology with only minor local dialectical variations. The father's brother is called big or little father *(keun/jageun aboji)* or first (oldest) or second father *(mat/duche aboji)* according to the order of seniority. The father's brother's wife is called big or little mother *(keun/jageun omoni)* or first (eldest) or sec-

ond mother *(mat/duche omoni)* according to the seniority of her husband. Similarly, the father's father's brother is called big or little grandfather *(keun/jageun haraboji)* or first (eldest) or second grandfather *(mat/duche haraboji)* according to seniority. This system also applies to the father's father's brother's wife. Matrilineal relatives are addressed by the same terms but are referred to with the prefix *woi* ("outside"), as in woi grandfather, woi grandmother, and woi uncle. The father's sister is called *gomo,* and the mother's sister is called *imo.*

Compared with the kinship terminology used in the Korean peninsula, the terminology used by Koreans in China is limited to the third ascending generation of the father's father's father and to second cousins. However, Koreans in China also have maintained more traditional kin terms.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage between people with the same surname and of the same origin is prohibited because it is regarded as incest. Monogamy is practiced. Women marry into the husband's family but retain the natal family name. Interethnic marriage is very rare. To achieve ethnic endogamy, Koreans in China often seek spouses from distant regions where Koreans live. In the past, when they were extremely poor, there were some cases of married-in sons-in-law *(daerilsawi)* and reared-up daughters-in-law *(minmyoruri),* but these practices are not favored and have become rare. A marriage process consists of six stages: contact through a matchmaker; an analysis of the year, month, day, and time of birth of the groom and the bride; the meeting of the two families; the exchange of bridal gifts and the engagement; the wedding ceremony at the bride's house; and taking the bride to the husband's family.

Domestic Unit Although the extended family is the ideal, the general pattern is a stem family in which parents live with their oldest son and younger siblings move out after marriage to form nuclear families. Sometimes there are joint families with married brothers living together under the same roof but with each couple constituting an independent economic unit. The father represents the family, and at his death the oldest son succeeds to the family headship, exercises the right to control property, and represents the family in social and political matters.

Inheritance. Patrilineal inheritance is practiced, with the primogenital son having distinctive privileges because he bears the responsibility of taking care of the parents and the absolute duty to perform ancestral rites. If a man does not have a son, adoption is arranged among his patrilineal kin of the son's generation. Daughters are not allowed to succeed to the family line and are have little chance to inherit property.

Socialization. Child rearing is the responsibility of mothers and grandmothers, who teach differences in status, the nature of work, manners, and behavioral codes based on sex and age. Males and females use separate spaces in public, and male dominance is common. The hierarchical order is based on seniority, and honorific language is applied. Juniors are not supposed to drink or smoke in front of their seniors. Koreans emphasize discipline through education at home.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In addition to networks based on kinship and place of origin, which often extend beyond the village, informal groups are organized within the village community according to sex and age, including elderly people's clubs, women's leagues, and youth clubs. There are also classmates' clubs and veterans' clubs. Old people spend time at village centers reading the newspaper, watching television and videos, and playing chess or gate ball (croquet). Out of traditional respect for the aged and filial piety *(hyo),* villagers often provide financial support for group tours and picnics for elderly people. Neighborhood relationships are important for reciprocal mutual help called *bujo,* which includes the exchange of labor and materials for farming, house building, and ceremonial occasions. People organize credit associations called *kye* in which members accumulate money in preparation for a special occasion such as a wedding and funeral. In addition to these economic purposes, members regularly share food and recreational activities.

Communal solidarity is enhanced through intervillage competitions such as soccer games and arts performances for which those living in urban cities come back to participate. At the All Korean Annual Festival in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture Koreans participate in traditional group dances, singing contests, and in sports such as soccer and Korean wrestling. To participate in the festival, villages and counties organize ad hoc committees and sports teams throughout the year. Religion provides social networks through regular religious services and pilgrimages.

Political Organization. Communities are under the tight control of the state system, in which the Communist Party has almost complete power. In many cases the party secretary holds the chairmanship of village council, which is composed of the Women's League, the Communist Youth League, the Security and Order Committee, the Committee of Economy and Industry, and the Bureau of Administration. Voluntary political organizations are not allowed, although sometimes the government mobilizes villagers to stage a political rally. Usually the official body of administration and political control negotiates with informal leaders and social groups.

Social Control. Chinese society is under strong police control. The village council checks the appearance of a stranger, observance of the family planning policy, and disputes among the villagers and reports to the police. Minor problems are solved through an informal authority system based on shared ideology, seniority, and propriety.

Conflict. Conflict within a family is resolved by the family members and relatives. When there is a serious conflict affecting the whole village, a semiofficial mediation committee intervenes. Serious conflict is very rare because everyday life is governed by face-to-face relationships. Though rare, interethnic conflicts with the neighboring Han Chinese or the Manzu minority group occur over thefts of agricultural products.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Koreans have an animistic belief system in which they worship the spirit of a mountain *(sansin),* a rock of huge size or special shape *(chilsong bawi),* an old pine or

elm tree *(dangnamu)*, and a spring *(yong-wang)*. They also believe in tutelary gods for the village *(seonang)*, the house *(seongju)*, the kitchen *(jowang)*, and childbirth *(samsin)*. Communal rites *(dangje)* or individual prayers for these spirits and tutelary gods are observed on auspicious dates. Individual prayers are made to the spirit of the Big Dipper *(chilsong)*.

The shamanic tradition is also strong, along with the belief that humans can communicate with these superhuman beings through special techniques. Shamanic ritual *(kut)* is practiced secretly to appeal, negotiate with, or conquer a ghost in order to cure sickness or misfortune.

Confucianism is embedded in Korean life, and Buddhism and Christianity are being revived, although the state denounces them as antisocial superstition.

Religious Practitioners. Shamans are mostly women, whereas men lead domestic rites for ancestors and collective rituals for the village community. Male elders with Confucian learning preside over domestic rites such as funerals and weddings. For a communal ritual, an unpolluted man becomes the master of ceremonies, while women, who are vulnerable to impurity, are not allowed to participate in the ritual process. Women are more active in Christian congregations.

Ceremonies. As Chinese citizens Koreans observe all Chinese state celebrations, but they also maintain their ethnic ceremonies and celebrations, including seasonal festivities such as New Year's Day, the first full moon, the fifth day of the fifth month, and the eighth full moon, all of which are set by the lunar calendar. Rites of passage such as the hundredth day after a birth, the first birthday, the sixtieth birthday, and the eightieth birthday as well as weddings, funerals, and death day rituals for the second and the third year are also observed. All these observances are accompanied by complicated ceremonial processes and are participated in by relatives, friends, and neighbors who provide service, donations, and material gifts.

Arts. Calligraphy is taught as a method of self-cultivation. Koreans in China enjoy ink-brush paintings of the landscape *(sansoohua)* as well as of the "four princes" *(sagunja)* of nature, denoting the plum flower, orchid, chrysanthemum, and bamboo. The pine tree is another popular subject. These motifs symbolize the Korean ideal of self-cultivation and the scholarly spirit. Peasants enjoy singing and dancing in the traditional fashion. On many occasions farmers' dances and music are played with an hourglass-shaped drum *(jang-go)*, a drum, a gong *(jing)*, a small hand drum made of bronze plate *(koeng-gari)*, and a flute *(nabal)*.

Medicine. Wild *(sansam)* and cultivated ginseng *(insam)*, dried fungus, bear's bile *(woongdam)*, snake's bile *(sadam)*, the soft core of the young antlers of deer *(nok-yong)*, and dried wild animals are folk medicines used to maintain health and cure illnesses. Based on the Korean medical system, which classifies the human physiological structure into the four types (sasang) of big-yang/small-yang/big-yin/small-yin, doctors prescribe herbal remedies, acupuncture, and massage.

Death and Afterlife. A qualified soul goes to the afterworld through a proper ritual process, while an unqualified soul lingers between the worlds of the living and the dead. Ancestors are believed to live in the afterworld, where they have a relationship with their descendants. Shamanism is practiced to liberate unqualified souls from the limbo between worlds and send them to the netherworld. Complicated death rituals that include funerals and ancestor worship are observed.

The death of a married person from old age or a common illness is considered normal and good. Death by accident, an epidemic, or the death penalty and the death of an unmarried person are bad. A married person should secure a son by birth or adoption so that he or she can be worshiped after death. For those struck by a bad death and those who died unmarried, there is neither a proper funeral nor a grave.

Traditionally, funerals were observed for three days, five days, seven days, or nine days according to the status *of* the person or the wealth of the family. By 2001 a three-day funeral was common. Bereaved descendants wear special mourning dresses whose styles and decorations vary with the kinship category. The gravesite is determined by geomantic considerations of the physical surroundings. The shape of a grave is the half-moon type with an epitaph in front of it. The funeral is completed after three years of mourning. After the third year the dead ancestor is commemorated by his or her agnatic descendants. Ideally, ancestors of the fourth ascendant generation continue to be commemorated. (Souls of the fifth ascendant generation settle in the netherworld, never to return to this world.) In practice Koreans in China worship ancestors only two generations back, mainly because their history of migration does not extend any further.

Under the strict antisuperstition campaign of the state, cremation within two days after death is suggested and shamanic practices are forbidden. However, Koreans, especially in rural areas, have persistently practiced burials and three-day funerals.

For the original article on Koreans, *see* Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia and Volume 6, Russia and Eurasia/ China.

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KWANG OK KIM

Koreans in Japan

ETHNONYMS: Zainichi Kankoku-Chôsenjin, Zainichi Korian

Orientation

Identification and Location. Koreans in Japan generally refers to those people who came to that country during Japanese colonial rule over Korea (1910-1945) and remained after the end of World War II and their descendants. The Japanese state reckons nationality by a person's parents' nationality, and so the majority of Koreans in Japan (perhaps 90 percent) are classified as Japan-born, second-, third-, and fourth-generation Koreans of non-Japanese nationality.

The majority of these hold Republic of Korea (ROK) nationality. A large minority constitutes those who have not converted to ROK nationality since Japan established formal relations with that country in 1965. Many of these are affiliated with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), with which Japan has not established formal diplomatic relations, and its Japan-based representative organization.

In addition, there are many ethnic Koreans who have taken Japanese nationality and those who are the offspring of marriages between resident Koreans and Japanese parents. While members of these groups enjoy full legal rights as Japanese nationals, many share in the issues of ethnic identity of their foreign-national co-ethnics, and are sometimes vulnerable to informal ethnic discrimination. The term "zainichi" Korean distinguishes those who trace genealogical descent in Japan back to the colonial period from more recent, so-called "new-comer," ethnic Korean immigrants from the republic of Korea and elsewhere.

Demography. By the final days of World War II over two million Koreans, approximately 10 percent of all Koreans, lived in Japan. Most of these people were repatriated to the peninsula after Japan's surrender in August 1945, but about 600,000 remained. At the end of the year 2000 the population of Koreans with special permanent residency in Japan, a category that generally applies to former colonial subjects residing in Japan since around the end of World War II and their descendants, amounted to 507,429. Between 1952, when colonial subjects were formally divested of their Japanese nationality, and 2000 over 240,000 Koreans in Japan naturalized.

Upward of 90 percent of Koreans in Japan trace their roots to the southern portion of the peninsula, with the largest numbers coming from the provinces of South Kyongsang, North Kyongsang, Cheju, and South Cholla.

Linguistic Affiliation. The overwhelming majority of Koreans in Japan are native speakers of Japanese, which generally is thought to be affiliated with the Altaic language family. Most first-generation Koreans in Japan are native speakers of Korean, which also is in the Altaic family, and a minority of younger Koreans have various degrees of competency in Korean as a second language.

History *and Cultural Relations*

Although there have been flows of people, ideas, and cultural products from the Korean peninsula to the Japanese archipelago for many centuries, the presence of Koreans in Japan is a product of modern Japanese colonization of the Korean peninsula. When the peninsula was formally annexed by Japan in 1910, Koreans were made imperial subjects and Japanese nationals. Although there was some migration to Japan before that time, the flow increased significantly in the early 1920s, when colonial government restrictions were relaxed. Koreans flowed into Japanese urban centers, particularly to the Osaka-Kobe area, where they provided labor for the burgeoning Japanese industries at wages significantly below those of their Japanese counterparts.

Beginning in the late 1930s with Japan's launching of full-scale war in China, recruitment of Koreans to provide manual labor for the Japanese economy became increasingly coercive, culminating in a labor draft organized by the Japanese government from 1943. Koreans provided wartime labor in construction, mining, and munitions production. Colonial policy toward Koreans in Japan and on the peninsula was assimilationist and became increasingly harsh in the later 1930s and 1940s. The use of the Japanese language, worship at Shinto shrines, and the adoption of Japanese-style names were made compulsory on the peninsula, and the colonial government attempted to suppress the use of the Korean language and other markers of Korean culture. Similar assimilationist measures were put in place in Japan from the mid-19305 under the aegis of the *Kyôwakai* (Harmony Association).

With the Allied occupation of Japan after World War II, the legal status of resident Koreans became ambiguous. As early as 1945 the Japanese government ended suffrage for Koreans and other former colonial subjects. In 1947 an imperial edict, later codified in law, was issued that required Koreans and other former colonial subjects still residing in Japan to carry alien registration documents. In 1952, with Japan's resumption of full sovereignty, former colonial subjects living in that country were formally and unilaterally stripped of Japanese nationality.

Japanese government policy toward Koreans in Japan since has combined assimilationist and exclusionary elements. Naturalization was made difficult and was predicated on an applicant's assimilation to the Japanese lifestyle and social norms. Until the 1980s, when Japan acceded to international agreements on human rights and refugees, Koreans were systematically denied social security benefits because of their nationality. Discrimination in housing, employment, and marriage, though less harsh than in previous decades, remained in force at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Settlements

Koreans live throughout Japan but are overwhelmingly an urban population. Over 40 percent reside in the western pre-

fectures of Osaka, Hyogo, and Kyoto, with other concentrations in Tokyo, Aichi, and Fukuoka. Although many are dispersed among their Japanese neighbors, others live in more segregated or clustered settlements that reflect the historical circumstances of their settlement in Japan, such as within or near communities of *Burakumin* (Japan's former outcastes) and in areas near industrial sites where Koreans were employed as workers.

Economy

Subsistence. During the colonial era the vast majority of Koreans in Japan were engaged in manual labor, especially mining, construction, and factory work. Most Koreans were poor and occupied substandard housing. A dynamic Japanese economy has left the Korean population more diverse in terms of employment and more class-stratified. However, the colonial legacy, employment discrimination, and their foreign nationality have resulted in Koreans' concentration in less stable and lower-prestige smaller firms and in self-employment and family employment. Although Koreans are overrepresented among the poorer levels of society, the Korean community has produced a number of successful entrepreneurs and professionals.

Commercial Activities. Barred for most of their history in Japan from stable salaried employment, Koreans have a legacy of commercial enterprises. Overwhelmingly small and often dependent on family labor, Korean business activities are largely in manufacturing and in the restaurant business and other service areas. An ethnic economy centered on foods such as *kimchi* exists in areas of Korean concentration. The market for those products has been expanding since the mid-1980s as elements of Korean cuisine have become more widely appreciated among Japanese.

Industrial Arts. Korean-owned manufacturing in Japan is concentrated in metals and plastics. Most Korean manufacturing firms are small independent subcontractors that produce for larger Japanese firms. They are particularly vulnerable to business cycle fluctuations, and working conditions are often difficult or dangerous.

Trade. Taking advantage of language skills, cultural knowledge, or social contacts, some Koreans, ranging from small-scale peddlers to well-capitalized entrepreneurs, are involved in international trade between Japan and the Republic of Korea. Some Chongryun-affiliated Koreans serve as middlemen in the much smaller trade between Japan and the DPRK.

Division of **Labor.** Men in the role of breadwinners or managers of household enterprises is the norm among Koreans in Japan. Women are expected to perform household chores. Many women also contribute labor to family enterprises or take part-time positions. Among families in the Korean restaurant trade a grandmother may lend her skills, knowledge, and labor in preparing food or making kimchi. Although educational opportunities have become nearly equalized for most Koreans (graduates of Chongryun-affiliated high schools face barriers to admission to national universities), employment discrimination often hinders Koreans' efforts to translate educational attainment into employment and social status.

Land Tenure. Data from Osaka suggest that Koreans have a higher rate of home ownership than do Japanese. This probably is due to the housing discrimination Koreans have faced, with landlords refusing to rent to them, as well as Koreans' frequent use of housing as dual residential-work space for small-scale manufacturing. Land tenure is governed by Japanese real property law, which is informed by capitalist principles of private property.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Confucian-influenced kinship system of Korea is characterized by corporate descent groups, patrilineality, and primogeniture. Age, generational rank, and patriarchal privilege order relations within these groups. Written genealogies *(chokpo)* support patrilineal kinship reckoning of great genealogical depth.

Kinship links were central to the chain migration that characterized Koreans' movement to Japan until the late 1930s. Kinship is still important in social relations, particularly as an avenue for employment and labor recruitment. However, many Koreans in Japan have lost the ties to land, community, and communal ritual practice that form the backbone of corporate kinship groups. Language and, increasingly, cultural barriers, along with distance and in some cases, DPRK affiliation, also hinder the involvement of Koreans in Japan in homeland-based kin groups. Active involvement with kin among Koreans in Japan thus is for the most part limited to the three or so generations residing in Japan.

Kinship Terminology. Although the majority of Koreans in Japan are not fluent speakers of Korean, the Korean terms they are most likely to know and use are the basic terms of family relationships. Korean kinship terminology can express various distinctions of generational depth and collateral breadth, but those terms have lost their relevance in the social relational environment of most Koreans in Japan.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Strong sanctions for both men and women encourage marriage for Koreans in Japan. Among first-generation Koreans in Japan as well as among those educated in the DPRK-affiliated schools in Japan, there has been a marked preference for ethnic endogamy. For the latter group there are ready opportunities to find a Korean mate. In recent years, however, the vast majority of marriages involving Koreans in Japan have been to a Japanese partner (82 percent in 1994). Opportunity plays a great role, as most Koreans go to school, work, and live in a largely Japanese social environment. Although these "international marriages" often take place in the face of opposition from one or both families, the strength of social sanctions has declined in recent years.

Domestic Unit. Early in their settlement in Japan, Koreans were a largely male population. Family formation accelerated in the 1930s and 1940s. Koreans have come to live largely in nuclear or, less commonly, three-generation households. The Korean population, like the Japanese, is an aging one. The number of single elderly persons and elderly couples living on their own is increasing, with many not receiving adequate social service support.

Inheritance. Korean inheritance practices traditionally involve oldest sons receiving the greatest share of property from the natal household in exchange for greater responsibility for the care of elderly parents. Inheritance laws in the Republic of Korea were revised in 1990 to eliminate this exceptional treatment of the household head-heir as well as to equalize rights across genders. These are the laws that apply when a Korean national of the ROK who is resident in Japan passes away, leaving property. Japanese inheritance law prevails when the deceased passing on an inheritance is DPRK-affiliated.

Socialization. Korean parents in Japan have several options for their children's formal schooling. Since 1955 the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (abbreviated in Korean as *Chongryun),* which was founded as an organization with political allegiance to the DPRK has operated a Korean school system that runs from preschool through university. Chongryun-operated schools furnish an education aimed at what they refer to as "overseas nationals" of the DPRK. They teach a full curriculum of Korean language and history and a range of other academic courses. As they do not meet Ministry of Education and Science curriculum requirements in Japan-related fields such as history and language, they are not accredited as academic institutions but are placed in the category of "miscellaneous schools." They do, however, leave their graduates with a firm Korean identity. Figures from Osaka suggest that in the mid-1990s about 12 percent of Korean children attended Chongryun-operated schools.

There are also four ROK-oriented or unaffiliated schools that offer the basic Japanese school curriculum with Korean-oriented electives. In both the Chongryun and the ROK-affiliated schools students are recognized and acknowledge one another as Koreans and use their ethnic Korean names.

The vast majority of Korean children—well over 80 percent—are educated in Japanese schools, where they learn Japanese history, geography, and language along with their Japanese classmates. Native Japanese speakers, most use a Japanese-style name, rendering their Korean heritage invisible to their classmates. For the most part treated as Japanese and raised in an overwhelmingly Japanese environment, most develop at most a weak identity as Koreans. For most Korean children well into the 1980s discrimination and pressures to assimilate created an environment in which opportunities to be exposed to Korean culture were restricted.

An ethnic education movement launched in the mid-1970s is responsible for the establishment of extracurricular ethnic classes for Korean children in over a hundred public primary schools in Osaka Prefecture. Similar classes or clubs have been founded in primary and middle schools in other cities with large Korean populations. These classes focus on instilling in Korean children a positive Korean identity and an appreciative understanding of their Korean heritage.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Kinship continues to play a role in the social organization of Koreans in Japan. Ethnically based political organizations for Koreans in Japan also work to structure social interaction among some Koreans in Japan. Chongryun in particular, with its nationwide school system, provides a framework for bonding and network formation that may come into play in business dealings, labor recruitment, and marital introductions. For many other Koreans the Japanese school, the workplace, and the local community provide frameworks for social interaction within the majority Japanese society.

Political Organization. Immediately after Japan's defeat in World War II, Koreans formed mutual assistance organizations that soon became politicized and polarized into left- and right-leaning groups. The division of the Korean peninsula into two separate and opposed regimes in 1948, followed in 1950 by the Korean War, deepened the split within Japan's Korean community. Although it moderated in the 1990s, this split continues to structure the political organization of Koreans in Japan. At the same time, many people in the younger generations are not involved in political issues concerning the north-south divide.

With Koreans in Japan during the colonial and postwar periods forming an exploited working class, sympathy for the left was widespread. The League of Koreans, founded in 1945, was soon taken over by left-wing Koreans. Chongryun, its successor organization, was founded as an organization of "overseas nationals" of the DPRK. More right-wing elements formed Mindan (the Association of Korean Residents in Japan) in 1946. This group became affiliated with the ROK after its founding in 1948 and was given the responsibility for registering ROK nationals in Japan.

Chongryun, channeling substantial DPRK aid for Koreans in Japan, had overwhelming support well into the 1960s. In 1965, however, with the establishment of formal relations between Japan and the ROK, many Chongryun supporters became ROK nationals, as those nationals were guaranteed superior residency rights under the Japan-ROK normalization treaty. Conditions of residency were unified in 1991 for all Koreans holding special permanent residency.

Affiliation with Chongryun and with Mindan generally involves different kinds of commitment. Chongryun affiliation most often entails a high degree of organizational involvement. Members are expected to send their children to the separate Chongryun school system. That system provides both a DPRK-oriented Korean education and a context for cultivating ethnic solidarity based on a Korean identity. Thus, a strong normative framework comes attached to Chongryun affiliation. Mindan, on the other hand, plays a much smaller role in the socialization of most of its affiliates, and therefore does less to frame the experience of being Korean in Japan than does its DPRK-affiliated counterpart.

Social Control. Since their formation as a colonized and exploited population mobilized in large measure against their will, Koreans in Japan have been subject to a variety of forms of social control. Alien registration, immigration law, and the naturalization process have been important instruments of social control by the state. Under rules for alien registration, Koreans are required from the age of sixteen to carry an alien registration card at all times. Failure to produce the card upon demand is a punishable offense. After the highly visible antifingerprinting movement, revision of the alien registration law in 1993 ended the requirement that permanent residents supply a fingerprint for the card. Other information

requirements were added, however, such as family and household composition and employment information.

In practice the Japanese naturalization process is intended to promote assimilation to Japanese cultural norms. For example, the living environment, lifestyle, and social contacts of applicants are investigated. Although there is no formal requirement for Koreans to take Japanese names, it is understood that using a Korean name can count against a person in the approval process. The criteria by which immigration officials make their judgments are not publicly disclosed.

As Koreans do not have suffrage, their political influence is restricted. Through informal means they are effectively barred from higher offices in local community organizations such as neighborhood organizations and school parent-teacher associations.

Conflict. The policies and practices of the Japanese state and discrimination and exploitation in Japanese society, and Koreans' resistance to these, have brought about frequent conflict. In the prewar period Korean participation as a vanguard element in the Japanese Communist Party brought Koreans into frequent clashes with the authorities. In the early postwar period efforts by the Occupation authorities to close down Korean schools resulted in mass Korean-led demonstrations, the largest of which took place in Kobe and Osaka.

In the historic 1974 Hitachi antiemployment discrimination case Koreans employed a legal strategy, as they also have in housing discrimination. Although such cases have resulted in victory, the judgments have been narrow and have not provided a broad legal precedent for outlawing discriminatory practices. In the antifingerprinting movement of the 1980s that sought the revision of Japan's alien registration procedures, Koreans employed both social movement strategy and legal challenges. In subsequent years Koreans have attempted to take the state and corporations to court to seek restitution for sex slaves ("comfort women") who were forced to serve Japanese soldiers during wartime and back payment of pensions or forced savings owed to former colonial subjects who were stripped of their rights to collect them when they were divested of Japanese nationality.

Organizations devoted to fighting discrimination employ direct negotiation, boycotts, and publicity to end discriminatory practices based on nationality. They also engage in educational activities to sensitize the government, corporations, and the public to issues of discrimination.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The religious beliefs and practices of Koreans in Japan are diverse. Confucianist practice diffusely informs family interaction. There are also a number of Korean Christians in Japan. Shamanist rituals and divination as well as ancestor veneration rituals are performed at Korean temples in areas of Korean concentration. Some Koreans are followers of the so-called new religions in Japan. Some take part in community-based Shinto festivals and other calendrical rituals, although in the Japanese context these observances are not necessarily considered "religious" practices.

Religious Practitioners. Shamanist rituals, divination, and ancestor veneration rituals are carried out by ritual specialists called *bosaru, mudang,* and *simpang.* Christian ministers also have a visible presence in Japan's Korean community and have been among the leaders in movements to support their human rights. The Confucianist practice of *chesa* is undertaken within families, with the oldest male leading the ritual.

Ceremonies. The most important ethnically based ritual among Koreans in Japan (though generally not practiced among Christians) is chesa. This household ritual of making an offering to ancestors (in practice, usually up to the second generation) is held on ancestors' death-day anniversaries as well as at the New Year and during the summer festival of *ch'useok.*

In its emphasis on ancestor memorialization and its use of Korean food offerings (even if occasionally Japanized) and ritual forms, chesa provides an opportunity for a reaffirmation of ethnic identity. In many families, the ritual has become condensed and the number of participants has been reduced.

Buddhist and Christian rituals are held among families and individuals affiliated with those creeds. Shamanist rituals such as ancestor seances (kut) are practiced in some families, usually sponsored by older Korean women.

Arts. Korean traditional ethnic performance forms such as music, dance, and drama have been central elements in movements to build positive identities among younger Koreans in Japan. *P'ungmul,* a combined dance and percussion-based musical form, has its roots in traditional agricultural festivals. Through *madang-guk,* a type of open-air theater that takes themes and characters from folktales and traditional rural society, young Koreans have expressed their points of view and critiqued the injustices of Japanese society. Both of these forms appeared in the ethnic festivals first launched in the early 1970s and now are found in a number of communities with large Korean populations.

Koreans are represented in Japan's popular and high arts, from television and popular music to film, drama, and literature. Most Koreans who work in popular entertainment use Japanese "passing names" and thus are not publicly recognized as Koreans. In literature several Koreans have won Japan's most prestigious award for "high literature," the Akutagawa Prize.

Medicine. Koreans in Japan generally use biomedicai methods of treatment when ill, but some also resort to traditional Chinese medicine, which is commonly available in Japan. Healing rites are among the services offered at some Korean temples.

Death and Afterlife. Korean-run Buddhist temples specializing in funeral services exist in several areas with a sizable Korean population. Occasionally, shamanistic death rites are performed, with the participants being mostly older women. The chesa ritual emphasizes the continuing importance of departed ancestors in the lives of those they have left behind. Offering food and filial piety for the comfort of the ancestor, the descendants maintain a periodic interaction with comportment that is consonant with that for living elders. Ancestral veneration rites at Korean temples are undertaken to relieve the suffering of an ancestor when it is divined that that suffering has caused a family calamity or a decline in fortune. Korean Christians in Japan believe in personal salvation and biblical concepts of heaven and hell.

For the original article on Koreans, *see* Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia and Volume 6, Russia and Eurasia/ China.

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JEFFRY T. HESTER

Korowai

ETHNONYMS: *Kolufo(-yanop), y*anop(``person")

Orientation

Identification and Location. The term *Kolufo* refers to a people who share one language rather than to a tribal unit, with the patrician being the relevant unit for self-identification. These Papuan people of the subdistrict of Kouh in the Merauke district in the Indonesian province Irian Jaya live between the Eilanden and Upper Becking rivers, east of the Becking headwaters, in swampy mixed rain forests that contain transitional hill ranges to the central New Guinea mountains. The mountains are visible from the higher spots *(fium)* and from the Eilanden banks. The environment does not feature wide water surfaces. The climate shows a transition between that of the southern coast and that of the Trans-Eilanden area without including a clear monsoon shift.

Demography. Based on helicopter surveys from 1986 through 1990, a tentative estimation was made of approximately four thousand native Korowai speakers. Over 70 percent of the population still live on their original territories, with less than 30 percent having moved to a more or less regular village life in eight settlements. Approximately fifty clan territories are registered by name, and another fifty are thought to exist.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Kolufo language belongs to the Awyu-Ndumut family of southeastern Irian Jaya, part of the Trans-New Guinea phylum. The Korowai distinguish the dialect of the Lower Becking and Eilanden banks from the *Ilol·Kolufo-aup* ("Stone-Korowai") spoken in the upriver regions. There is no significant linguistic relationship with the neighboring Kombai and Citak languages.

History and Cultural Relations

Little is known about Korowai history before 1978. According to neighboring Citak witnesses, the Korowai experienced headhunting raids by the Citak until the 1960s. A missionary in the Upper Digul reported incidental contacts with Korowai clans near Waliburu and Firiwagé in the period 1959-1973. The first regular contacts with Korowai clans began in 1978. After several helicopter surveys, Dutch Reformed missionaries entered Korowai territories by river from the Citak area. The first real encounter between Korowai people and the missionary Johannes Veldhuizen took place on October 4, 1978, through the mediation of a Citak-Kombai man who had an avuncular relationship with Lower Becking Korowai groups.

Between 1978 and 1990 the majority of downstream Korowai clans encountered the outside world when several missionary expeditions were made to their territories. After that time dozens of younger people moved into Yaniruma village and, after 1987, into the villages of Manggél, Yafufla, and Mabül. Influenced by their kin who remain in the forests, they stayed in the village only temporarily. Because of the relatively long distance between the village and the Sago Gardens, the absentee rate is often more than 90 percent.

Despite community development programs by the Indonesian government since 1985, the development of regular Korowai village life has not been successful. In 1992 Yaniruma and Manggél received the status of *desa,* an administrative unit below the subdistrict level.

Tourist groups and film crews have visited the Korowai territories near the villages since the early 1990s.

Settlements

Originally, Korowai clans lived in their own territory *(bolüp),* sometimes with friendly relations with neighboring clans and often in isolation from each other. Clan territories include one to five clustered tree houses *(khaim)* with an average height of 26 to 39 feet (8 to 12 meters). Some houses in upriver territories may be as high as 148 feet (45 meters). To build a tree house, a solid tree is selected as a central pole. Operating from scaffolds, the builder removes the top of the tree and constructs the floor, which is supported by four to ten poles. The floor *(bülan)* is constructed of spars and covered with bark from the *Oncosperma filamentosum* tree. The walls *(damon)* are made of the wooden shafts of sago leaves. The roof *(lél-baul)* is covered with sago leaves.

Village houses known as *khaü* ("bivouac") are built by following the customary construction pattern in Irian Java's southern coast. As in the tree houses, their rectangular interiors are divided in two or three rooms, at least one for males and one for females, with every room having a fireplace.

Yaniruma, the first settlement near the Korowai, was established in March 1979. An elementary school and a clinic were opened in the early 1980s. During the first years of the mission station at Yaniruma, various contacts were initiated

by Johannes Veldhuizen and Henk Venema with Korowai from the Lower Becking River banks. In the late 1980s Kombai-Korowai villages were opened 5 and 8 miles (8 and 13 kilometers) upriver from Yaniruma, respectively, at Manggél and Yafufla.

In 1990 the village Mabül was opened at the Eilanden banks. At that time some small, more inland settlements were formed, such as Fumbaum-Nakhilop and Férman. However, those settlements soon were abandoned, primarily because of witchcraft-related conflicts. More viable were the villages with a mixed Citak-Korowai population in Mu, Jaim, and Mbasman and the Kombai-Korowai settlement of Khaiflambolüp.

Economy

Subsistence. The Korowai are horticulturalists who practice shifting cultivation. The basic food items are sago *(kho, ndaü)* and bananas *(dup, dendü, sakhu)*. Each clan has its own gardens *(yasim)* near its tree houses where it also cultivates *Ipomoea batatas (khaw), Colocasia* tubers *(simbelu),* and tobacco *(déport, saukh, sii).*

Pigs *(gol)* and dogs *(méan)* are the only domesticated animals. Pigs function mainly as objects of exchange and compensation. Dogs are raised for company and hunting, and their teeth are considered extremely valuable. Hunting *(bétop abokhai/abolai)* for wild pigs is done with bows and arrows *(atikhayo).* Pigs that are caught in pits or traps made with a special fence construction are shot or pierced with spears. Cassowaries *(küal, sandum, sanip)* are shot or trapped with ropes *(nan)* strung across their paths. Smaller game, such as birds, reptiles, rodents, marsupials, and smaller bats, is hunted by the young.

For fishing the Korowai use bows and arrows, poison, and basketlike constructions placed in artificial dams. In precontact days crocodiles *(semail)* were hunted for consumption; they are now hunted for commercial reasons.

Green vegetables, grass, and cane species are collected from the jungle, as well as wild fruits during the appropriate seasons, such as the sweet fruits of the *Ponnetia pinniata* and wild apples.

Commercial Activities. Monetary exchange was introduced by the missionaries. Some Korowai groups were engaged in building and maintaining the Yaniruma airstrip, and others worked at the mission station. At first they were paid with steel axes, machetes, and clothing, but later they were paid in currency that could be spent for goods such as salt, clothes, fishhooks, razor blades, and matches in the small shop at Yaniruma. Some people shopped in more distant villages such as Wanggemalo and Bomakia and in the central villages of the subdistricts Kouh and Senggo (Citak-Mitak).

During the late 1980s and early 1990s some groups were involved in timber projects run by foreign companies, and the downriver Korowai were paid for their services as guides or as rowing crew in the dug-out canoes that were rented by tourist groups.

Industrial Arts. The Korowai produce bows and arrows. The shafts are made of bamboo, and the tips of bamboo splinters *(daup)* or bones. For cutting trees rather than for warfare, stone axes *(khul)* are tied to the tops of relatively light wooden handles. Oval lightweight shields *(wolumon)* the height of a person are cut from one piece of wood and are used mainly as banners during sago-grub festival dancing rather than as defensive weapons. Ornaments such as necklaces and nose and hair decorations are made of natural materials such as pig and dog teeth and cowrie shells.

Trade. Little is known about Korowai trade patterns. Stones for axes originate from the mountain area and seem to have been transmitted from the Brazza region through exchange. The same can be said of cowrie shells, which apparently come from the southernmost coastal regions. By means of exchange, voluntarily, or in case of adat-based obligatory retribution, domesticated pigs often are traded. Sago never seems to be exchanged for other objects, including currency.

Division of Labor. Big game hunting is a male occupation, smaller game can be caught by younger boys, and little children hunt very small animals by using arrows made of sago leaf ribs *(kailon).* Rearing pigs and food collection are the responsibility of adult females. Gardening is done by both males and females; the heavier work is done by the men, and the lighter work by the women. Other gender-nonspecific activities are cutting firewood and fishing.

Men are responsible for the planting of young sago sprouts. They also do the heavy work of cutting and splitting full-grown sago trees; chiseling and pounding the starch from the inside are done by women. Women are expected to process the final product, a procedure in which the flour is separated from the washing water through a structure built from the woody shafts of sago leaves.

Tree house construction is a cooperative endeavor done by both sexes, with the heavier work done by men. Public religious activities such as the performance of pig sacrifices are reserved for males.

Land Tenure. There is a distinction between land-using and landholding rights. The grounds of Yafufla are the property of the trans-Becking Korowoi-clan Maliap, while permission to build a village at that place was given by the Kombai man Bofo Khomei, who had an affinal relationship with the Maliap. Uninhabited areas that are not claimed by clans are called "spirit-places" *(laléo-bolüp).* Some clans have subclans that share a single territory. Different clans may share similar clan names but live relatively far from each other.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The patrician is the central unit of social, economic, and political organization. Patricians claim ties to ancestral territories through folktales and stories about totemic ancestors.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology follows the Lounsburian Omaha I pattern, which is also found in Kombai and Mandobo societies. The central opposition between cross and parallel relationships is expressed in the morpheme sa- (*lal,* "parallel female child," versus *sa-lal,* "cross-female child").

Kinship-related similarities are also found with neighboring Awyu groups, with the strongest being related to the avunculate. The mother's brother *(mom)* and his potential legal and social successors are actively involved in the marriage arrangements for his sisters' children. The terms *khaimon* ("husband's brother") and *khamokh* ("brother's wife")

function in the context of an institutional levirate to express the fact that a man is his brother's legal successor as husband to his widow if the first man dies.

A kind of affinal avoidance relationship exists between a man and his wife's mother. When a man violates the avoidance taboos with his mother-in-law, his children are believed to become ill. This type of avoidance relationship can be explained, as Rupert Stasch proposed, "by a 'dyad-centric' model of subjectivity and social life according to which individuals are foundationally constituted through their bonds with strange others." In the affinal kinship terminology there is a general term for the wife's parents *(ban)* with a wide range of reference, in contrast to a specific term that identifies the wife's mother or her sister *(bandakhol).*

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is exogamous and polygynous. There is an institutional levirate based on the completion of the bridal payment. There is a preference for marrying the mother's mother's brother's daughter, who is called "grandmother" *(makh).* Because of the required bridal payment, males usually cannot marry their first spouse until about the age of twenty. Females are married in their early teens or even younger.

Domestic Unit. A basic household consists of a man, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. The household also may include his widowed mother and unmarried siblings and the unmarried children of his siblings, particularly his sisters' orphans. A household may reach a maximum of fifteen people. The average contacted clan territory with more than two tree houses is populated by twenty to thirty persons. Families that have moved into a village tend to be smaller.

Inheritance. The ownership of a clan territory is transferred to the male clan members. This is also the case with regard to personal properties belonging to the clan members. When a person dies, within the avuncular framework it is felt appropriate to share gifts with the deceased's mother's brothers, usually through the transfer of pigs.

Socialization. Children *(mbambam)* are raised mostly by their mothers and other clan females and grow up in the females' room. Boys move to the males' room in their early teens. Babies are always carried in net bags *(ainop)* and are breast-fed as often as they desire.

There is no formal education, and children learn how to behave in the practical daily life circumstances of the household. The females teach them how to avoid danger and at home inform them about rules and taboos. Storytelling, sharing gossip, and teaching songs and sayings that contain practical wisdom are elements of socialization.

A little girl is actively involved as soon as possible in all female duties. At the age of about ten she is married to a much older man who expects her to be competent with respect to economy, social life, and sexuality. A young married girl has to learn how to adapt herself completely to her husband's caprices and desires, often by enduring corporal punishment.

When a boy reaches his teens, adult males teach him to discharge a man's duties. Then the boy is informed step by step about intraclan and interclan sensitivities and tensions. At the age of about fifteen he fully participates in hunting and warfare. In the same period a boy can be initiated into the ancestral wisdom about the origin and maintenance of the universe.

A Korowai youth is strongly discouraged in regard to asking questions, for he is expected to wait until older people provide the appropriate information. At an early age the Korowai make children familiar with the all-comprehensive concept of *manop* ("good") versus *lembul* ("bad"), which has a wide range of connotations with respect to ethics, social life, cosmic balance, health, sexuality, and traditional wisdom and knowledge, including dealing with the invisible spiritual world.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The patrician is the central sociopolitical unit. Korowai society is relatively egalitarian in the sense that all families have equal access to resources.

Political Organization. Physically, mentally, and verbally strong males called *letél-abül* ("strong man") or khén-*mengg(a)-abül* ("man with fierceness") dominate the clan. Their leadership is tied to personal qualities rather than being institutional or hereditary. Institutionalized authority structures related to interclan domination are absent.

Social Control. Intraclan conflicts are caused by adultery, theft, murder, and the *khakhua*—witchcraft complex. Adultery is punished by the husband, who has the right to shoot his wife and her lover through their thigh bones; the lover is asked to hand over a pig for retribution. Repeated adultery-related conflicts caused by the same person are usually settled by capital punishment and resolved by the compensation that follows a death. A person repeatedly identified as a thief is called *dadamtalé* ("naughty") and is forced to compensate the victim. If the behavior continues, he is killed by his kinsmen. Ordinary murder is punished by the application of the death penalty, after which the usual compensation gifts are exchanged.

For lethal crimes committed by a male witch *(khakhua)* the solution is to slaughter the witch, after which the body parts are distributed among friendly clans for consumption. This type of cannibal justice is based on the need for radical elimination of evil within the clan and the desire to reestablish social and universal balance. The *khakhua* complex seems to be the only context in which cannibalism occurs among the Korowai.

Conflict. Interclan conflicts are related to the crimes mentioned above and the abduction of females. Abduction-related conflicts usually are settled by the giving of a bridal payment. Adultery often causes serious interclan warfare, which is resolved by compensation gifts. When property is stolen from a friendly clan, one usually resolves the problem in the manner used to settle intraclan theft. When a hostile clan is involved, warfare is not unusual.

The killing of a member of another clan requires a vendetta. Similarly to witchcraft-related murder, the injured clan will seek the ultimate revenge by eating the murdered witch. If this does not occur, long-lasting mutual enmity, often including witchcraft-related assaults, dominates the relationship.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The active presence of a high deity is not reported except in the tradition of the sleeping Sèif-abül ("shiver-man"), whose awakening causes an earthquake and eventually the destruction of the universe. According to the myth of origin, the creator spirit Ginol created the universe from the mythical pig Faül's carcass. The first human couple is said to have been originally male siblings who received their offspring after a castration ritual, after which Ginol does not seem to play a further role in humankind's history.

There is no explicit link between this creation myth and the Korowai cosmology, in which the terrestrial universe is imaged as three concentric circles. The innermost circle, the world of the living *(bolüpbolüp)*, and the second circle, the realm of death, called *bolüplefupé* ("[at] bolüpbolüp's margins"), are surrounded by a third circle, the endless ocean, which is called *méan-maél* ("dog-water"). In the context of ideas about the final universal destruction, the monstrous fishes of a siluriformes species *(ndewé)* that populate the great ocean are thought to swallow all the living and the dead at the future day of doom *(wola/lamol)*.

The Korowai consider the universe to be full of dangerous spirit beings *(loléo)*, some of which are thought of as personal, while others are considered more impersonal. Apart from this concept, a significant role is assigned to the somehow present spirits of dead ancestors *(mbolombolop)*. Korowai life is surrounded by and immersed in numerous taboos *(ayulekha)* and secret and/or sacred matters *(khandin)*.

Religious Practitioners. Institutionalized religious specialty is unknown among the Korowai. Some older women are said to have knowledge of divination and healing techniques. They claim the ability to communicate with ancestral spirits and other spiritual beings to neutralize disastrous events or detect witches. Some males are known for their knowledge of methods for harming objects, places, people, and entire clans by burning human residues such as hair or fingernails or charmed magical arrow tips *(ayulekha daup)*.

Ceremonies. Central notions of fertility and prosperity are connected with the lengthy preparations and celebration of sago grub festivals *(gil)*, which include an abundant distribution and consumption of food items, particularly the grubs *(non, gèkh)* of sago beetles *(khip)*. The grubs are considered the bearers of life power. The festivals are performed in the presence of numerous guests who gather in accordance with kinship-related rules for chain invitation. The final ritual takes place after the guests have departed and involves the removal of a fence that had been placed around the central sacred pole *(khandin-fénop)* in the long festival bivouac while the clan members sing the *Gom* song to accompany fertility dances performed by the younger males. These festivals are organized by a clan at least once in a lifetime.

In times of trouble a ritual pig slaughter is performed during which the male clan members call on the spirits to compensate them for the sacrificial gift by providing protection, health, and a general improvement in the conditions of life.

Within the context of tree house building, the positioning of the supporting poles and the construction of the roof are accompanied by magic rituals to defend against witchcraft and evil spirits and to assure future prosperity. Before moving permanently into a new tree house, the tenants perform a simple but expressive nocturnal ritual by beating the walls with a piece of wood to expel evil powers.

Fishing and hunting are governed by various magical techniques, taboos, and restrictions, some of which are based on totem traditions. Special magical arrows *(khayo-lamol)* are used as objects of reinforcement in times of trouble.

Arts. At least four genres of oral texts are found among the Korowai: origin myths *(lamolaup)* known only by older males, folktales *(wakhatum)* shared by all the people, magical sayings *(ndafun-mahüon)* not likely to be known by children, and totem traditions *(laibolekha mahüon)* that are commonly known.

Woodcarving art is done in various ways. The tops of arrow shafts are decorated with abstract motifs that sometimes have magical significance. The large mouthpieces of bamboo tobacco pipes are decorated with refined leaf motifs. Shields are carved with stylized motifs and painted with white clay, charcoal, and the red sap of the pandanus and other fruits. Some of the decorations seem to be connected with symbolism of a mythical and sexual nature.

Medicine. Healing techniques involve the application of charms, herbs, and magical manipulations with tobacco pipes and stones. Although many people have learned the advantages of the missionary clinic, they simultaneously resort to traditional healing methods.

Death **and** Afterlife. A central notion with respect to the afterlife is the *khomilo*-concept, which covers all stages from being "in deep sleep" to being "really dead." The Korowai believe that the souls *(yanop-khayan* ["real person"]) of individuals travel over the big road *(debülop-talé)* from the land of the living to the realm of the dead, where they are welcomed in their own territory and receive a new body. After a while they may be summoned to return and to be reincarnated in a baby at the moment of its birth. The khomilo-concept seems to provide an opportunity for souls to be transformed into animals. This transformation-metamorphosis theme occurs in various oral traditions. Simultaneously, the Korowai believe that the shadow/ghost (*maf*), the last manifestation of a deceased person, keeps wandering for a period in the neighborhood of that person's tree house. Informants say that the shadow/ghost enters the body of a torrent lark *(kham)*, a bird that plays a role in divination techniques for the detection of witches.

The deceased are buried near the tree house in shallow graves, providing an opportunity for resurrection in case of temporary unconsciousness.

For other cultures in Indonesia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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GERRIT J. VAN ENK

Lakeshore Tonga

ETHNONYMS: Chitonga, Kitonga, Siska, Sisya, Tonga, Western Nyasa

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Lakeshore Tonga live on the western shore of Lake Malawi between Nkhata Bay and the Luweya River in the Northern Province of the Republic of Malawi. They are a heterogeneous people formed from at least four groups that settled the area in the late eighteenth century. The Lakeshore Tonga are not related to the Tonga who live in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique.

This region of rolling grassland and wooded hills is intersected by the tributaries of the Luweya River and surrounded by Mtoghame Mountain to the north, the Vipya mountain range to the west, and the Kuwirwe and Kawadama mountains to the south. The climate is tropical, with a rainy season from November to May (average rainfall, 75 inches [185 centimeters]) and a dry season from May to November.

Demography. The Lakeshore Tonga population in Malawi increased from 50,359 in 1945 to 165,654 in 1998.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Chitonga language is part of the Manda group of the Central Narrow Bantu section of the Southern Bantoid part of the Niger-Congo family. Chitonga is related to both the Ngoni and Tumbuku languages.

History and Cultural Relations

The Lakeshore Tonga claim a distinct cultural identity and history, saying that they migrated from the "far north" a long time ago. However scholars posit a more recent and local origin similar to that of the neighboring Tumbuka and Cewa peoples, who are the descendants of ivory traders who settled in the country west of Lake Malawi at the end of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century a powerful group of Zulus, the Ngoni, raided the countryside for food and labor, enslaving the local population. Slaves were raised as Ngoni and served in that army. In 1875 the slaves rebelled and fled back to their homes. They later defeated a Ngoni army in the Battle of the Chinteche River. During the period of Ngoni domination the local people lived in large stockaded villages, a condition that contributed to the formation of Lakeshore Tonga identity.

The first European missionaries arrived during the Lakeshore Tonga's conflicts with the Ngoni. David Livingstone passed through the country in 1861, and Doctors Stewart and Laws came to stay in 1877 and 1878, respectively. In 1881 they set up the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland in Bandawe. The mission school was well attended, and enrollment reached 1,330 by 1889, including 700 girls. By 1896 there were 30 schools teaching 4,361 students. The school produced white-collar workers, trade union leaders, and politicians who worked across southern Africa, establishing a pattern of migration to neighboring countries that has continued to the present time.

In 1888 the Lakeshore Tonga fought alongside the British against Arab and Yao slave traders. They signed treaties with Great Britain in 1889 and 1894 that established the British protectorate of Nyasaland. A district administrative system was set up in 1897, and the first tax collector arrived in 1902. The District Administrative (Native) Ordinance of 1912 led to indirect rule five years later under five principal headmen; however, there was no precedent for that type of hierarchical political system, and the British abandoned it in favor of a tribal council of thirty-two chiefs. In 1933 the Native Authority and Native Courts ordinances vested juridical powers in the traditional chiefs, further devolving political power. However, the British deemed the tribal council unworkable and broke it up in 1947. On 6 July 1964 Nyasaland became the independent nation of Malawi.

Settlements

Most of the population is concentrated on the lakeshore. Hamlets *(mizi)* average two to six huts, and several hamlets form a village. Villages are the basic political units defined by their leaders; their actual physical boundaries are not clearly discernible. Families can choose among several villages to live in, depending on kinship, economic, political, and personal considerations. Headmen from different villages try to persuade kin to live with them to increase their following and power.

Economy

Subsistence. The local economy consists of fishing and gardening supported by income from outside wage labor. The staple crop is cassava, which is grown by women. It is served as a thick porridge *(nsima)* with a fish and vegetable relish *{dendi)* made of mushrooms, peas, or beans. Dendi also means "fish" and "well being." The only other meat consumed is chicken. The men in a village fish collectively and store their gear in the men's house *(mphara).*

Commercial Activities. Rice, maize, tobacco, and millet are grown for domestic and export markets. Several rubber and tea estates in the region employ Tonga administrators and workers.

Trade. The major export commodity is labor. At any time, about two-thirds of adult males work abroad, mostly in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Division of Labor. Women work in the garden, and men fish and work outside the country for wages.

Land Tenure. In the 1950s, there was no shortage of land and the patterns of ownership were dispersed and vague. There are three types of land: cultivated *(chikweta),* fallow *(masara)* , and bush *(dondo).* Fallow land can revert to bush, and disputes arise over whether a piece of land is fallow or wild. Localized lineages whose ancestors first settled in a location are called the "owners of the land." All men and women have claims to land through their maternal relatives. A family may live in one village and cultivate land in another.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Lakeshore Tonga are a matrilineal society. They distinguish between matrilateral and patrilateral kin: "on the woman's side" *(kuchikazi),* and "on the man's side" *(kuchirumi),* Matrikin are distinguished further according to whether they are lineally related through the female line or are nonmatrilineal matrikin, from one's mother's father's family. This distinction does not exist among patrikin, who are not recognized beyond the second generation. Patrikin do have some influence, in part as a result of the practice of virilocal residence. All that remains of clan organization is the use of surnames, which are shared with surrounding tribes.

Kinship Terminology. Terms are used to distinguish relatives, membership in a clan or matrilineage, and siblings. Only children and headmen are called by their first names; everyone else is addressed by surname. Genealogical depth is reckoned to the fourth or fifth ascending generation.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Formal marriages involve a go-between, negotiations, a betrothal payment, a marriage ceremony and the exchange of bride-wealth (usually just a down payment that creates a "marital debt.") One also can marry informally. Whether formal or informal, marriage sets up a debt relationship between the spouses' kin groups that can outlast the marriage, especially if children are involved.

The transaction of a formal marriage begins with a go-between who is sent by the headman of the suitor's village to "open the door" with a betrothal payment to the prospective wife's kin group. This is followed by negotiations over the amount of the bride-wealth, followed by the payment of a first installment and the exchange of a promissory note *(kalata)* for the balance (the balance rarely is paid). If the suitor is unable to pay the fees, which is usually the case, a member of his kin group will pay them for him. The one who pays the fees is called a *nkhoswe,* or attorney. The bride also has a nkhowse, usually her maternal uncle, who "eats" the payment and is responsible for her security and welfare. Attorneys are liable for marital debts.

A couple is considered informally married if they live together and have children. A relationship has been formed, and although no bride-wealth has been exchanged, it is only a matter of time before the spouses' respective kin groups come to loggerheads over marital debt. This usually occurs when the wife becomes pregnant, the couple divorce, adultery is committed, or a spouse dies.

The ideal form of residency is matrilocal, but patrilocal and virilocal residency also are practiced. Cross-cousin marriage (with one's maternal cross-cousin) is the preferred form because it creates a set of double loyalties to the village that strengthens internal cohesion and ensures that children will stay put. However, for this to work ideally, marriages have to be endogamous for generations, and this is rarely the case. More distant kin can still exert pressure on the children, who ostensibly are free to live wherever they choose.

Weddings can be big *(zowara)* or plain *(mtimba).* A big wedding involves dancing, the eating of beef, and gambling and attracts people from the surrounding villages. The mtimba is a more modest affair.

Domestic Unit. A household consists of a nuclear family. Women from each household tend a garden. Several related households form a hamlet.

Inheritance. In customary law property should go to the sister's son, but in practice sons also receive a share.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Hamlets and villages are made up of matrilineal and patrilateral kin groups. More than one matrilineage may constitute a village, although one is usually dominant. The matrilineage is the operative social unit, but individuals maintain a wide network of kin, including those on the father's side of the family. A high rate of divorce and remarriage adds to the multiplicity of potential kin ties. A form of institutionalized friendship *(ubwezi)* is practiced for purely political or economic purposes. For example, someone who lives in the interior will make friends with a lakeshore resident to secure a source of fish.

Political Organization. Traditionally, the basic political distinction was that between freemen and slaves *(mkapora),* who are people without kin. Although slavery has been prohibited, descendants of slaves continue to have low status because they have no maternal relatives to back them up ("nobody behind them," as villagers put it). The status of freemen is based on their link to the village headman: If the link is patrilateral then one is called "son of the village"; if it is matrilineal, one is called "owner of the land," which has higher status.

The village is the basic political unit and is led by a headman *(fumu).* The headman's position is inherited through the matrilineage, but his powers do not devolve exclusively from the lineage; instead they result from his personal influence and leadership skills. Villagers feel that "a chief without people is no chief." A headman gathers people through his ability to manipulate lineal and affinal kin ties, residency rules, rights to land, and marital debt. The headman engages in a "struggle for dependents" that ensures that his hamlet or village will remain a viable unit. In succeeding to office, he inherits a title, which is the historical name of the first chief of a village, the person who settled the land and established the village. The primary factor responsible for social cohesion is the dense network of relationships between individuals and small groups, which constitute Lakeshore Tonga society. Leaders also vie for official positions such as the district commissioner, native authority, subordinate native authority, and administrative headman.

Social Control. Headmen have always played a role as arbitrators and conciliators within the village. Outside the village are the *boma* courts of the Native Authority that are staffed by Lakeshore Tonga and apply traditional law. These courts have the power to arrive at a verdict and apply the appropriate sanctions. Funerals provide an opportunity for kin groups associated with the deceased to hold an inquest and renegotiate residency, land, and debt issues. Villages prefer to settle internal disputes informally in order to maintain a peaceful and unified front before the outside world.

Conflict. The Lakeshore Tonga are known to be quarrelsome and highly factious but rarely do they resort to violence. Every man is free to become a headman if he has the required ability and ambition. Conflicts arise over the strategies leaders use to increase the size and power of their lineages and villages. Tensions in the village occur between the dominant lineage and other lineages or sublineages, which struggle to increase in size and eventually form independent villages. Leadership and power come down to a struggle for dependents. The key to this struggle is the control over bridewealth.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Christianity is the principal religion. The first mission was established in the region in 1877, and a school opened three years later. The school has been well attended since its inception. Traditionally, people believed in a supreme god, Chiuta, and worship ancestor spirits *(mzimu).* Some people continue to believe in sorcery.

Ceremonies. Female initiation rites *(nkholi)* involve a period of seclusion in the chief's compound, followed by a couple of days of feasting. Only the most prominent chiefs had the right to hold the initiation ceremony. Before the British arrived, the Lakeshore Tonga held colorful installation ceremonies for their headmen, with the more powerful ones donning red robes.

Arts. Dance groups *(boma)* are composed of young men from several villages and hold competitive dances *(malepenga).* The dances involve miming and the imitation of military drills. Dance groups are the only multi-village institution in Lakeshore Tonga society.

Death and Afterlife. Funeral are local affairs that bring together all the adults from neighboring villages. The adults maintain a vigil over the corpse, wash it, prepare the grave, and attend the inquest. More distant living matrikin and patrikin of the deceased also attend. The funeral is an opportunity for the deceased's affairs to be put in order. At an informal inquest, kin resolve issues of inheritance, residency of the surviving spouse and children, land rights, debts, and accusations of sorcery. The shaving of the heads of kinswomen marks the resolution of these issues and signals the beginning of the mourning period. If the marriage was virilocal, the husband's sister's son can "inherit" the widow, in which case she stays in the village; otherwise, she must return to her village of birth.

For other cultures in Malawi, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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IAN SKOGGARD

Luo

ETHNONYMS: Joluo; also known in some early colonial documents and ethnographic texts as the "Nilotic Kavirondo" (not an indigenous term).

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Luo homeland is an area of over 3,860 square miles (10,000 square kilometers) surrounding the Winam Gulf on the northeast end of Lake Victoria. Most of this area is in the Nyanza Province of Kenya, but a portion extends into northern Tanzania. A number of Luo also live in the urban centers of Nairobi and Mombassa. The Luo area is composed of three concentric climatic and vegetation zones that extend outward from the Winam Gulf. The first is an arid coastal plain from about 3,608 to 3,936 feet (1,100 to 1,200 meters) in elevation with an erratic annual rainfall of 20-40 inches (50-100 centimeters) and a savanna vegetation. The second is an intermediate savanna zone up to about 4,592 feet (1,400 meters) in elevation with more than 45 inches (115 centimeters) of annual rainfall. The third region is a foothill zone up to about 4,920 feet (1,500 meters) in elevation with 59 -69 inches (150-175 centimeters) of annual rainfall supporting a relatively lush vegetation. Periodic drought is common on the coastal plain, while the higher elevation zones generally receive enough precipitation during the "short rains" period to support a second cropping season.

Demography. Figures from the latest Kenyan census for which ethnic affiliation data are available (1989) indicate

that there were 2,653,932 Luo at that time, or 12.38 percent of the total population of Kenya. More recent estimates are difficult given the uncertain demographic effects of AIDS and other factors over the last decade of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century; however, assuming a projected total Kenyan population of around 30 million people in 2001 and a constant ratio, the total Luo population in Kenya would be approximately 3.7 million. The Luo population in Tanzania has been estimated at approximately 223,000.

Linguistic Affiliation. Dholuo is the language of the Luo. It is classified as a Nilotic language within the Western (or "River-Lake") Nilotic branch of the Chari-Nile family. The most closely related languages to Dholuo are those of the Padhola and Alur of Uganda. Among the Luo there are several internal regional variations in vocabulary and pronunciation, with the inhabitants of much of Siaya District (especially the JoAlego) considered significantly distinctive by inhabitants of the other Luo districts.

History and Cultural Relations

According to reconstructions based upon oral history, the various lineages that constitute the modern Luo settled their current homeland in Kenya in an extremely complex and lengthy series of migrations that began in the late fifteenth or sixteenth century and continued through the end of the nineteenth century. Nyanza was previously occupied by Bantu-speaking peoples who were both absorbed and displaced by the several streams of infiltrating Luo. The early Luo settlers first entered the portion of Nyanza that lies north of the Winam Gulf (the current Siaya District) from eastern Uganda as part of a series of migrations of Nilotic-speaking peoples (Padhola, Acholi, Alur, etc.) out of southern Sudan. By the mid-eighteenth century, several Luo groups expanded out of this area and spread over South Nyanza as well. This whole process involved sequential displacements of earlier Luo settlers and Bantu groups by later arrivals, as well as the assimilation of many Bantu groups. The nineteenth century witnessed the most aggressively militaristic phase of expansion, especially into lands held by Bantu (Luyia) groups to the north. These ongoing population movements were halted by the imposition of British colonial control at the end of the nineteenth century when the territories of the various Luo subgroups at that moment were cartographically inscribed as the boundaries of the administrative sub-districts.

Settlements

The regional settlement pattern consists of individual patrilineal and patrilocal extended family homesteads scattered over the landscape without any larger traditional concentrations of population (although the multi-ethnic lake port city of Kisumu was established in Luo territory during the colonial period, as were a number of small administrative and market centers). Each homestead *(dala;* plural *delni)* is occupied by an extended (usually polygynous) family. A man must always marry in the homestead of his father, rather than that of his grandfather; consequently, when a man's eldest son is ready for marriage, he will move out from his father's dala and found a new one of his own. Thus, each homestead has a three-generation life cycle. When the last of the original inhabitants of a homestead has died, the settlement (now called *gunda;* plural *gundni)* will be left fallow for a period and then used as farmland by the sons of the former head of the homestead. The landscape also shows traces of significantly larger gundni with earthen ramparts *(gunda bur)* dating to the nineteenth century and earlier. In South Nyanza, there is also evidence of large gundni surrounded by stone walls called *ohinga.* A gunda bur is identified by the name of an ancestor-inhabitant, and they frequently serve as anchors for lineage claims to territory.

Each dala is bounded by a euphorbia hedge-fence and the houses are arranged in a highly ordered pattern on the interior. The spatial and temporal organization of the Luo homestead is a complex symbolic representation of the genealogical structure and the relations of authority in both the homestead and society. Lines of structural opposition and alliance between co-wives, and within the broader kinship and political system, are correlated with house placement on alternating sides of the homestead. Relations of seniority and authority are also represented and naturalized through temporal sequences of house construction, repair, and a host of daily activities and rituals that take place in the homestead.

Economy

Subsistence. Luo subsistence depends upon a mixture of agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishing. Subsistence agriculture is performed almost exclusively by women in scattered multiple small plots in the general neighborhood of the homestead. Primary agricultural production to feed her family is considered the duty of every rural Luo wife, and there is little dependence on purchased food (aside from small-scale "target" selling and buying of foodstuffs at the local markets and the purchase of a few imported items such as tea, sugar, and salt). Hoe agriculture is predominant, but ox-plows are found in some areas. The primary grain crops include sorghum, maize, and millet; cassava and sweet potatoes are major root crops. Sorghum and cassava are especially valued for their resistance to drought. These starches are complemented by various kinds of beans, lentils, and greens. In the higher elevation zone bananas are also grown. The early Luo settlers in Kenya had a pastoralist orientation, and cattle have remained very important as a symbol and unit of wealth; they have long been, for example, the central component of bride-wealth exchanges (now augmented or partially replaced with cash). The cattle are generally eaten only in the context of feasting rituals, but their milk forms an important part of the ordinary diet. Sheep, goats, and chickens are a less valuable and somewhat more commonly consumed source of meat. Fish of several types and sizes (tilapia, Nile perch, etc.) are also a much-appreciated source of protein. They are caught in the waters of the Winam Gulf and traded throughout the market system.

Commercial Activities. The Luo were forcibly drawn into a monetary economy at the beginning of the twentieth century by the colonial imposition of "hut" taxes designed to stimulate a supply of native workers for the farms of English colonists and for railroad construction. In fact, the most important source of cash has continued to be migratory wage labor by Luo men, such that about a third of middle-aged Luo men live outside the Luo area at any given time. The Luo

have been notoriously resistant to cash cropping, especially in Siaya District. However, small-holder cash cropping of tobacco, cotton, sunflowers, coffee, peanuts, and a few other items is somewhat more prevalent in parts of southern Nyanza and the area around Kisumu. Large sugar plantations exist in the area north of Kisumu, but these are owned by outside agents who employ Luo workers. Other commercial activities oriented more toward a local market include such things as fishing, the sale of beer and *chang'aa* (an illegal distilled liquor), and motor-transportation services (especially the running of *matatus,* or "bush taxis").

Industrial Arts. Luo artisans make a wide variety of crafts that are largely consumed locally rather than directed toward a tourist market. Pottery is a thriving craft performed entirely by women. Less than 1 percent of all women are potters, yet they manage to supply nearly all Luo homes with a diverse range of forms to serve a common set of cooking, serving, and storage functions. Potters live in clusters of homesteads centered around clay sources scattered throughout the Luo area and they sell pots at local markets. Other local craft products sold at markets include baskets (for storage, food-processing, eating, and fishing, etc.), forged iron goods (agricultural tools, ornaments, etc.), and such things as ropes, brooms, reed mats, wooden tool handles, and oil lamps made from recycled cans.

Trade. A system of regular periodic markets exists throughout the Luo area and serves as a focus for both trading and social activities. This system developed in the early twentieth century out of the prior practice of sporadic famine markets under the influence of the developing cash economy. Markets serve as centers for the exchange of local crafts and foodstuffs as well as for the distribution of imported goods (e.g. clothing, kerosene, salt, plastic and metal containers). However, they do not usually serve as major collection points for large amounts of local produce flowing out to distant urban or international markets. The Luo do trade with neighboring peoples at border markets, and they are, for example, major suppliers of pottery to the Kisii/Gusii and some other non-Luo groups. Moreover, some of these products are distributed further afield by middleman traders.

Division of Labor. The primary division of labor is gender-based. Subsistence agriculture, childcare, cooking, and domestic maintenance are all female tasks. Women are also the primary or exclusive contributors to several kinds of craft production (especially pottery), although men contribute to some crafts (e.g. basketry) and are the exclusive producers of others (e.g. iron working). Men are the predominant ritual, political, and oral history specialists. In the pre-colonial era they were also the warriors. External wage labor and cash cropping also tend to be predominantly male activities. Market traders, on the other hand, are predominantly women, but men are also involved in the selling of some items, especially goods coming from outside the Luo area.

Land Tenure. The traditional system of land tenure was one in which land was corporately held by patrilineages and was not individually alienable. This included farmland, pasture, water, firewood, and clay sources. Women received usufruct rights to agricultural plots and other resources by virtue of their husband's membership in a patrilineage. These rights were distributed among the women of a homestead by the husband or senior co-wife *(mikayi),* and they depended upon various dimensions of seniority relations.

According to Achola Pala's ("Women's access to land.", 1983) calculations, the majority of women work between three and five small, scattered parcels of land totaling 4-11 acres (1.5-4.5 hectares) but spread over a wide area. However, this system has been subjected to various kinds of pressure from increasing population density (hence land shortage), and from land tenure reform programs implemented by the colonial and, especially, postcolonial states. The goal of the reform programs is primarily to consolidate land holdings and register individual title to land. The effect has been to transform land into an alienable commodity in a system of almost exclusively male individualized ownership with little concern for women's access to it. The sale of land for cash has created serious moral tensions as well as sometimes leaving aged mothers and widows landless.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Kinship has a powerful role in structuring Luo social life, identity, and politics, as well as the landscape. Luo maximal lineages *(dhoudi;* singular *dhoot),* sometimes called "clans" in the anthropological literature, are exogamous land-holding units. Descent is patrilineal and women remain members of their father's lineage after marriage. A cluster of maximal lineages occupying a distinct territory *(piny)* is called *oganda* (plural *ogendni).* These clusters are often referred to as "sub-tribes," or even, by one source, Evans-Pritchard (1949), "tribes." All these groups claim descent from a common ancestor named Ramogi. Their genealogical relationship to each other is a product of a long and continuing history of fluid segmentation of lineages. Each co-wife's house *(ot)* in a polygynous homestead is seen as the potential kernel of a future lineage. A person's identity is viewed as depending upon nested membership in the family of a particular father *(jokawuoro)* and grandfather *(jokakwarn)* within some distinct minimal lineage that is a segment of a given dhoot and oganda.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The Luo are markedly polygynous in both ideology and practice. Post-marital residence is patrilocal in the strictest sense of the term: that is, the wife goes to live with the husband in the homestead of the husband's father. Marriage involves a protracted series of exchanges and ceremonies between the families of the bride and groom, and most crucially the payment of substantial bride-wealth to the bride's family. Formerly this involved cattle (and, in the pre-colonial era, iron hoes); now it involves cattle and cash. Once bride-wealth has been paid, the children produced by the marriage are considered to belong to the husband's lineage. Divorce necessitates a return of bride-wealth. Marriage is not simply an individual affair: it establishes an enduring relationship of mutual obligations between affines that can be invoked for aid in times of hunger or other need.

Domestic Unit. The basic domestic unit is the polygynous household. Each co-wife must have her own house (ot) in the homestead (dala) occupied by the patrilineal polygynous extended family. The husband, considered the *wuon dala* (head of the homestead), rotates among the houses of his wives for

eating and sleeping, although he often has a small independent house *(duol)* for entertaining other male guests. Each house, occupied by a woman and her children, also has its own granary and is responsible for raising its own subsistence, although there is often a great deal of cooperation among co-wives or neighbors in labor of various kinds.

Inheritance. Inheritance is patrilineal. Sons inherit cattle and other forms of wealth, as well as rights to the land of the father's gunda, from their father. A woman generally does not inherit wealth from her father or husband: the property of the husband passes to his brothers. Women do sometimes inherit small household items from their mothers-in-law.

Socialization. Caring for young children is shared by mothers, grandmothers, and older siblings. By the end of the twentieth century, school also played an important role in socialization. From the time they reach the age of puberty until they marry, boys live together in a house called *simba* just inside the main gate of the homestead. For women, who typically marry young (traditionally before age sixteen), there is a great deal of post-marital resocialization in which the mother-in-law plays an authoritative role. The spatial organization of the settlement itself has an important part in channeling the flow of social relations and inculcating beliefs and attitudes about proper behavior, authority, and relationships. The Luo have no formal initiation rites to mark the transition to adulthood and they are not circumcised. However, until the 1970s it was a common practice to extract six lower front teeth at some point in the pre-adult phase of the life cycle.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Lineage membership is the primary structuring principle of social organization. The distant past is perceived as the history of successive segmentation of patrilineages from a common Luo ancestor (Ramogi) resulting in a dendritic system of connections among all Luo lineages. Membership in a lineage implies a specific social distance from all other Luo lineages which is calculated on the basis of the temporal distance of the segmentation event. This temporal and social distance has practical significance in structuring personal interaction, as it determines whom one can marry, where one can expect political allies, with whom one is expected to share, whose funerals one must attend, where one has rights to land, and other relations.

Generational time structures relationships between individuals within lineages or lineage segments. For example, two males of identical chronological age may stand in the relationship of either "brothers" or of "father" and "son," depending upon the temporal depth of their genealogical connection. This structural relationship will have a great deal to do with the behavior considered appropriate between the two and will have much more to do with determining seniority than the relative times of birth.

Political Organization. Although at the beginning of the twenty-first century they live with an administrative system of local "chiefs" imposed by the British colonial government and continued by the postcolonial Kenyan state, the Luo have traditionally had a strongly egalitarian political ethos and lacked centralized authority. They do, however, have an indigenous term, *ruoth,* that is used to refer to modern chiefs. In the precolonial era this term more likely meant something closer to "leader" or "man of influence" than to the institutionalized political role it has come to signify. However, oral histories indicate that the degree to which individuals in the past were able to transform their informal influence within councils of elders into naturalized positions of authority and power varied somewhat from region to region. Traditionally, there was no pan-Luo centralized political authority or formal political hierarchy. Rather, the Luo are considered to be a classic example of a segmentary lineage system with fluctuating ad hoc alliances among lineages structured by genealogical distance between the disputants. The modern administrative boundaries within Luo territory, which were defined during the colonial era, effectively froze into static form what had previously been a series of highly dynamic factional and territorial struggles between competing subgroups organized according to lineage affiliation and military expediency.

Social Control. Belief in witchcraft and the potentially lethal supernatural consequences of violating cultural codes has been a powerful traditional force for social control. In this strongly egalitarian society, ostentatious accumulation of riches and deviation from the obligation to share are thought to provoke jealousy and the attention of witches, resulting in sickness and death. Moreover, violation of a range of cultural practices (especially temporal sequences of ritual acts that emphasize relations of seniority and authority and codes of personal interaction between classes of kin and affines) is thought to result in a state of supernatural illness called *chira,* that can be fatal, sometimes for entire families, if not expiated through appropriate rituals.

In the precolonial period, the arbitration of disputes within the smallest local territorial unit, the *gw*eng, was handled by a council of elders *(jodongo).* The possibility to become an influential leader in this context required the building of prestige and moral authority, and these qualities were acquired from several possible sources. The most immediate criteria were genealogical position and the strength of the lineage: the most genealogically senior member of the dominant lineage of the gweng had responsibilities to settle disputes within the gweng, and he met with other similar leaders to attempt to resolve disputes between gwenge. Disputes that could not be settled peacefully were resolved by fission and migration, or by armed conflict. Pragmatic alliances often formed in which strong lineages would secure the support of weaker *jodak* (tenant) lineage groups that had settled in their territory after being forced out or fissioning elsewhere. Chiefs appointed by the Kenyan state now fulfill many of these local conflict mediation roles and the law courts are the locus of higher level disputes.

Conflict. From the late fifteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, the Luo, in the course of their southward migration and intrusion into the territory of Bantu-speaking peoples, were frequently engaged in armed conflict. There was little to distinguish internal and external fighting since in the segmentary lineage system fighting could be directed at one time against other Luo lineages (such as the earlier settlers) and at other times it would be against Bantu speakers. Fighting mostly ceased with the imposition of British colonial rule. With the exception of occasional isolated skirmishes, territorial disputes have since been displaced into the court

system and the legislature. A number of Luo men were also drawn into larger conflicts when they were conscripted into the British colonial army during World Wars **I** and **II.**

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs, Religion among the Luo exhibits a complex creative hybridity of traditional beliefs and practices and those imported by Christian missionaries of a wide range of competing sects. Both Catholic and Protestant missions of European and American origin have been active in the area since the end of the nineteenth century. Even more numerous are the independent African churches (of which over 220 are officially registered in Kenya) that have splintered off from the Euro American churches. Many of these independent churches actually originated among the Luo and they are extremely popular. Nearly 90 percent of Joluo are professed adherents of Christianity in one or another of these manifestations. The charismatic independent churches, such as Roho and Legio Maria, often incorporate traditional Luo beliefs in such things as spirit possession with Christian symbols and practices. However, even adherents of the more orthodox Euro American Christian churches often see no contradiction in maintaining or adapting traditional beliefs and practices. On the other hand, churches of both types sometimes target specific traditional elements (e.g. drinking) for prohibition as a way of positioning themselves as a force capable of, for example, liberating people from witchcraft. Traditional beliefs include various forces called *juogi* (spirits), *tipo* (shadows), and *kwere* (ancestors), which can act positively or negatively, as well as a creator or life force god (Nyasaye or Were).

Religious Practitioners. Traditional religious practitioners include several kinds of witches, sorcerers, or magicians and diviners. These go by various names depending upon their attributes. Those who use medicines are called *jobilo.* They are feared and respected for their powers of divination and their ability to use killing magic on enemies. *Ajuoge* is a more general term for witches or sorcerers, while *jopuok* is used for "nightrunners" and those (usually women) who have the power to cause sickness through the ``evil eye" *(sihoho).* Witchcraft and magical powers can be inherited or learned, depending upon the circumstances and type of powers. The independent African churches have a range of parallel religious specialists (priests, bishops, popes, prophets, etc.) derived from the Christian tradition. Leadership roles in these churches tend to be predominantly male, while church membership is predominantly female.

Ceremonies. The largest and most ostentatious Luo ceremonies are funerals. These can last for several days, during which time the host family must supply a large gathering of kin and affines with a steady supply of food and beer. The ritual involves a parade of the cattle owned by the deceased and a great feast accompanied by dancing and praise songs. A person's prestige can be measured by the number of people who attend his or her funeral. There are a host of other important ceremonies that are less elaborate than funerals, including marriage, twin-birth rituals, rites for establishing a new homestead, and harvest festivals. These all involve feasts with beer (and often chang'aa).

Arts. Oratory is one of the most admired and highly developed arts among the Luo. This includes the ability to tell stories and proverbs, to engage in formal praise speeches, and to marshal eloquent skills of political persuasion. There are also professional musicians who play the *nyatiti* (a plucked string instrument) to accompany songs that include both praise and witty satire of patrons and other influential men. Dancing also plays an important part in most festivities and rituals. Among the plastic arts, potters and basket-weavers are notably skilled.

Medicine. The Luo have a rich lore of herbal and other natural medicines. Some plants and their uses are known by everyone. Others (especially those used for harmful magic) are the domain of specialists (jobilo). Much curing is also done, after divination of the causes, by rituals that are not based upon plant medicines.

Death and Afterlife. The ancestors are a strong force in the life of the living. The spirits of the dead can be very dangerous if they have died under troubled circumstances or if they have been offended by the behavior of the living. However, they can also be a positive force. Children are often renamed after an ancestor who appears in a dream or who is invoked by a diviner. Most Luo also hold views of death and the afterlife influenced by their participation in Christian religions. Adults are buried within the homestead, while infants and those who have died in some spiritually dangerous limnal state may be buried outside the settlement. It is imperative that even those Luo who live in distant cities be brought back to their homestead for burial out of their own house. The famous legal dispute following the death of S. M. Otieno in 1985 (in which his non-Luo wife objected to his being returned to his homeland for burial) is a dramatic demonstration of the force of this belief and of the potential conflict between traditional law based upon collective rights and the law of the state based upon individual rights.

For the original article on the Luo, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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INGRID HERBICH

Mandinka

ETHNONYMS: Mandika, Mandingo, Malinke (Mandinque-Manding)

Orientation

Identification and Location. Mandinka is both a linguistic term and the name of the people who speak that language. The Mandinka constitute one of the larger groups of the well-known and wide-spread Mande-speaking peoples of ancient western Sudan. They inhabit a large area roughly the shape of a horseshoe, starting from their home in Gambia, extending through the southeastern region of Senegal, bending across the northern and southern sections of the republics of Guinea and Mali, extending through northern Sierra Leone, and descending into northwestern Cote d'Ivoire (formerly the Ivory Coast Republic). Ancient western Sudan is more commonly recognized as the area between the Sahara Desert and the tropical African forest stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea coasts.

Demography. Based on recent statistics, the Mandinka population is nearly two million. In July 2001, there were 592,706 Mandinka in Gambia (42 percent of the population), 308,547 in Senegal (3 percent of the population), and 171,056 in Guinea-Bissau (13 percent of the population). There are approximately 800,000 Mandinka in Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina-Faso, and Sierra Leone.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Mandinka language is in the Mande branch of the Niger-Congo language family and is spoken in Guinea, Mali, Burkina-Faso, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, the Senegambia region, and parts of Nigeria. It has several variations, but is most closely related to the Malinke language of West Africa. Its linguistic identity is connected with its ethnic identity. Mandinka is a tonal language in which changes in pitch are used to distinguish between words, phrases, and complete utterances that are otherwise identically constructed.

History and Cultural Relations

The Mandinka of Gambia and the surrounding areas, the Bambara of Mali, the Dyula-speaking people of Cote d'Ivoire and Upper Volta, the Kuranko, the Kono, and the Vail of Sierra Leone and Liberia are part of the Manding people, who believe that they originated from the area of Mande near the western border of Mali on the Upper Niger River. The ancestors of these people are associated with the great empire of Mali. There are indications that the main movements of many of these peoples occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The first written account of the region came from the records of Arab traders in the ninth and tenth centuries C.E. Those traders established the trans-Sahara trade route for slaves, gold, and ivory. Between the tenth and fifteenth centuries a migration of Hamitic-Sudanese people from the Nile River Valley arrived and then settled and intermingled with the Mandinka. In 1235, Sundiata founded the Empire of Mali. Between 1312 and 1337, Mali reached its greatest prominence during the reign of Mansa Musa. By the end of the 1700s, the western savanna was colonized by the French, British, and Portuguese. It was the French who colonized the largest number of the Mandinka in Guinea, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, and Mali. In the mid-nineteenth century, a Dyula man called Samori Toure attempted to revive the medieval Empire of Mali. By 1881, Toure had established a huge empire in West Africa that covered many of the present-day nations. It took the French seven years to defeat Toure's empire; but by 1898 the Second Mandinka Empire had fallen. By 1900, European colonial powers controlled the whole region. It was not until the early 1960s that that region achieved independence.

Settlements

Almost all the Mandinka maintains a rural existence, living in family-related compounds within villages. Each village is surround by a wall; the homes are either round or rectangular, and are made of sun-dried bricks or mud with a thatched or tin roof. These rural villages have neither electricity nor telephone services. Many villagers never travel more than five miles (eight kilometers) from their homes.

Economy

Subsistence. The Mandinka economy is based on subsistence agriculture. Rice, millet, sorghum, and maize are grown, but income from exports is largely dependent on peanuts. Although the Mandinka raise most of their own food, many products are obtained through trade and food-gathering expeditions in the surrounding forests. Much of their time is spent in the fields, particularly during the planting and harvesting seasons. Sometimes cattle are kept as a means of gaining prestige, for ritual sacrifices, or to use as a bride-price.

Commercial Activities· Men often take part-time jobs in various businesses to supplement their income. Others raise goats, sheep, bees, poultry, and dogs to earn additional income. Specialists make various craft products for trade or sale.

Industrial Arts. A traditional feature of Mandinka society is the "nyamakala" (craft groups), which often have religious and ritual responsibilities as well as their skilled occupations. The production of artistic and craft products is very important. The Mandinka are famous for wood-carving and leather and metal crafts. They are also known for weaving (men) and dyeing (women), including dresses made of mud cloth decorated with stylized patterns depicting symbolically important animals such as lizards, tortoises, and crocodiles. They also make domestic utensils from clay or calabashes to sell or trade.

Trade. The Mandinka produce a wide variety of clothing to sell. However, imitations of their clothing made by large European manufacturers have limited their profits. Historically, the Mandinka had mercantile clans for which trade was a full-time occupation that was pursued with such skill and determination that their name came to be synonymous with "trader" throughout West Africa. There is continuous exchange in the local and regional markets, and there is also limited access to major commercial routes. In addition to clothing they sell or trade locally grown foodstuffs. The Mandinka hope to add chickens, eggs, and surplus grain to their trade goods.

Division of Labor. Certain tasks are assigned specifically to men, women, or children. Men clear the undergrowth and prepare the land for the farming season and plant and manage particular crops. In addition, men are responsible for hunting, herding, leatherwork, blacksmithing for warfare, and the building of houses. Young boys are taught to take care of men's crops and herd cattle. They scare off birds and small rodents from the farms. Eventually they are initiated into the responsibilities of manhood. Most women's activities take place in the household. Children are cared for primarily by their mother, who often is assisted by other female family members. Women are also traders and artisans. Only men weave, but today many women sew with sewing machines yet continue to spin thread as they did in the past.

Land Tenure. The first patrilineal family thought to have settled in the area usually is granted the ritual chieftancy. The ritual chief has some authority in regard to land tenure. The authority of this office is based on the belief that an ancestor of the ritual chief was the first immigrant to the area and had to come to terms with the local spirits of the land. He maintains a special relationship with those spirits and is the most qualified to mediate with them for the rest of the immigrants and the inhabitants of the area.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Mandinka society traditionally was organized in large patrilineal village units that were grouped together to form small state-like territorial units. Those units were remarkable for their continuity. The oldest male serves as the head of the lineage. A "minor lineage" consists of a man and his immediate family. A "major lineage" consists of a household of relatives and their families, a group that ultimately creates a "clan." Clans can be recognized by their symbolic emblems, which can include animals and plants. If someone travels to another village, he or she is shown hospitality by the villagers who share his or her last name. Even larger kinship groups that unite the Mandinka with other Manding people are called "dyamu." Although this term refers to people who have the same name, those people are all believed to be descended from the same ancestor. People of the same dyamu claim hospitality and friendship all over the Manding area. One of the most famous dyamu names is Toure', which has been the name of leaders in many states, including ancient Ghana, ancient Mali, Songhai, and modern Guinea.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage does not happen on one day or even over a period of several years. It is a process that occurs throughout the lifetime of individuals and is accompanied by required gifts. Formerly in Mandinka society, parents arranged a daughter's marriage while the girl was an infant. Although marriages are still arranged, they are not arranged that early. The groom is required to work for the bride's family before and after the wedding. He also must pay the girl's family a bride-price. Unlimited polygamy is permitted, but men rarely have more than three wives.

Domestic Unit. Mandinka society is patrilineal and male-dominated, and the family is the smallest social unit. In many ways, the nuclear family is the foundation for the Mandinka's social, religious, and political views of the world. Generally, the Mandinka believe that the sanctioned behavior of the family compound finds its way into the larger society. The behavior of the polygynous family is reflected in kinship terms. Rivalry is expected between half siblings; conversely, affection is expected between full siblings.

Inheritance. Among the Mandinka, status in society is determined through one's father's family. The first loyalty is to one's family, and it begins with the oldest man. Wealth passes from the oldest male child downward, but that is subject to

change, depending on how the clan views that man's ability to run the family.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In the worldview of the Mandinka, humankind is divided into three categories. While social divisions are quite complex, a great deal of social behavior is influenced by this philosophy. At the bottom of this structure is the population considered to be the descendants of slaves (slavery was abolished in the late 1800s) or captives taken in time of war. The second division is made up of the caste members of society. Four groups of families fill this division: the Bards, the blacksmiths, the leatherworkers, and the Islamic praise poets. These families have a monopoly over one or more specialized professions, and the bards play an important role of verbal and social mediation between other groups in Mandinka society. The majority of the population makes up the third division, which is further subdivided into commoners and royalty. The "royalty" come from clans that trace their lineages back to ancient Mali. In other cases, the royal families established their claims to a "higher" status through ancestors they believed played an important role at some crucial time during the existence of the Mali Empire. The traditional hierarchy still exists in Mandinka society, but the royalty no longer has power beyond the surrounding villages. Their roles are symbolic reminders of the strong empires of past centuries. Modern government has taken over the powers the king once had. At the village level, political life traditionally was sustained by large initiation societies. Islam was omnipresent, and social stratification was highly developed.

Political Organization. Authority at the village level is shared by two officeholders, one with political credentials and one with a ritual commission. Both men are the elders of a sublineage tier of two dominant (royal lineage) families, and their offices are invested with the authority of the legendary charter of the founding of the village.

Perhaps the most important political organizations (cross-lineage associations) are the "age sets of youth" and the "young men." These units are made up of the youths of a village, roughly of the same age within a five-to-seven year range. Men join at the time of their circumcision and remain in the group until the age of thirty-five. Women join at the time of their circumcision and remain until marriage or the birth of the first child. Age-sets serve two main functions at the village level. They provide for much of the entertainment in the area and participate in collective charitable work. They also make their political and social views known and thus are able to wield varying degrees of power and pressure at the village level. Volunteer associations of a secular nature exist, along with religious associations that attempt to influence local affairs.

Social Control. There is a system of "secret" societies that helps regulate how people conduct their lives. *Ntomos* prepare young boys for circumcision and initiation into adult society. Joining such societies and obeying their rules and taboos help make people conform to what are considered acceptable forms of behavior.

In Mandinka cosmology, power is perceived not as a process, but as an entity to be stockpiled until enough is gained to enable the processor to exercise social and political control over others. The stockpiling process is accomplished religiously, among other ways, through occult practices, such as conjuring and the preparation and wearing of amulets and talismans. Both authority figures and individuals outside the authority structure compete for control by employing methods to gain this occult power. However this is only a backdrop to the struggle for social and political control based on social divisions.

Conflict. The village political chief usually is associated with a power struggle that is based on how the charter of the village is written. The authority inherent in a political position lies in the belief that an ancestor of the ritual chief was the first immigrant to the area and came to terms with the local spirits of the land. Thus, he maintains a special relationship with those spirits and is able to mediate between the spirits and the residents of the area. Sometimes the sublineage whose elder holds this office is thought to be the conqueror of the area or the sublineage whose ancestors prevented an external conquest in the past, giving the current elder the right to rule. As a consequence of these claims, there are always challenges to his authority.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Islam was established in the area many centuries before the arrival of Europeans. It is practiced faithfully among the Mandinka, although there are existing variations of the religion.

Ritual washings and daily prayers are usually observed as well. However, very few people wear the Arab dress and none of the women wears veils. Islam has been blended with indigenous beliefs that involve worshiping the spirits of the land. It is not uncommon for someone to pray in the village mosque and then sacrifice a chicken to the village spirits. The Mandinka view Allah as the one supreme god but see him as inaccessible and with little concern for the daily affairs of his creations.

Religious Practitioners. The most significant religious authority in Mandinka society is the *marabout,* the Muslim holy man. He is believed to be a miracle worker, a physician, and a mystic, who exercises both magical and moral influence. He is also respected as a dispenser of amulets that protect their wearers, Muslim and non-Muslim, against evil. The power of the marabouts has caused criticism among the educated classes, because the marabouts generally speak only on behalf of the downtrodden.

Ceremonies. The Mandinka officially observe the holidays of both major religions (Islam and Christianity) and practice tolerance. However, there is a conventional emphasis on indigenous forms of life, dress, and celebrations, which remain an integral part of everyday life. The Mandinka celebrate the end of Ramadan, Tabaski (the slaying of the ram), and the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. They also celebrate weddings and circumcisions and the arrival of special guests. Although all Mandinka are Muslims, they also celebrate the Christian holidays of Easter and Christmas.

Arts. The Mandinka have a long established practice of oral history and literature. The practitioners of that tradition are known as *griots* (artisan-praise singers, the middle division of the caste system) who recapitulate their history and heri-

tage through stories and songs passed down the generations. The *Mandinka Epic,* a compilation of songs and short stories that gives a brief chronological history of the Mali Empire when it was a ruling nation, is an important example of Mandinka oral literature.

Medicine. Although Western medical practices and values are becoming influential in Africa in general, the holy men of the Mandinka society are still consulted as medical healers.

Death and Afterlife. Mandinka Muslims see themselves as separate and distinct beings from their "pagan" neighbors, feeling that they are superior in intellectual and moral respects. They regard themselves as peoples to whom a revelation has been "sent down" from heaven to comfort them. The transition into the afterlife is orderly. At death, a Mandinka becomes a "transitional" corpse, one that is not entirely dead. The corpse is ritually washed, dressed in white burial clothes, and sewn into a white shroud. As part of the Muslim scripture, it is written, "Verily those who do not believe shall be cast into the fire of hell to remain there forever." The Mandinka believe that those who do good work are the best people and that their reward will be to remain with God in the "garden of perpetual life."

For other cultures in Sudan, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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FRED LINDSEY

Mangaians

ETHNONYMS: Mangaia is the only commonly used name for this island; it derives from a ceremonial ax used to remind people of the horrors of war. Some residents use "Auau Enua," which means "Our Land."

Orientation

Identification and Location. Mangaia is in the Southern Cook Islands group, 110 miles (177 kilometers) southeast of Rarotonga, just north of the tropic of Capricorn at 21° 54' 30" latitude S., longitude 157° 58" making it one of the coolest Polynesian islands. It consists of one island that has an area of 20 square miles (51.8 square kilometers), making it the second largest of the Cook Islands, slightly smaller than the capital island, Rarotonga. Along with Atiu and Mauke, Mangaia features dramatic *makatea,* or raised coral reef center, but has no beaches or lagoon.

Demography. Residents estimate that about five times the number of Mangaians reside overseas as live in their homeland, which had just over a thousand permanent residents in 1988-1989.This number may grow by a few hundred in the austral summer as people visit their relatives at Christmas. The very old and the very young make up most of the population, with those of working age being largely absent. Paid employment on the island is scarce.

Linguistic Affiliation. Mangaian is an eastern Polynesian language similar to the other languages spoken in the southern Cooks. A few distinctive Mangaian words remain, but mostly people speak Rarotongan Maori, the national language, and New Zealand-accented English. Mangaians claim some settlement from Tahiti.

History and Cultural Relations

Recent research has placed the settlement of Mangaia at 2300 B.C.E. Residents claim that the core population originated on Mangaia but that there were settlers from Tahiti and Rarotonga. Some genealogies identify such outsiders as arriving in the past. Traditional stories emphasize the indigenous Mangaian combating the arriving stranger, who in the end is incorporated into the local group.

Settlements

Mangaians divide their island into six sections. The two main settlements are Oneroa, the site of the marine landing and a few government offices and the oldest church, and Ivirua, which has a church but no government offices. These two settlements date back to ancient times. There is an airstrip that is marginally closer to Ivirua than to Oneroa.

Economy

Subsistence. In earlier times Mangaians grew the traditional Polynesian crops of sweet potatoes, taro, yams, and bananas, finding fish easily at the end of their reef. This diet still is eaten but is supplemented by imported foods from New Zealand, which can be bought at small Mangaian-operated shops.

Commercial Activities. Although there are daily flights to and from Mangaia, there is little conventional commercial activity. Shops are small, featuring imported goods from New Zealand, with some stocking videos for rent, cigarettes, and the like. There is a bakery that operates sporadically and other small business serve the local population. Owing to the lack of a beach or lagoon, tourism has not developed. There are a couple of family-run guest houses and a government-run house at Oneroa. People take tourists to caves, and there is a freshwater lake with eels. Remittances sent by family members overseas on a regular basis or in response to appeals for funds for the construction of local community buildings such as churches and meeting halls constitute the main source of income.

Industrial Arts. A few residents make traditional Mangaian artifacts—the poi pounder is a favorite—but there is no other production of consequence because of high shipping costs and the lack of tourism. The ceremonial ax from which the island takes its name is made by carvers on Rarotonga, copied from photographs of an original now in the British Museum. No one on Mangaia makes this handicraft. Some people still construct small fishing boats for themselves or on a contract basis.

Trade. For a period in the 1980s Mangaia was supposed to become "the pineapple island"; the local school features a sew-on patch with a pineapple, and some of the older literature refers to this hope. Pineapple fields are extensive but are largely untended as there is no reliable shipping method. The wet taro of Mangaia is especially appreciated by Cook Islanders living overseas, and in spite of the high shipping cost, small qualities are sold as far away as the markets in Auckland.

Division of Labor. As in other parts of the Cooks, men prefer that their women attend to household duties while the men work outside. Because there is little outside activity, most of the work done is domestic. Women and men both garden, but fishing usually is a male activity. All the traditional leaders are male, but for many years a queen was the top authority.

Land Tenure. Mangaians view land tenure as a family issue. The land has never been surveyed, and people continue to reject this aspect of modern life. The management of land and sea resources rests with the *Arongamana* ("people of power"), a group of family-based chiefs that is a unique feature of Mangaia. The Arongamana determines who manages land and what one does with it. Even inheritance is not solely under the control of a family group but must be approved by the Arongamana. The Arongamana consists of representatives from every family on the island.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Mangaia had a moment of anthropological fame in the early 1960s when Harold Scheffler of the United States and Edmund Leach of the United Kingdom debated the nature of the Kopu, the main named kin group. The debate was over the issue of whether descent was unilineal or ambilineal; there was evidence in the older literature for both. As in most of Polynesia, there is a patrilineal bias, but descent can be traced from a variety of ancestors, depending on the circumstances. For example, claims to land tend to have a patrilineal bias, but *Anga Mate* ("work of the dead"), where one prepares and carries out of a funeral, may be less strict. As the island is large and the population is small and in light of considerable emigration to New Zealand and, more recently, Australia, there is little pressure on resources and thus few disputes.

Kinship Terminology. Rarotongan kinship terminology (a Hawaiian system) is used by Mangaians today; it is generational, with all the members of one generation sharing the same term and all the members of the preceding and succeeding generations bearing the same terms of reference and address. The Kopu might best be translated as "clan"; literally, it means "belly" or "abdomen" in general Mangaian speech.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Older people still prefer arranged marriages that favor adjoining lands and common interests on the part of the parents. Owing to the extensive migration and overseas residence—perhaps as many as 80 percent of Mangaians do not live on the island—there is a greater emphasis on the nuclear family now than there was in the past, especially in regard to the choice of a marriage partner.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit tends to be the nuclear family, but because residence is determined by land inheritance, as guided by the Arongamana, there is close family cooperation. This extends to the large numbers of Mangaians residing overseas, who cooperate on community projects such as the repair of community buildings, including churches and local meeting halls.

Inheritance. Although there was a debate in the anthropological literature in the early 1960s about the Kopu, it seems most likely that people leave their wealth to their offspring on an essentially equitable basis. The Arongamana must sanction land inheritance.

Socialization. Socialization in the twentieth century was influenced by popular music from Rarotonga as well as from overseas, which still can be heard on the Cook Islands government radio station. Many small shops have videos for rent, with a preference for Hong Kong- inspired fight movies and other violent forms of entertainment. There are three primary schools and one high school for the resident population. As a result of migration since World War II, Mangaians often study on Rarotonga or in New Zealand, frequently finding work in a large city and settling there. A major aspect of socialization is the desirability of migration.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The traditional council of chiefs (Arongamana) is a surviving artifact of traditional Oceania, perhaps the only one of its kind in Polynesia. The Arongamana constitutes the social organization of Mangaia as well as its political organization and is the main instrument of social control and conflict resolution.

The Arongamana consists of appointed representatives of kin groups and was the sole governing body of the island before the arrival of missionaries in the early nineteenth century. Normally, appointment to the Arongamana is for life,

but persons can look after a title during the absence of the legitimate titleholder.

Mangaia is divided into six Puna (districts) calculated from the "umbilical," or ideological center point of the island, which is called Rangimotia and is known as "Te pito o te 'enua," or "the navel/umbilical of the land." Each of these districts is subdivided into kin-based *tapere* (land sections). People say that each of the six districts has six title holders but quickly add that one has five titles and that the least populated has eleven. The distribution of these titles by district is as follows:

Ivirua, with six Rangatira with tapere

Karanga, with five Rangatira with tapere, plus "the stick" (there is a legend about this)

Keia, with six Rangatira with tapere

Tamarua, with ten Rangatira with tapere

Tava'enga, with six Rangatira with tapere

Veitatei, with six Rangatira with tapere and one without ("the seventh")

Each tapere has as its head a *Rangatira.* This term, but not the idea, was imported by the missionaries. Rangatira, or Ui-rangatira (plural), was imported by missionaries from Rarotonga. The preEuropean Mangaian term for this office was *Kairanganuku,* which means "organizer." The titleholders of each district agree to designate one of their number as their *Kavana* (representative) on the islandwide Arongamana. Most people acknowledge that "Kavana" is a transliteration of the English word "governor." The original title for the six Puna heads was *Pava.* Some people believe that the Arongamana consists of all forty titleholders, while others restrict the definition only to the six Kavana titleholders. Each title is tied to a specific piece of land. The Ariki, who is called Numanatini regardless of his or her personal name, has no land and lives on the tapere of one of the titleholders. Numanatini was the chief when the missionaries came, and his descendants have occupied the position, keeping his name as well as using their own names. In the twentieth century there have been two Numanatini, John Trego and a queen, Pa Ariki Louisa Numanatini. The Ariki in 2001 was Nooroa Numangatini, also female.

The Ariki thus is actually outside the Arongamana system and is more a focus for debate and discussion or a coordinator for islandwide meetings.

The function of the Arongamana is to determine the use of the island's resources, principally land but also marine resources, especially the shoreline. When a person marries, he or she must seek land from the titleholder. If a newlywed is not satisfied with the allocation, he usually can appeal to the district titleholder. If an agreement cannot be reached, a person may take his case to the full Arongamana meeting, before the Ariki, which is the court of final appeal. The Arongamana also meets to discuss which crops should be planted and when and to determine which resources should be used and when. The duty of the titleholder as an individual and as a collective is to look after the island. Thus, the focus of governance is resource allocation and management, with other matters dealt with on the district or family level.

Conflict. People say that the reason for the formation of the Arongamana derives from the terrible conflicts detailed in stories of murder and cannibalism that are a feature of the Mangaian heritage. The earlier solution was a meeting at the Marae Orongo, which was built away from the main part of the island on the reef and, consequently on no one's land. When conflict arose, people would meet at Marae Orongo in a circle. In the center of the circle would be placed a large ceremonial war ax, the Mangaia, from which Europeans took the name of the island. The purpose of the Mangaia was to remind people of how horrible war and killing are and encourage them to solve problems peacefully. People say that the Arongamana was invented just before Europeans arrived and was intended to serve as an ongoing forum for conflict resolution.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Mangaians have a reserve of belief in local spirits that inhabit particular parcels of land to which they are related. Modern religion on the island revolves around the Cook Island Christian Church, which descends from the London Missionary Society. In the second half of the twentieth century there were incursions by Mormons and Seventh Day Adventists as well as by a small group of Pentecostals. There are a couple of followers of the Bahi'a faith, which also has some adherents elsewhere in the Cook Islands. There has been a small enclave of Catholic believers since the nineteenth century.

Religious Practitioners. Traditional local kin group priests attended *marae* (community group centers) in ancient times. There was one marae that was of no individual community and was located on the outer reef. It was called Marae Orongo and served as a place where conflicts between people could be discussed and resolved.

Ceremonies. Persisting throughout most of the Cook Islands and in Mangaia is the hair-cutting ceremony that grants a boy membership in society. For some the ceremony, which always is public and a source of pride for the boy's parents and other elders, takes place late and is almost a puberty ceremony. For others it occurs on the borderline between infancy and childhood. This is supposed to be the first time the boy's hair has been cut, and so in the case of older initiates, the ceremony can be quite long. These hair-cutting ceremonies are of sufficient importance that people often practice them after moving to New Zealand or Australia.

Arts. Apart from the elaborately carved ceremonial war ax from which the island takes its name, there is little in the way of carving. The Mangaia, which is supposed to remind people of peace, is a square—sided tower with a polished stone blade bound to the head. Its shape and size prove that it never was used in battle. There are fine examples of the Mangaia in American and European museums, and copies are made, but not by carvers on the island.

Medicine. Mangaians traditionally had a pharmacopoeia of traditional herbs similar to those used in other parts of Eastern Polynesia. There are small government-run clinics in the main population centers, with a single nurse who travels between them on predetermined days. People with greater health needs travel to the capital island of Rarotonga.

Death and Afterlife. Modern Mangaians are Christians of various Protestant denominations, along with a small number of Catholics. A belief in spirits of the dead who inhabit their

ancestral lands persists. For the most part, these ancestral spirits do not bother people but can produce difficulties if they become upset. Signs of spirit difficulty are failing health, misfortune, and crop failure. There is a good deal of variation in how seriously people take their belief in spirits, from the careful to the dismissive.

For other cultures on the Cook Islands, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 2, Oceania.

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GRANT MCCALL

Me'en

ETHNONYMS: Tishana, Bodi

Orientation

Identification and Location. Me'en ("people," "humans") is the self-designation of a small ethnic group in the Maji region of southwestern Ethiopia.

The Me'en territory lies at the southern fringe of the Ethiopian highlands, extending up to the Maji mountains, roughly between 35°10" and 36°20" est longitude and 06°20" to 06°50" north latitude. Some more isolated groups live in the Gurafarda area, toward the border with Sudan. Although they were originally a lowland people living in the valleys of the Orno and the Shorum rivers, most Me'en have moved to the intermediate highland zone. A small group of cattle-herding Me'en, known as Bodi, still live in the plains on the eastern bank of the Orno River. Although they have the same language and cultural background, they consider themselves apart from and superior to the highland Me'en. The two groups live in climatically different zones that have led to diverging modes of subsistence. Temperatures in the lowland area range from 65 to 75 degrees Fahrenheit in the "cold" wet season to 100 to 110 degrees in the dry season. Highland temperatures are 10 to 15 degrees lower, with more precipitation during the dry season. Rainfall in the predominantly agricultural highland area of the Me'en is unreliable, and the lack of the "small rains" in February and March often leads to crop failure and hunger.

Demography. The most recent Ethiopian census (1994) listed the Me'en at 52,815 persons and the Bodi at 4,686, which is probably an underestimate. Although there are five small towns in the area, almost all the Me'en live in scattered hamlets and homesteads. A 1980s government policy of resettling them in new villages has failed. There is little outmigration of Me'en to other areas. The ethnic "boundary" of the Me'en with neighboring peoples such as the Bench ("Gimira") and Dizi is rather open, although they represent different cultural-historical entities that had violent clashes in the past. There is frequent intermarriage between these groups. The Me'en birthrate is an average of seven to eight children per married wife, but child mortality is high. The estimate is that out of every ten children four die before the sixth year.

Linguistic Affiliation. Me'en is a Southeast Surmic language. The Surmic group is part of the East Sudanic branch of the Nilo-Saharan language cluster, which belongs to the Afroasiatic phylum. Other Surmic languages are Koegu (Muguji), Tirmaga, Chai, Baale, Mursi, Didinga, Narim, and Murle. These peoples reside in southwestern Ethiopia, except for the last four, who live in Sudan just across the border.

History and Cultural Relations

The Me'en, as descendants of proto-Surmic speakers, are historically related to the South Sudanese Nilotics, although they have diverged from them considerably in the last millennium. On the basis of linguistic and cultural data it can be tentatively concluded that the (proto-) Me'en, like other transhumant pastoral Surmic peoples, gradually moved from southern Sudan toward the southern fringe of the Ethiopian highlands. This migration route probably led along the northern rim of Lake Turkana and northward along the Orno River. The Me'en claim that they were "created near the Pacha" (Orno), where their ancestors (founders of the first twelve clans) allegedly emerged from a hole in the ground. They later dispersed, crossing the Orno into their present area. This expansion, which started in the early nineteenth century, may have been fueled by the substantial loss of cattle caused by the Ethiopian rinderpest infestation of the 1880s and 1890s. In the process, the Me'en conquered territory from the Ornotic-speaking Bench, Dizi, and Kaficho people. Some of the Me'en remained near the Orno as pastoralists: these are the present-day Bodi (divided into two groups: Mela and Chirim).

In the late nineteenth century the Me'en were securely established in their present area, well before the arrival of Ethiopian imperial troops and armed settlers sent by Emperor Menilek II around 1898. The Me'en acquired a reputation for fierceness in battle and tough resistance against these newcomers. The mostly Amharic-speaking northern settlers tried to impose the *gäbbar*-system, which implied turning local, subjected people into labor serfs. Although the Me'en were frequently raided for slaves, they also made occasional alliances with northerners and other slave raiders to prey on the Suri (Tirmaga and Chai) and Dizi. The Me'en were never completely subdued, although the Ethiopian rulers, by appointing local leaders *(balabbats)* among them, partially incorporated the Me'en into their feudalist system.

While most Me'en welcomed the Italian colonialists who abolished the gäbbar system in 1937, some, especially the powerful *K'asha* group, engaged in violent conflict with the Italians. In the postwar Haile Selassie period after 1941 the Me'en had marginal contacts with the national administration and were again represented by their balabbats. In the postrevolutionary period after 1974 these leaders, then labeled "feudal chiefs," were deposed. Me'en were organized in peasant associations, the new socialist political framework in the Ethiopian countryside.

As a Surmic-speaking people, the Me'en are socioculturally related to other ethnic groups in southwestern Ethiopia, such as the Tirmaga, Chai, Mursi, and Bodi and some smaller groups near the Sudanese border (Baale and Nyalam). As a result of long contact, they were culturally influenced by the Dizi and Bench in diet, material culture, cultivation methods, and some magical-religious practices. There is, however, still tension between the Me'en and the Bench and Dizi, whom they call *Su* or *Suc,* a general term for earlier-settled hill-farmer peoples. For the Bodi-Me'en, the term *Su* refers to the Dime people to the east.

Settlements

The Me'en live dispersed in family compounds across the countryside. They are mobile, with no place being occupied for more than two or three years except for the few in the five mixed villages where northern settler-descendants live with local people. Settlement is patrilocali A married son and his family usually live with his parents. Occasionally, affinal kin or a woman of the same lineage and her husband and children may join the household. The lineage groups and "clans" do not form localized groups. Each new agricultural year *(bergu)* household heads decide where to set up camp. The Bodi, being more dependent on cattle, with on average ten times as many cattle per capita than the agricultural Tishana-Me'en, have more developed patterns of labor cooperation (herding) and live together in larger compounds. Me'en huts have wood walls and grass roofs. The cone-shaped lowland hut differs substantially from the highland type, which is close to the general Ethiopian type usually referred to as *tukul* Huts are built by men in collective work teams.

The Ethiopian villagization program of the mid-1980s had only a slight impact on Me'en settlement. Six new villages were constructed, but they were never popular, and in 1991, after the collapse of the socialist-oriented Mengistu regime, all the remaining sites were abandoned.

Economy

Subsistence. The Me'en are shifting subsistence cultivators and herders, producing no surplus of significance except coffee and honey. Livestock is not sold very often. There is much internal exchange between families and friends on a generally reciprocal basis. The chief products of the Me'en are maize and sorghum, their staple foods. In addition, they grow barley and t'eff, cabbage, beans, peas, peppers, sugarcane, and some tobacco, largely for their own use. In the lowlands they practice shifting cultivation, clearing a new site every season by slash-and-burn techniques. In the higher areas the system might be called rotational field cultivation: They move the fields every year but after four to five years return to the same plot.

Although every male household head has his own plot for cultivation, several households often combine their labor power for clearance, weeding, and harvesting the crops (maize and sorghum) on adjacent fields. Although government policy is aimed at raising output levels, trying to introduce the plow (and plow oxen) and encouraging the production of grains such as t'eff and barley, Me'en agriculture has not changed much over the past decades because input of production factors (improved seeds, draft animals, transport and credit facilities) and market development has been very limited.

Commercial Activities. As a result of the underdeveloped subsistence economy, commercial activities are very modest. In local markets small quantities of grains, cabbage, coffee, peppers, fruit, chickens, and tools and utensils (clay pots and cooking plates, ropes, hoes, baskets, and gourds), are traded, but these exchanges produce only small amounts of cash. Some Me'en women prepare maize-sorghum beer for local sale. Their main cash income—needed to pay national taxes—derives from the sale of honey. From the lowlands Me'en people bring the skins of antelopes, buffalo, and occasionally leopards for sale.

Industrial Arts. Until the 1960s the highland Me'en had their own blacksmiths, who learned the trade from neighboring peoples such as the Ch'ara and Dizi. They produced iron in large clay furnaces and forged knives, hoes, machetes, spears, dancing bells, and cowbells. The mining and extracting of iron ore has virtually disappeared because of the importation of scrap iron. The number of smiths has also declined. The Bodi-Me'en bought iron tools from the Dime people. Me'en women make all the pottery, including cooking plates, pots, and jugs. Decoration is minimal. They also make baskets, sieves, and containers of straw and wood and fashion gourds into drinking and beer containers. Former arts such as the production of bark cloth clothing and bags are declining as a result of the importation of *abujedid* (light white cotton cloth) and other fabrics by traders.

Trade. The Me'en used to barter with neighboring peoples, trading livestock, grain, honey, iron tools, pottery, and other handicraft products. Today cash is paid for all the products sold in the local markets. No Me'en products except some coffee and wooden craft items sold as souvenirs are exported outside the local area.

Division of Labor. There are no established social strata in Me'en society in the sense that all males and females can perform the same limited number of labor tasks and can produce most of the household utensils needed in the Me'en economy. However, there is a clear-cut sexual division of labor. Some productive tasks can be done only by men, such as clearing and burning off fields, building houses and fences, doing repair work, and making and placing beehives. Men also trade livestock and maintain contacts with administrative officials. Women do the planting of seeds and the weeding of fields, grind grain, and prepare food and beer. They also draw water, fetch wood, take care of small children, and clean the compound and house. In recent years, as a result of the ethnic policy pursued by the post-1991 Ethiopian government and aimed at establishing local "self-rule," a new Me'en political-administrative elite is emerging, connected to the ruling party. These people receive a government salary and are somewhat detached from the demands of the subsistence economy.

Land Tenure. There is no formal pattern of land tenure among the Me'en. Land is collective property, and they live on it as free-roaming shifting cultivators. There is no land scarcity. Clans had an original core settlement area, carved out by the ancestors, but members of other lineages can cultivate unused surplus land in a "clan area" with prior permis-

sion from the elders. Although in the postrevolutionary period all land was declared state land and had to be distributed under the authority of the peasant association, the Me'en land use pattern has not changed much. The legally allowed amount of "private land" for cultivation by a member of a peasant association is rarely claimed fully. In the imperial-feudalist period the Me'en balabbats had large holdings that were cultivated by their followers and family members.

The Bodi-Me'en pattern of land use (scattered cultivation sites for sorghum and maize, dry season and wet season pasture for the cattle) has not undergone much change. Collectivization of agriculture and state farm development have not reached the Me'en area.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The basis kinship unit is the three- or four-generation lineage called *du'ut.* This is a named group with a known ancestor, the male married members of which live in each other's vicinity. Lineages have emerged from the older clans *(kabuchoch),* but only older Me'en know from what clan their lineage descended. Genealogical knowledge is scant and usually does not reach beyond the fourth ascending generation. Descent is patrilineal, and children become members of the lineage of their father. Me'en clans are ranked in a moietylike dual structure, with a difference in prestige.

Kinship Terminology. The kinship terminology of the Me'en is of a mixed type. On the basis of an older Omaha type, it seems in the last century to have evolved toward an Iroquois-type terminology. A very important relationship is that between a mother's brother *(oina)* and a sister's son (ngo *sonit)*—a joking relationship. The ngosonit is entitled to receive a cow from his oina at the time of his marriage. Next to kin relations, the ritual friendship relation called *lalang* is socially the most important. It is initiated by a gift of cattle, and the relationship of reciprocity lasts for a lifetime, often transferred to the sons of the two partners.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is of the generalized exchange type. Partners are taken from another lineage, and the exogamy rules of the old overarching clans is blurring. The boy and girl often initiate the marriage themselves. After they have agreed, they go to the parents to ask permission and arrange the marriage ceremony. Occasionally a boy, with the help of his friends, "captures" the girl and then opens negotiations with the family through the elders. Another form is elopement: If neither set of parents agrees to the union, the young couple runs away and opens negotiations once the matter has cooled down. The clans *of* the traditional chiefs *(komorut)* do not exchange marriage partners. A Me'en man can, depending on his wealth, marry more than ten women, but most men have one to three wives. The bride-wealth to be transferred to the family of the wife ranges from three to ten cattle. In addition, cash is given. In the lowlands one pays from fifteen to thirty cattle and also gives a gun. Because of the long time needed to accumulate the bride-wealth, men often marry relatively late (in their late twenties). Women usually marry ten to fifteen years younger. Postmarital residence is patrilocal-neolocal.

Domestic Unit Becasue Me'en households often are polygamous, the basic domestic unit might be said to consist of a wife and her children. Each wife in a polygamous marriage has her own hut and "hearthhold" within the compound and lives there with her children. The man has no hut except for his sleeping and meeting place below a granary (dori). Each wife has her own garden and piece of land, cleared for her and given to her by the husband.

Inheritance. The Me'en do not have accumulated property to be handed over to children except for cattle, which are distributed among sons and other agnates. There is no ownership of land and thus no rules for its inheritance. Married sons cultivate near the fields of their father in what might roughly be called the "lineage territory." The personal property of a deceased person (ornaments, weapons, or tools) goes to the oldest son.

Socialization. Young children are cared for primarily by the mother and by other young children. The father is barely involved in the early education of his children. Around the sixth or seventh year boys begin to assist in guarding fields and herding livestock. Girls are expected to help in the preparation of food, minding babies, cleaning, and washing. Young children are treated with great affection and care. Corporal punishment is not common. Children are subservient to their parents and to lineage elders. There is a strong divide between the female and male spheres even in early youth (labor tasks, life in peer groups). A minority of Me'en children are able to attend primary school.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Me'en have a "kin-ordered mode of production" in which family and lineage groups are mutually intertwined in networks of labor assistance, marriage alliances, and reciprocity. Households do not live and produce on an individual basis. There is neither a social stratification differentiating lineages, families, and domestic units nor a social division of labor with separate groups performing specific tasks. There is only one such a group, of different ethnic origin: the Ydinit or Koegu living along the Orno near the Bodi-Me'en.

Political Organization. The Me'en form one of the dozens of recognized ethnic "nationalities" in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Their educational and politicoeconomic integration into the new political structures of Ethiopia is proceeding gradually.

"Peasant associations" form the basic framework at the local level. A few men have established themselves as relatively powerful translocal leaders, but they owe their position mainly to the support and pay they receive from the provincial administration. Their position has no roots in traditional Me'en political organization, where hereditary priestly leaders (komoruts) and elders of various lineages discussed and decided on community matters. Komoruts were also mediators in group conflicts and rain ceremonies. The local balabbats disappeared after the 1974 revolution, when komoruts also lost most of their power and prestige. Their authority is no longer recognized by the majority of the Me'en. In the area of the Me'en as a whole, government presence in the form of administrative centers, police posts, courts, and ser-

vices such as clinics and cooperative shops is limited. Many families, while paying taxes, live virtually without contact with the wider national sociopolitical structure.

Social Control. Traditional Me'en norms, group interdependence through affinai links and labor cooperation, and the threat of supernaturally backed sanctions meted out by spirit mediums called *men de nyerey* lead the Me'en to seek mediation and reconciliation within their own group. The ritual leaders (komoruts) have a normative influence only among certain sectors of the Me'en. In exceptional situations such as serious interethnic conflict, cases are brought to a government court.

Conflict. During the expansion of Me'en groups toward the highlands, lineage groups often fought each other or neighboring groups (Bench, Dizi, Kaficho). In the early twentieth century Me'en frequently clashed with the northern settlers because of slave hunts and the attempt to impose the labor serf system. After the 1974 revolution Me'en local leaders were condemned and made powerless by the new authorities. In the confusion of the postrevolutionary years the Me'en carried out a coordinated armed attack in May 1977 on the five northern settlements in their territory but were defeated after a brief period of heavy fighting with government troops. Within their society there were no authority figures for the whole population except for the "priestly" mediators, and group conflicts resulting from a homicide were and still are resolved by careful mediation between representatives of the two lineages involved, meeting at a traditional river border of their territories. This ceremony, called *asina,* included a compensation payment of cattle and the handing over of a young girl to the lineage that had lost a person.

Religion *and Expressive Culture*

Religious Beliefs. The Me'en believe in the sky god Tuma, who created them and controls fertility and rain. There are several clans, whose chiefs mediate between Tuma and the people, performing ceremonies when drought threatens crops and cattle. Tuma also is invoked during the harvest ceremonies *(mosit)* and when contagious disease threatens families or livestock. The Me'en recognize local spirits of rivers and woods (*kolle*) and revere their lineage spirit, the *kalua*. They also read the intestines of cattle or of goats killed at a collective ceremony such as a burial.

Religious Practitioners. The ritual leaders called komoruts had religious functions. They still operate, but their normative and judicial influence has waned with the dispersal and growth of the population and with increasing state influence. However, they are often still referred to as the "real Me'en leaders." There are also influential magical practitioners such as the men de nyerey or *k'alichas*, persons "who have a spirit," who may curse people at the request of their enemies, help locate stolen property, and practice divination. This institution has come from the Kaficho and Bench people. The more traditional Bodi-Me'en do not have *k'alichas.*

Ceremonies. Me'en life is replete with ceremonial aspects. The most important large-scale ceremonies are the rain rituals, still occasionally carried out by rain masters (komoruts) in times of impending drought; the annual harvest ritual (mosit) for the staple crop sorghum; and the elaborate funerals for older people, when cattle are ceremonially sacrificed. Another ritual is the collective intestine reading divination intended to foretell the immediate future of the land and the people.

Arts. The Me'en have special music and dance styles such as the *gule* (songs of joy about love, a good harvest, and family prosperity) and the *heret* or *luc* (about cattle and male vigor or courageous feats). The highland Me'en have a special dance and song style performed at burial ceremonies called *moy,* accompanied by large drums, horns, and women's ululating songs. Some gule songs and k'alicha songs are accompanied on the *chonggi,* a string instrument resembling a bowl lyre. The mourning songs of the Me'en are sung at dawn by the female relatives of a deceased person.

Most men fashion their own small wooden stools *(chakam)* and take pride in their spears and knives. Huts, pottery, wooden utensils, and gourd containers have little decoration except for the common local geometric patterns also found among groups such as the Dizi and Suri. There are no specialized artists among the Me'en.

Medicine. The Me'en have a large variety of herbal medicines against diseases ranging from malaria to snake poison. The knowledge of these sometimes effective remedies is not shared with outsiders but is transmitted within certain families or told to people with a deep interest in healing. Four primary clinics in the Me'en area were set up by the government in the 1980s. They reach only some of the Me'en, are understocked, and tend to undermine traditional healing. However, in most cases Me'en still use traditional medicine. The most common diseases are syphilis, intestinal parasites, wound and skin infections, bronchitis, and malaria.

Death and Afterlife. The Me'en do not have a pronounced belief in an afterlife, although they believe in ancestral spirits and have a notion of the "life essence" or "soul" *(shun)* going up to Tuma. Their burial ceremonies, especially for older people of both sexes, are elaborate, lasting for several days. To die without a proper funeral, without cattle being killed in one's honor, is a disgrace to one's relatives and the lineage as a whole. Burials are important events, reaffirming the idea of continuity of the lineage and of placating its "guardian spirit." The corpse is wrapped in a cow skin and then placed in a deep grave holding six to fifteen corpses. Usually a fig tree is planted on the grave, but no subsequent commemorative gatherings are held.

For other cultures in Ethiopia, see List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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JON G. ABBINK

Mende

ETHNONYMS: Mende (Men-day), Mendes, Huro, Wuro

Orientation

Identification and Location. The term *Mende* refers to both the people and the language. The Vai use the term *Huro* or *Wuro.* Mende-speaking people occupy southern and eastern Sierra Leone, and there is a small group in Liberia. Their territory falls within the rain forest belt that spans West Africa. The terrain consists of fertile hills to the north; in the south and coastal areas there are plains and swamps. The narrow strip of coastland forms the western and southwestern boundary between the Mende and the Sherbro-Bullom, the Krim, and the Vai. The easternmost part of Sierra Leone and the northeast are populated by the Kissi and the Kron peoples, respectively. The Jong, Sewa, and Moa rivers flowing from the more hilly northern region of Sierra Leone intersect Mende territory in the west, center, and east.

Demography. The Mende account for one-third of the population of Sierra Leone. In the 1931 census, among the protectorate population of 1,672,058, the Mende numbered 572,678. In the 1992 national population estimate of 4,456,370, the Mende numbered 1.5 million.

Lingistic Affiliation. Mende is a member of the Mande language subgroup of the Niger-Congo family of languages. Mande is the language of the Mandigos *of* the kingdom of Mali. The Mande group is one of two dominant groups of languages in the area; the other one is the West Atlantic branch of the Niger-Congo family. Within Mende, three major dialect groups are distinguished: Kpa-Mende in the west, Sewa-Mende in the center, and Ko-Mende in the east.

History and Cultural Relations

Linguistic and cultural traits suggest that the Mende are descendants of the thirteenth- century Mali Empire. Before the eighteenth century Mende territory did not extend to its present coastal areas, and territorial increase resulted from wars. Through wars and raids and subjugation and enslavement of other peoples, the Mende assimilated other groups, such as the Sherbro and the Vai. Mende cultural expansion and domination, referred to as "mendenization," continued through the colonial era, although more peacefully as Mende settlements spread in the trading areas. This geographic mobility explains aspects of Mende cultural diversity, particularly dialectic differences.

Settlements

Occupational activities as hunting, fishing, and agriculture favored the original settlements of small groups that eventually became villages and towns. A chiefdom consists of sections, with each section made up of a group of villages and towns. The ever-present possibility of attack favored placing houses close together behind a stockade. Traditional houses, usually with one story, were round or rectangular and were strongly built of wattle and mud daub with a palm thatch roof. A rectangular house usually has a veranda and two or three rooms. With the availability of cement and corrugated sheeting since the 1900s, most new houses in towns and some in remote villages have cement block walls and "pan" roof covering.

Economy

Subsistence. The Mende are an agricultural people who engage in gardening around their homes and rice farming in the outer lands. Rice is the staple crop, and community life is organized around its production, storage, and distribution. Supplementary food crops include cassava, yams, sesame, and millet. Palm nuts are harvested for vegetable oil, and raffia palms are tapped for wine. Garden crops include chili peppers, eggplant, and tomatoes. Families raise some poultry and keep domestic animals for meat. Fishing is done mainly in the three large rivers that intersect the Mende territory.

Commercial Activities. In the local markets families sell excess food products and buy those they lack. Traders buy salt, cocoa, coffee, ginger, groundnuts, and kola nuts. Other market products are palm oil, palm kernels, palm wine, and raffia. Commercial activities have increased as towns and urban markets have grown, and a variety of new products, including imported materials, have become available. Some trading towns originated with the development of railroads and motor roads. The hawking of food and a variety of small items at the parks and stations has become a popular commercial practice to supplement family income.

Industrial Arts. Craft products include various forms *of* earthenware, clothes, mats, twine, and brooms. Blacksmiths produce hoes, machetes, and other iron implements. Imple-

ments associated with fishing are nets, hooks, and dugout canoes. Sculpted objects include masks used for initiation ceremonies, ritual objects such as icons of spiritual entities, and "medicine" objects. There are various musical instruments, including drums, wooden xylophones, other stringed instruments, and decorated gourd rattlers. Stringed beads and shell rattlers are worn by dancers.

Trade. Traditonally, the commodities traded were essentially agricultural products: rice, coffee, and palm oil. Other important items of trade were implements and objects used for farming and fishing. These products were exported to northern neighbors, who supplied beef and beef products and salt to the Mende. Before the introduction of a cash economy, trade was local and was carried out by the simple exchange of products. Trading activities later expanded to involve most of the neighboring areas and farther regions and to include salt, gold, and diamonds.

Division of Labor. Rice farming is central in the economy, and men, women, and children contribute labor to the family farm. Clearing the land of vegetation in preparation for farming is typically "men's work." In a large household the senior wife organizes the junior women for rice planting and cooking food for the work group. It is women's job to thresh, clean, and parboil rice. Young men also engage in rice planting and build fences to protect the farm from rats. Children help with weeding. Men climb palms to cut the fruit and tap wine, and women collect the fruit and press the oil. Women fish the inland rivers and spin thread, and men engage in weaving and blacksmithing. Today many men leave the village to work in mines. Both men and women engage in clerical, professional, and trading activities, but most domestic chores are still done by women.

Land Tenure. The paramount chief is the principal custodian of all the land in the chiefdom. He is assisted in administering it by elders who are the descendants of the settlers who first cultivated the land. A first land cultivator gained the right of occupation, which was inherited by his descendants after his death. The paramount chief, the chiefs, and the subchiefs exercise land ownership authority; the rest of the people in the community are landholders with only temporary rights of personal occupation and use of land. When his need for it ceases, the land used by a landholder reverts to the community.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The basic kinship institution is the household *mawe.* A man and his wives and children constitute a small household. A large household may have two or more adults with consanguinous kinship, their wives and children, and relatives such as mothers and sisters. A household is patrilineal as well as patrilocal, and wives become members of the household through marriage. Male siblings and their wives and children settle in compounds *(kuwui).* Leadership of a compound is inherited by the oldest male in the lineage. Several compounds and the households of slaves constitute a village, and an aggregation of villages makes up a town. Towns and villages make up a section of a chiefdom.

Kinship Terminology. Mende kinship involves a bifurcated merging pattern with Iroquois patrilineal cousin terminology. Parents have the same kin terms as some uncles and aunts, and other relatives are terminologically distinguished from parents. Collateral uncles and aunts are well distinguished, whereas parallel cousins are classed together.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is usually exogamous and patrilocal. Young men who have reached maturity and can provide bride-wealth and women past adolescence are eligible for marriage. Marriage is a sign of social progress, and celibacy is considered an anomaly. Marriage can be contracted at a very early age, but its consummation requires initiation into the *poro* society for a man and the *sande* society for a woman. Polygyny is a popular practice that enhances a man's social prestige. It enables the man to take care of his sexual needs when one wife is breast-feeding a baby and sexual intercourse with her is forbidden. Economically, polygyny provides labor for rice farming and other "women's work," such as domestic chores, running cottage industries, and participating in trading. The senior wife, who enjoys respect from the junior wives and is her husband's confidant, is responsible for organizing the other wives for work. Thus, marriage is an agricultural asset as well as a capital investment. Divorce traditionally was not common, but exceptional circumstances could lead the husband to dissolve the marriage and demand a refund of the bride-wealth. These circumstances included desertion, compulsive infidelity, insulting the husband's parents, and practicing witchcraft or sorcery. Persistent abuse by a husband could lead to divorce when the relatives of the woman demanded her return to their family. After a divorce children usually remain with their father if they are past the age of breast-feeding.

Domestic Unit. The mawe, consisting of a husband, his wives, their children, and the husband's parents, constitutes a basic domestic, social, and farming unit. The numerical composition of the household can vary to include more older men and grandchildren, and the smaller conjugal unit of a man and his wife and children is not considered typical. The domestic unit provides food and shelter for the members, and serves as the primary institution of education, bringing up children and teaching them the values and techniques of Mende culture.

Inheritance. In traditional Mende society land is the principal item of inheritance, and since land holding is household-based, the patrilineal form of inheritance is prevalent. After a man's death the immediate heirs to his land are his brothers in order of age. His sons come next and then his daughters. In the absence of brothers, sons, and daughters, a matrilinial nephew becomes the heir. After the nephew's death the land reverts to the descendants of the original owners. Since the introduction of a Western legal system, this practice has been challenged, and sometimes sons claim their father's land from their paternal uncles.

Socialization. Mothers are the principal agents in child rearing, beginning with breast-feeding. If the mother becomes very sick, any other relative with milk can take over. Usually tied to the back with *lappa,* a large piece of cloth, children are carried by the mother as she works. Older siblings act as baby-sitters. Through imitation children learn the names and proper addresses and titles of their relatives.

There is a popular practice of sending children of about the age of six to distant relatives, who are more strict than parents in teaching them about household chores, general responsibilities, and good behavior. At about age thirteen girls and boys are ready to be initiated into the sande and poro societies. The initiation process is the traditional place where young people learn cultural mores and prepare for adult life as wives and husbands. In spite of Western education, initiation is still carried out, sometimes in modified forms.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. At the apex of Mende social institutions is the ruling class, which consists of the paramount chief, a descendant of the founder of the territory. The paramount chief enjoys the highest social recognition, and the section chiefs are subordinate to him. Village and town heads are respected for their age and leadership in their lineages. Secret, ritual, and medical societies such as *humui, Njayei,* poro and sande play vital roles in the maintenance and transmission of societal norms and values. Initiation and marriage confer special status and recognition. The family or household is the basic social and productive unit and plays the primary group role. The individual also relates to the kindred, lineage, village, and town in graded order of rights and obligations. Men who have wealth through successful rice cultivation and are married to several women have a distinguished recognition as "big men" and represent a distinct social stratum.

Political Organization. A section, consisting of a town and villages, is the basic political unit. Political leadership resides with the section chief or subchief, who usually is the oldest person and the most suitable in the male line, the descendant of a victorious warrior and founder of the settlement. Women also can be chiefs. A paramount chief rules over several sections. Political claims are also based on being a descendant of the founder of the territory or chiefdom. The paramount chief governs with the assistance of a council consisting of a speaker, subchiefs, title holders, and village heads. The chief and the council exercise political and judicial powers. They make decisions on matters of public interest, adjudicate land disputes, and punish lawbreakers. The social duty of the poro society traditionally included the maintenance of law and order in the chiefdom. Since the late nineteenth century Mende political culture has been influenced by Western systems, as in the institution of the "bench," whose members serve as jurors.

Social Control. Accusations of witchcraft are a major source of conflict and social tension in traditional Mende society. Other accusations may derive from medical malpractice or sorcery, sexual offences, dispute over inheritance, and other situations likely to endanger communal values. To maintain communal values or assure conformity and to guarantee that tendencies toward dangerous forms of individualism and aggressive behavior are brought under control, Mende culture has customs, rules, standards, morals, and sanctions. The family and the secret societies are schools where young people learn these cultural values. Mechanism of social control is exemplified in heads of groups entrusted with authority to deal with domestic disputes, the native court under the chief, and religious specialists who prescribe and supervise rituals for redressing individual or group violations.

Conflicts. For much of their history from the sixteenth until the early eighteenth century the Mende were aggressors against their neighbors: the Bullom-Sherbro, Vai, and Gola. Mende fighters participated in the wars and revolts of the colonial period, which ended in 1961 with the independence of Sierra Leone. The civil war in Liberia in early 1990 brought many Liberian Mende into Sierra Leone as refugees, and many of their settlements were in Mende territory. In the Sierra Leone civil war, after the overthrow of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah's government by Major Jonny Paul Koroma in May 1997, Mende involvement was pronounced. The civil war, besides having colonial roots, also resulted from diverse group interests, especially in controlling the diamond business. Kamajors, the reputed traditional hunters, who are mostly Mende, made up the major part of the Revolutionary United Front's army that fought against government forces. With the intervention of Nigerian-led international troops and British and United Nations forces, fighting subsided in 2001. Pockets of antigovernment forces still exist in the forests and continue to threaten the fragile cease-fire.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Ngewo, the supreme being in Mende religion, is the creator of the universe and everything in it. After creating the world, Ngewo went up to heaven and rarely intervenes directly in human affairs, although nothing good or evil can happen without his permission. Ancestral spirits are venerated, and prayers to Ngewo are channeled through them. Other categories of natural, occupational, and evil spirits *(Ngafanga)* exist. Through sacrifices and other rituals, often conducted by specialists, people propitiate the spirits and ask for their protection and blessings. Mende traditional religion has declined since the advent of Western Christianity. A current religious feature is an eclectic tendency to mix elements of traditional religion with those of Christianity.

Religious Practitioners. In a variety of functions and situations individuals and groups relate to *halei* (power), which is connected with Ngewo. Most religious functions are hereditary, but the spirit that superintends any function must establish through signs that the individual has a calling. Priests of the various nature and occupational deities offer sacrifices to them and through them to Ngewo. Diviners are traditional diagnosticians of illness and misfortune and see beyond the present and interpret omens. The healing doctor also exercises priestly functions in ritual healing. He prepares protective charms against the harmful activities of angry or malevolent spirits and their agents. Other ritual societies conduct special rituals for the healing of particular types of wounds and to cleanse the land of defilements. Among the religious specialists are the leaders of secret societies, who exercise some religious roles during the initiation of their members.

Ceremonies. Birth ceremonies, which take several forms, announce the arrival of new members of the community. They often require sacrifices to the deity through whose benevolence the child is born. The poro and sande initiation ceremonies are educational and are arranged in stages for the

ordered maturing of young people. Marriage ceremonies involve community participation and are essential for conjugal prosperity and stability. Rituals of farm work procure blessings of fertility and prosperity for the crops and purify the farm of any defilements resulting from the violation of taboos. There are ceremonies for the installation of chiefs and for judicial procedures in the courts. Other ceremonies pertain to initiation of the members of "medicine societies" and the efficacy of their work. The rite of "crossing the water" is part of the final rite of passage, performed as a funerary rite to ensure ancestral status for the deceased. Ancestors are remembered with ceremonies involving prayers and sacrifices; the "red rice" ceremony is used to appease their anger.

Arts. Artistic activities are learned and exercised in social and religious contexts. Certain artistic works, such as carving, require a the special calling of an individual. Storytelling and oratory are popular. Mende myths are learned by initiates of the poro and sande societies, who also perform music and dances. The masks used in initiation, particularly the sande society mask, are outstanding works of sculpture. Sierra Leonian dance troupes in the 1990s had a strong Mende artistic flavor.

Medicine. The halei (medicine man) and several "medicine societies" deal with illness, which can have physical or spiritual causes. The spiritual causes include individual moral deficiencies and the malevolent activities of spirits and their agents. The diviner discovers the cause of an illness or misfortune. The medicine man or healing doctor prepares medicines and administers them. Medicines are prepared from herbs and other natural substances. Protective medicine can consist of charms and inoculation with "power substances." When medicine is prepared and consecrated, it is believed to be impregnated with efficacy. Since the advent of scientific medicine and Christianity in Mende society, the use of traditional medicine has been on the decline, especially in towns and cities.

Death and Afterlife. Death is often imputed to witchcraft or activities of spirits and their agents. However, death in old age is accepted as natural, and inquiries into other causes are not necessary. Natural death is not considered a calamity, but the death of a young person is considered a "bad death." Based on the status of the deceased and the gender, different funerary rites apply. The rites of passage ensure that a dead person who has the moral qualifications "crosses the river" and becomes an ancestor. Ancestors continue to live as spirits and their earthly relatives keep their memory alive in rituals.

For the original article on the Mende, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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JUDE C. AGUWA

Mentawaians

ETHNONYMS: Orang Mentawai, Mentaweier, Poggy-Islanders

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Mentawai archipelago forms part of a chain of nonvolcanic islands running parallel to Sumatra about 87 miles (140 kilometers) off that island's western coast. There are four large inhabited islands in the group—Siberut, Sipora, and North and South Pagai—with a total area of 2,604 square miles (6,746 square kilometers). The name *Mentawai,* which originally was not used by the inhabitants, probably derives from the word for "man," *simanteu.* On Siberut people identify themselves by the names of the rivers where they settle; *Siberut* comes from the name of a local group in the southern part of that island whose members call themselves *Sabirut* ("the rats"). The inhabitants of Sipora (from *pora,* "ground") call themselves *Sakalelegat,* from *lelega,t,* ("place"); those from the Pagai Islands call themselves *Sakalagan,* from *laggai* ("village"). The landscape is hilly and is interrupted by wide valleys. Until recently the islands were covered with dense tropical rain forest.

Demography. In 2000 63,732 people lived in the Mentawai islands. Population figures for each district are as follows: North Siberut, 15,161; South Siberut, 14,757; Sipora, 12,840; and North and South Pagai, 20,974.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Mentawaians on Siberut speak a number of substantially diverging dialects, whereas there

is a close relationship between the dialect of the southern part of that island and those of Sipora and Pagai. All the dialects have a high degree of difference from the most closely related western Austronesian languages, such as those of the Toba Batak and the Niasans.

History and Cultural Relations

The Mentawaians have no common tradition about their origins. There is agreement that the people from Sipora and Pagai came from southern Siberut, which they left in the not too distant past. This fits with the linguistic evidence and with many cultural patterns. The settlements in the southern regions are culturally closely related although not uniform; on Siberut at least eleven cultural areas can be discerned, with Simalegi in the northwestern region being linguistically the most divergent one. The cultural heritage belongs to the tradition of the neolithic Austronesian immigrants in Indonesia, with only tangential metal age influences.

The first substantial Western account dates from the end of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century several reports by colonial civil servants indicate interest in these strategically important islands. At the beginning of the twentieth century Dutch colonial and Protestant (in later years also Catholic) missionary work began on Mentawai. Headhunting and lengthy traditional religious feasting were forbidden, and the payment of a modest poll tax was required; otherwise, there was little interference in the indigenous way of life. The pace of change increased after Indonesian independence, when the indigenous religion was banned and everyone had to embrace either Islam or Christianity. Four administrative districts *(kecamatan)* were established: two on Siberut and two on the southern islands. Today most Mentawaians are Christians and live in modern government-controlled villages with schools and churches and simple single-family dwellings. Only some groups in the interior of Siberut successfully resisted these attempts at rapid modernization. Since the mid-1980s this has been easier for them, partly because of their role in a newly emerging ethnotourism industry.

Settlements

On Siberut people with a traditional lifestyle are organized in local patrilineal groups *(urna)* of about five to ten families that jointly own a large communal house used for rituals and festive occasions, also called *urna.* These urna are situated along the rivers, which are the most important channel of communication. Based on clan traditions, every urna traces itself back to a chain of patrilineally related groups in other valleys and finally to a particular urna of origin in the northwestern part of Siberut. Thus, each urna differs from its neighbors in descent yet is related to urna in other regions through common ancestors. For daily purposes, each family owns one or more field houses *(sapou)* where it stays while working in the gardens. On Sipora and Pagai the descendants of various clans (still tracing their origins from northwestern Siberut) traditionally used to unite into large ritual communities with a single huge communal urna. Sometimes these houses belonged to more than twenty families; some of those families also owned dwellings *of* their own *(lalep)* next to the urna. Often several urna were situated beside each other, forming a village (laggai).

The layout and use of an urna reflect the Mentawaian's strong sense of community. All houses stand on stilts; many are decorated with carved panels and wall paintings. One enters at the front through a notched tree trunk that serves as a stairway. The first room, an open airy veranda, is a common room for conversing and receiving guests; it is where most of the men sleep at night. Some of the men sleep in the first interior room, a large hall with a common hearth used for ceremonies and a wooden floor for the dances performed during ritual festivities. Sometimes the *tuddukat,* an ensemble of three or four slit drums used for signaling and making music, also is situated there. A door leads into the second interior room, where women and small children sleep; this is also the location of the main fetish of the urna: a bundle of plants with magical properties called *bakkat katsaila.* During the day meals for the individual families are cooked here. As a result of government prohibitions, on Sipora and Pagai most, if not all, of these longhouses have disappeared; a few are preserved in southern Siberut.

Economy

Subsistence. Each household can in principle produce everything needed for a traditional daily life. The people live off the land, cultivating sago (the major crop on Siberut and mainly men's work), taro on inundated fields (the major crop on Sipora and Pagai and mainly a task for women), yams, vegetables, bananas, coconuts, and fruit trees. The way in which these people prepare their fields differs from that of many other forest-dwelling people in that they do not use fire after cutting down trees. Gradually and without loss of soil fertility and erosion, they replace the original forest with one dominated by fruit trees. They also raise chickens and pigs. Pork and chicken are supplemented by river or seashore fish caught by women. At the conclusion of communal festive rituals there is meat from the hunt, especially monkeys and deer, which men track with the aid of dogs and kill with spears and bows with poisoned arrows. At ritual occasions communities close to the sea catch turtles with harpoons and nets.

Industrial Arts. Metalworking, weaving, and pottery making are unknown. Mentawaians are skilled carpenters who use intricate mortise-and-tenon jointing in wooden constructions. In the past people made use of stone tools fashioned with neolithic techniques. Until the late twentieth century they produced bark cloth for traditional men's loincloth and skirts of leaves worn by women when working in the gardens. Occasionally they still use bamboo utensils for cooking.

Trade. For several generations there have been certain articles that Mentawaians could not produce themselves. In the traditional situation these were mainly iron tools, tobacco, glass beads, and material for mosquito nets, skirts, and loincloths, which were obtained from Sumatran merchants in exchange for rattan, coconuts, and more recently cloves and other newly introduced cash crops. In the modern villages, money is replacing exchange and demand includes everything available in West Sumatran rural markets.

Division of Labor. Economic specialization is based on gender and age. Children participate at an early age in their parents' activities, mostly on their own initiative. According to Mentawaian informants, the division of tasks between

men and women is based on differences in physical strength. The use of the ax, for instance, is seen as particularly strenuous and is reserved for men. When building a house, men use axes to fell trees for timber, while women use bush knives to cut palm leaves for the roof. The division of labor has a spatial component as well. A man's sago and coconut trees are likely to be spread over an entire valley and may keep him away from the settlement for days at a time. In contrast, a woman's taro and (on Siberut) banana fields are typically close to home. Hunting takes men deep into the forest, whereas women usually fish in the vicinity of the settlement. This spatial division is in line with the fact that care for young children is the responsibility of the women.

Land Tenure. Clans own stretches of uncultivated land, including watercourses, claimed by their ancestors. The land is worked by the branch that settled there and built an urna; its members are called ``the owners of the riverstones." Later immigrants have to ask their permission to obtain the right to cultivate a stretch of land. They are the individual owners of the crops they have planted and retain the property as long as it remains fertile even if they eventually move away; at that time the land returns to the original clan. Pieces of land can be purchased, sometimes by using pigs for payment; such pieces remain the property of the buyer and his descendants.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. There is no specific term for the twenty-five clans, which also do not have individual names; the main factor linking a clan's members is a shared descent myth. In earlier times there was little contact between urna in distant valleys. Men would go headhunting in districts far away from their urna. This could result in the unintentional slaughter of a member of one's own clan. The focal unit of Mentawai life is the local kin group, the urna. On Siberut an urna consists of a few families (lalep) : married men stemming from a common patrilineal ancestor, their wives, their unmarried daughters, and widowed or divorced sisters who returned to their group of origin. In addition, an urna can include single families that immigrated and were adopted *(nappit);* these people are treated like blood relations and have equal rights and duties in the community. On Sipora and Pagai membership in the urna is in principle organized patrilineally. Nevertheless, members of different clans commonly belong to one urna.

Kinship Terminology. The kinship system is of the Dakota type.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Premarital relations are regarded as private affairs. Marriage is monogamous, and divorce is rare. Theoretically, the entire mythically derived clan is exogamous, but in practice, this requirement is strictly maintained only within the urna. All cousins are considered too intimately related by blood for marriage.

There are no positive rules for the choice of a spouse; links are made with many different urna. Affluent men from each urna contribute the bride-price—fruit trees, taro fields, young live pigs, purchased tools—and the return gift—the meat of large sows and castrated boars. On the southern islands the bride-price was abandoned in precolonial times. A woman becomes a member of her husband's urna. A husband is considered subordinate to his brothers-in-law and is obliged to help them at ritual occasions.

In contrast to Siberut, urna endogamy is permitted on the southern islands as long as it involves members of different patrilineages. Another difference between Siberut and the southern islands concerns the premarital bond between a young man and a girl. On Siberut there is a general taboo that prohibits new fathers on behalf of their young children from performing any acts that might cause plants to wilt, including planting. On the southern islands this taboo includes all married men. Since the work of adult men in the gardens remains necessary, people postpone the official date of marriage until the ages of thirty to forty. Before that period couples build a hut *(rusuk)* where they spend the night together, separating at dawn to return to their parents. This bond is publicly acknowledged and expected to last. When a child is born, the father of the mother assumes the paternal role. The child is brought up in his house and not exposed to the religious dangers of wilting plants, and in daily matters is taken care of by his own mother. Years later an official marriage takes place, and the child is included in the patrilineage of his birth father.

Domestic Unit. In daily life nuclear families live on their own on their plantations and only occasionally gather with other families for company. During rituals all members assemble in the urna and reorganize themselves in a way that stresses more the community than the individual household. In addition to the permanent adoption of immigrating adults by a community, children from a neighboring urna can be temporarily adopted into a household either because they do not prosper in their own family or to enhance a bond of friendship between the families and their urna. When a community grows too large—on Siberut more than ten to twenty families—the urna will split up and one group will move to another region.

Inheritance. On Siberut inheritance principally passes equally down the male line. There are, however, certain kinds of movables of which the daughters initially receive shares equal to those of the sons. These are objects acquired by the parents during their marriage or utensils fabricated by the mother. However, when the daughter dies, this inheritance passes not to her own children but to her brother, thus returning to the patrilineage. North and South Pagai are exceptions to this practice. The staple food there is not the male-produced sago but taro, which is produced by women. The taro fields are inherited exclusively in the female line. However, as soon as a brother marries, his sister will give her new sister-in-law part of the taro fields she inherited, and those fields indirectly return to the patrilineage.

Socialization. There is no formal education. Children follow the example of their parents. Ceremonies accompany the growth of a child, but there is no concluding initiation ritual. Toward the end of puberty, the incisor teeth are chiseled to a point and the body is tattooed in several successive stages, with the patterns being dependent on gender and region. After that time, with the help of their parents, boys and girls start to lay out their own fields and raise animals. In the case of girls, most of their production will be left behind after mar-

riage; they will acquire their own domain of work with their own tools in the husband's uma.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. There is no organized leadership within the uma; in principle, unqualified solidarity prevails. Anyone in need can call on the whole group, and during festivals everyone has equal rights regardless of his or her individual contribution. Problems arise from conflict between private interests and the demands of the community. Such conflicts are resolved through general discussions in which all adult members take part. If an important problem cannot be solved in this way, the only alternative is the breakup of the community. In public discussions women are also present, but their voices are heard much less than the men's are. In family affairs their opinion has more weight, although final decisions lie with the men.

Political Organization. Mentawaians do not recognize political organization above the uma. It is each group's responsibility to regulate its relations with its neighbors. The explicit ideal is peaceful coexistence in which no one is a bother to anyone else. However, this ideal contradicts a desire that leads to tension and sometimes open hostilities: Each group wants to outdo the others in prestige. Exogamous marriage, practical and ritual forms of interurna cooperation, and ceremonial bonds of friendship between individuals of the same sex from different communities *(pasiripokat)* are mitigating counterweights.

Social Control. Since an uma does not have organized political leadership, individuals who violate the norms cannot be forced to conform. They are generally avoided, and this makes their life difficult. Moreover, there is a strong belief in religious sanctions on antisocial behavior.

Conflict. Before open hostilities break out between uma, institutionalized rivalries (*pako)* give the parties time to calm down. These conflicts consist of extraordinary prestations that are announced publicly in the valley; they are destined to humiliate the rival but often prove tiresome. Hostilities never entail open combat, instead, they linger on for long periods with occasional assaults from ambush. When the parties agree to make peace, sometimes on the instigation of a third, mediating group, mutual losses are brought into balance through ritualized forms of exchange. Until the beginning of the colonial period a ritualized form of armed conflict existed on Siberut in the form of headhunting *{mulakkeu)* directed at particular regions outside one's own valley. The custom was sacrificial in character and had the consecration of a new uma as its main motif. On the southern islands the practice was abandoned generations before colonial rule.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. There are no supreme gods, but there are various categories of spirits *(saukhui, sanitu, sabulungan)* that dwell everywhere: in the forests, in the sky, in the rivers, in the sea, and 'in the interior' (under the earth). Several of these spirits are evil and have to be avoided; others are favorably disposed toward humans. Because they are invisible, man's activities can unwittingly disturb them; for example, a tree that is cut may fall on a forest spirit's dwelling. Then the *bajou* of the spirit—a kind of radiation emanating from everything that has a soul—will concentrate on the culprit and make him or her ill. Before any major activity begins, therefore, ceremonies are held to please and placate the spirits.

Certain spirits have a special relationship with the uma. The mythic origin of the first longhouse is traced back to an orphan boy who gained knowledge from a water spirit in the shape of a crocodile. Because of his companion's envy, the boy later moved underneath the earth, where he joined the spirits of the interior. There he lives on as the spirit of earthquakes and fruit trees; he is offered sacrifices during each great ritual. The crocodile spirit continues to watch over the uma. If someone behaves antisocially, for example, by eating meat behind another person's back, he insults the spirit of the crocodile, who will come into the uma and cause the guilty one to become sick.

Everything that exists has its own personal soul *(simagere* or, especially after death, *ketsat),* including animals, plants, and things. Things are not objects that can be used as a person wishes but subjects that must agree to their use. Before a pig is killed, Mentawaians explain and excuse what they are about to do. Such conciliatory efforts also include sacrifices to the things in question. Moreover, things expect people to take their nature into account when they are used and to refrain from other actions that are inconsistent with an activity. This is why there are specific taboos for each important undertaking. For example, a husband may not make a dugout canoe while his wife is pregnant because the hollowing out of a tree trunk is not compatible with carrying a child to full term. If he does not bear this in mind, he will bring down the wrath of the trunk and the canoe will not be a success. The trunk's anger also may be directed at the man himself and cause him to fall ill or result in a miscarriage. Another source of danger is the human soul. The soul can roam freely; its experiences provide the material for dreams. If life is not pleasing to the soul, it will not want to return and tends to settle with the ancestors. To counter this risk, Mentawaians try to live in a way that is literally attractive, with bountiful meals, minimal stress, and a beautiful outward appearance that is manifest in tattoos, ornaments, and decorations.

Religious Practitioners. On ritual occasions an experienced elderly man functions as the master of ceremonies (rimata). In certain ceremonies he represents the other adult men; in others all the adults perform collectively. Shamans *(kerei)* have certain ritual functions in addition to their healing responsibilities.

Ceremonies. The major religious feast in the uma is called *puliaijat* on Siberut and *punen* on the southern islands. It can last several weeks and sometimes is held more than once a year, depending on the occurrence of important extraordinary events such as a wedding, the building of a new longhouse, and the observation of bad omens. Casual contact with neighbors, daily work, and sexual intercourse are taboo during this ritual. The main official is the rimata, supported by his wife. The central event is the offering of a chicken called *lia,* which is invoked to attract good forces and ward of evil; after it is sacrificed to the spirits, divination of the intestines indicates whether the result is favorable. This double function lasts throughout the ritual, in which it matches a

symbolic reordering of social relationships within the group and toward the outside world. On Siberut, in a first phase, with the help of neighboring shamans, the main goal is the aversion of evil; in the second phase, with religious support from the ancestor spirits, the emphasis is on attracting posirive forces and especially on reassembling the souls of the united members of the urna. Finally, the entire community withdraws to a hunting camp in the jungle for several days. With this move the participants explicitly enter the domain of the forest spirits. The monkeys they shoot are considered to be the livestock of these spirits, which by granting them guarantee their blessings to the world of humans. The scenario and length of a ritual vary according to its motivation.

Arts. Mentawaians have no specialized artists but praise companions who are expert in woodcarving and make objects that "match their essence" *(mateu).* Other arts include singing—always in unison—and the playing of instruments such as flutes, drums, and Jew's harps.

Medicine. Thoughts about illness and premature death are central to Mentawaian life. This preoccupation is associated with very high rates of mortality. The common factor in the perceived causes of illnesses is that people have turned phenomena in the environment against themselves by acting recklessly. There is also a common factor in the manner of healing: The offended entities have to be placated and their bajou has to be cooled off. The kerei is the intermediary in contacts with the spirit realm. The kerei is usually a man who by means of a special and sumptuous initiation ritual under the guidance of an experienced teacher has received the capacity to see and communicate with spirits. Most urna have at least one kerei. Kerei have a special outfit and garb. Extraordinary performances such as trances and dancing in fire enhance their religious credibility. They have a special knowledge of the magical mediating objects *(gaut)* that are used in ceremonies: mostly plants with particular forms that are associated with a specific capacity that can be addressed to carry out beneficial tasks. Performers of black magic *(pananae)* use the same kinds of mediators, but with evil intentions.

Death and Afterlife. When the soul has eaten and adorned itself with the ancestors (Siberut: *ukkui;* southern islands: *kalimeu),* its owner must die. On Siberut this entails a division of the individual into two separate entities: The soul is transformed into an ancestral spirit; what remains of the rotting body and the bones becomes personified by a ghostlike creature called *pitto'.* The ukkui, the direct genealogical forebears, live in the ancestral settlement, the l*aggai sabeu,* in a way similar to that of humans but more beautiful and without death. They are a community's closest spiritual agents and are invoked at every occasion to give their blessings; they play a focal role, especially in the second phase of the puliaijat ritual, and sometimes are solemnly invited into the longhouse for a prolonged visit. The pitto' lingers in the neighborhood of the burial grounds, which are always situated far from human settlements. Out of jealousy the pitto' wants to nest in the urna, where he causes the living to fall ill; he has to be expelled regularly through ritual. On the southern islands of Sipora and Pagai the attitude towards the death seems to have shifted. As on Siberut, a distinction seems to have been made there between ancestral souls living in the laggai sabeu and body-ghosts from the burial grounds. However, the former have been transformed into a source of fear rather than one of trust and support; consequently, the differences between the two are much less pronounced. In rituals it was not the ancestors who were called on but the other categories of spirits; offerings made to the former had the aim of enticing them to leave the living in peace.

For the original article on the Mentawaians, *see* Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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REIMAR SCHEFOLD

Meru

ETHNONYMS: Ameroe, Ameru, Mumeru, Kimeru, Mero, Meroe

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Meru are a Northeastern Bantu group composed of nine different subtribes: the Igembe, Tigania, Imenti, Miutini, Igoji, Tharaka, Chuka, Muthambi, and Mwimbi. Since 1956 these subtribes have been separated from the Kikuyu and Embu to form the Meru Land Unit. At the end of the twentieth century the Meru subtribes occupied four adjoining districts in Eastern Province: Meru South, Meru Central, Meru North, and Tharaka.

The Meru territory lies to the north and northeast of the slopes of Mount Kenya (elevation 17, 053 feet [5,199 meters]) and constitutes a large area stretching northward to the volcanic Nyambene Hills and southward to the Thuchi River. The wide range of altitude in the area (984 to 17,053 feet *[300* to 5,199 meters]) creates a variety of ecological zones ranging from extremely fertile, well-watered agricultural areas to low-lying semiarid lands. The rainfall pattern is bimodal with long periods of rain occurring from mid-March to May and short periods occurring from October to December. The mean annual rainfall is about 52 inches (1,300 millimeters), ranging from 15 inches (380 millimeters) in lowland areas to 98 inches (2,500 millimeters) on the slopes of Mount Kenya.

Demography. During the colonial period European estimates of the Meru population ranged from 80,000 to 200,000. The first official census in 1948 recorded 258,000 Meru. The population of the area has increased steadily, rising from 637,709 in 1979 to 1,409,373 in 1999. By the 1990s the Meru accounted for nearly 6 percent of the Kenyan population. Population density in the region is highly variable, ranging from 100 persons per square kilometer in lowland areas to over 400 persons per square kilometer in highland areas.

Linguistic Affiliation. All nine subtribes speak Kimeru, a Bantu language in the Niger-Congo family. Dialects include Imenti, Igembe, Tigania, Igoji, Igembe, Mwimbi, Chuka, Muthambi, and Tharaka. Meru exhibits much older Bantu characteristics in grammar and phonetic forms than do the neighboring languages. A Meru speaker, however, has little difficulty understanding the speech of the Kikuyu and Kamba people.

History and Cultural Relations

Meru history spans approximately three centuries, although the first two hundred years are documented solely through oral testimony. Although there are conflicting views on the origin of the Meru, the Mbwa tradition is the most popular. This tradition claims that the Meru migrated to the Mount Kenya region from the island of the Mbwa, which is considered by many historians to be off the coast of the Indian Ocean. Around the year 1700 Mbwa was attacked by the red people (Nguuntune). The Meru were held in captivity until a great leader organized their escape across receding waters. The Meru then migrated along the Tana River, reaching the base of Mount Kenya, Tigania, and Nyambene in the 1730s.

Europeans first arrived in Meru at the end of the nineteenth century as part of Arab trading caravans, and the region was designated an administrative district of the British colonial government in 1910. The residents of the area were converted to Christianity shortly afterward through the mission outreaches of the Church of Scotland, the England Methodist Church, and the Roman Catholic Church. During the 1950s Meru was a stronghold of resistance against British forces in the Mau Mau rebellion and has maintained close political ties with the Kikuyu and Embu through the Gikuyu-Embu-Meru Association (GEMA).

Settlements

Traditionally, settlement patterns in highland areas were characterized by patrilineally related households in larger dispersed homesteads. Each homestead consisted of small cylindrical thatched houses, granaries, and a circular animal compound. Every married woman had a separate hut and garden. Land consolidation during the 1950s altered these settlement patterns. Rectangular houses constructed of timber with corrugated iron roofs replaced cylindrical-conical homes, and animals were pastured in enclosed paddocks. Shifting cultivation on fragmented land holdings was abandoned, and regional crop specialization emerged. By the 1970s most homesteads had an outdoor water tap and pit latrine, with water tanks used by wealthier families in highland areas. Electricity is not available in many rural areas.

Economy

Subsistence. Highland areas traditionally were characterized by three distinct ecological zones, each hosting a specific mixture of food crops (banana, yam, cassava, pumpkin, millet, sorghum, sugarcane) and domestic animals (cattle, sheep, and goats). Tobacco, gourds, and *miraa,* a mild stimulant, were also grown. The semiarid environment of lowland Meru was primarily reliant on hunting, bee keeping, and plant gathering. During the 1940s the colonial government promoted new food varieties, leading to the widespread adoption of maize as a staple crop. The majority of the Meru remain dependent on animal husbandry and crop cultivation, with hoes and machetes used for most cultivation tasks. Those without land now depend largely on wage labor for subsistence.

Commercial Activities. European settlers initially prohibited the development of export crops (coffee, tea, pyrethrum, sisal, wheat, and sugar) among the Meru. The ban on coffee cultivation was lifted during the 1930s, bringing markets, factories, and roads to the area. Tea was introduced in 1960 and thrives in the high altitudes of the district. The production of export crops for European markets became widespread in the 1980s. Other cash crops include cotton, maize, beans, sorghum, and millet. A profitable dairy industry has existed since the 1960s.

Industrial Arts. Pottery, ironwork, and leatherwork were common industrial products among the precolonial Meru. Existing handicrafts include weaving, basketry, clay work, knitting, and crocheting. Palm baskets and mats are prevalent in Tharaka, where palms grow in riverine areas.

Trade. In the precolonial period markets were formed by women trading agricultural and handicraft items. During the colonial period commercial markets operated by Indian and Swahili traders sold foodstuffs as well as bags, mats, knives, implements, skins, and hides. In the 1930s drought and pestilence led to widespread crop failure and the collapse of the market system, and significant trade in food crops did not return until the 1950s. *Miraa* remains a major cash crop in lowland areas and is widely traded with coastal regions and Somalia.

Division of Labor. The Meru traditionally had a relatively strict gender division of labor. Men were responsible for building, herding, slaughtering, land clearing, leatherwork, hunting, and family protection; women were responsible for maintenance of the homestead; food cultivation and preparation; the collection of wood for fuel, fodder, and water; milking; basket weaving; and childcare. This pattern is still prevalent. Everyone participates in farming, but women have the overall responsibility for food crops and contribute a significant amount of labor to cash crops such as coffee and tea. Tharaka men tend to participate in cultivation to a greater degree than highland men do and they hunt. Throughout the region there is increasing cooperation between husbands and wives in economic undertakings.

Land Tenure. Historically, relations of descent and affinity determined land tenure, with clan elders disposing of land inherited from God to individuals and families. This system of property rights was altered by the Swynnerton Plan of 1954, which initiated a process of resettlement, land consolidation, and titling. By the late 1960s titled property had largely replaced land held in usufruct by the clan, with women obtaining use rights from their husbands and fathers. The demarcation process, coupled with a high population and local inheritance practices, has led to significant land fragmentation, particularly in highland areas. By the 1980s land disputes had become a major source of conflict.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Kinship is based on exogamous clans and patrilineal descent groups, with agnatic relatives linked through a series of male ancestors and descendants. In the past, incorporation in kin groups occurred after the postpubertal rite of circumcision and the nature of kinship interactions reflected passage through age grades. Today kinship is expressed predominantly through extended family relations.

Kinship Terminology. Kin terms share elements with the Sudanese system. Clear distinctions are made between relatives on the mother's and father's sides of the family. There are eight different cousin terms, all of which are distinguished from ego's brother and sister.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Courtship, bride-wealth, and marriage are central to Meru life. Traditionally, marriages were regulated along clan and lineage lines but were typically undertaken with the mutual consent of the bride and groom. Postmarital residence remains patrilocal. Women's rights and obligations become embodied within the husband's patrilineage after marriage, and close bonds between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are common. In the past divorce was difficult to obtain, often requiring the intervention of the clan; however, it became common by the 1970s. Polygyny has become less prevalent because of the influence of Christianity and Western education as well as diminishing resources to support multiple wives.

Domestic Unit. Patrilineally related households are situated within a larger homestead that consists of an agnatic core of male kinsmen and their in-marrying wives and families. Household size has decreased dramatically in recent decades as a result of the introduction of family planning services, a decline in polygyny, and the limited availability of land for expansion. By the 1990s land scarcity and population pressure had led to migration to other areas. In some cases grandparents care for children whose parents emigrate.

Inheritance. Customary inheritance practices are patrilineal. Property, including land, livestock, and buildings, is divided equally among the deceased's sons. Traditionally, responsibility for the widow of the deceased was left to the appointed head of the family, who would act as the guardian for her and her children. In most cases the younger brother of the deceased inherited the widow and could sire children with her. This practice had ended by the time of independence, with women obtaining use rights to the deceased husband's property through their sons.

Socialization. Traditionally, boys went through several stages of formalized instruction by the council *(kiama)* or governing body. This was particularly significant in regard to circumcision, when boys underwent a period of seclusion and education on communal obligations, military responsibilities, and sexual relations. Similarly, women's councils *(ukiama)* provided teaching on acceptable behavior and martial duties to young girls. This ended during the colonial period. In the early twenty-first century the majority of socialization occurs through the extended family, schools, and churches.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditionally, social organization was based on clans and a system of age and generation classes. Clans were exogamous social and political units governed by a council of ruling elders. The system of age sets was similar to the systems used in other central highland Bantu societies, with men included in a generation class at the time of circumcision. Each age set included several years of age, and as one generation moved to the next age grade, the following age set moved up to assume the older age set's functions. There was a ritual transfer of administrative authority between age sets (novice to warrior) in the *Ntwiko* ceremony. Each subtribe also possessed a *Mugwe,* the protector of the people, who was a central feature of Meru social structure. Colonization diminished the significance of the Mugwe, the age-set system, and the clans. Churches and community development organizations have assumed many of the social functions of age sets and play an important role in people's lives.

Political Organization. Before the colonial period the Meru were governed by two political institutions: the system of alternating age sets *(Kiruka* and *Ntiba)* and the governing

bodies of councils. The age sets were responsible for the daily running of community affairs and adopted administrative responsibilities alternately. When one party was in power, all the boys who were circumcised during that period belonged to the party that was out of office. This age-set system formed the basis for the council system, in which each age grade formed its own council to regulate conflicts. The most important were the elders' councils, which were divided into three ranks: Areici, *Njuuri Ncheke,* and *Njuuri Mpingiri.* The Njuri Ncheke, the highest council, was the institution responsible for executing laws, arbitrating disputes, and administering the tribe's affairs in general. After colonization the Meru were drawn into the fold of the colonial government through the Local Native Tribunals (1913) and the Local Native Councils (1925). In the postindependence period, central government administrators and courts replaced male elder's councils.

Social Control. Before the colonial period dispute resolution occurred at three different levels (family, clan, and council of elders), depending on the nature of the offense. The elder's councils were responsible for the most serious conflicts, such as murder, adultery, theft, and land disputes. In questions involving the entire tribe, spokesmen representing each clan formed a council of councils and all decisions were taken collectively. Violations of communal norms were punished severely, with the execution of justice placed in the hands of the Stoning Council. During the colonial period civil and criminal cases were arbitrated by Local Native Councils. In parts of Meru social control is still maintained by Njuri Ncheke as well as village chiefs, who adjudicate land and theft cases.

Conflict. Before European conquest warfare was endemic. Twice a year warrior bands would raid the livestock of adjacent areas, enabling warriors to accumulate bride-wealth and acquire status. The colonial government prohibited cattle raids, and interethnic hostilities subsided to some extent. In the 1950s the Meru joined the neighboring Kikuyu and Embu in fighting the British in the Mau Mau uprising. Although there generally is peace between neighboring tribes, border disputes between eastern and northern districts in the Meru region have intensified since the redivision of 1993.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Before the colonial period religious beliefs were based on God (Ngai or Murungu), ancestral spirits *(nkoma)*, and a system of supernatural rituals. Although God was considered the more important, the presence of ancestral spirits, who were both bad and good, was also an important feature of daily life. The bad fortune of individuals was caused by an offended spirit. The system of supernatural rituals included prophecy, cursing, curse detection, curse removal, and divination. Witchcraft, used to cause illness or death, was practiced and remains prevalent in parts of the region. By the end of the colonial period the majority of the Meru had converted to Christianity.

Religious Practitioners. Diviners *(kiruria)*, curse detectors *(aringia)*, and medicine men *(mugad)* were integral to the social structure, but the Mugwe, the prophet and spiritual leader of each subtribe, fulfilled the most important role. The Mugwe functioned as an intermediary between God and the people, invoking God's blessing for the protection of warriors, generation classes, and the subtribe. After colonization the Mugwe and most supernatural practitioners disappeared. Today Meru more commonly serve as ministers and preachers in the numerous Christian churches.

Ceremonies. Ceremonial events have always been important in social and political life. The main elements of every ceremony include the cooking and sharing of food, dancing, and drum music. The most common ceremonial occasions are associated with puberty (circumcision), marriage, the birth of children, and death. Before the colonial period the shaving ritual, marking the resumption of sexual relations between husband and wife after the birth of a child, was also significant.

Arts. Before colonization the main forms of artistic expression included tattooing; personal ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, and earrings; and the manufacture of crafts. Dancing and music were also well developed. Singing, dancing, and music (drums and string instruments) remain popular art forms. Basketry and crocheting are still practiced by women, with crocheted products marketed in Nairobi.

Medicine. Most people have used Western medicine since the colonial period. However, the medicine man or traditional healer (mugaa) remains a common figure. The mugaa is trained in the medicinal properties of herbs and powders and is widely consulted, particularly for inexplicable illnesses.

Death and Afterlife. The Meru traditionally viewed death as God's will, but their approach to an individual's death depended on that person's status during life. The death of an "accomplished" person marked the successful completion of a life cycle. However, the death of an "unfinished" person, such as a person who had not yet attained elderhood, was regarded fearfully, necessitating specific rites to avoid the curse of malevolent spirits. Life after death was universally recognized. The majority of the Meru did not bury the dead but abandoned their bodies in the bush, believing that a corpse was contaminated. Whoever disposed of a corpse had to undergo a cleansing and sexual ritual. During the colonial period, these practices ended and burial became a legal requirement.

For other cultures in Kenya, see List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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Meto

ETHNONYMS: Atoin Meto, Atoin Pah Meto, Atoni, Dawan, Orang Timor Asli, Timorese

Orientation

Identification and Location. Meto live mainly in the central mountainous part of western Timor, Indonesia, bounded to the east by Belu District and the Tetum (Tetun) people. To the west they are bounded by the sea or by Rotinese and other lowland groups around Kupang Bay and Kupang city, the capital of the Province of the Eastern Lesser Sundas (Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur). Meto became Indonesian citizens in 1950 when the Republic of Indonesia succeeded the Netherlands East Indies. They wholly occupy the two administrative districts of North-Central Timor and South-Central Timor and part of Kupang district. Meto also inhabit the former Portuguese enclave of Oe-cussi (which they call Ambenu). It is located on the north coast of West Timor but is administratively part of Timor Loro Sa'e (formerly Portuguese Timor until 1975; then Indonesian East Timor until 1998). Their name Meto ("dry") is short for Atoin Pah Meto (People of the Dry Land), which refers to their indigenous status on the dry land of Timor in contrast to people and things which they consider to be *kase* (foreign, from overseas) in origin. Some ethnographers called them Atoni for short, but Meto is now preferred. The Dutch called them `` Timorese," and Indonesians of Kupang may refer to them as Orang Timor Asli (Native Timor People). Neighboring Tetum refer to Meto as Dawan, a term of uncertain etymology. Meto are found at approximately 9°00" to 10°15" S and 123°30" to 124°30" E in mountainous interior areas, and rarely by the malarial coasts with their poor soils. Timor is mountainous throughout with only modest coastal lowlands and few large river plains. The climate is marked by an intense westerly monsoon rainy season (January to April) and a long easterly monsoon dry season (May to December) when only modest localized rains may occur. Large rocky hills and some natural savannas mark the West Timor landscape.

Demography. Census counts are not accurate, but Meto are estimated to number about 750,000 and are the largest ethnic group in Indonesian Timor.

Linguistic Affiliation. Meto speak an Austronesian language of the Timor Group that is not mutually intelligible with languages of their neighbors on the island or nearby islands. No written language is used, although some church lesson books were prepared by a Dutch linguist in a romanized script before World War II. The Indonesian national language (based on Malay, now the national language of Malaysia) is used in government offices, businesses, town and rural schools, the media, and some churches; a dialect, Kupang Malay, was used by traders for centuries and is still used, especially in Kupang but also in the interior.

History and Cultural Relations

Timor has been settled for many thousands of years, and certainly received migrants over its history, but nothing is known of the genesis of the Meto people. They have been distinguished linguistically from their neighbors since the arrival of Portuguese and Dutch observers in the seventeenth century. Meto were involved in the sandalwood trade for the past one or two millennia, mediated by Malays, Makassarese and later by Europeans. They were raided for slaves by outsiders. Though the Meto were relatively isolated in their mountain homes, early Chinese sources report that they had developed princedoms before European contact in the late sixteenth century.

Timor was contested between the Dutch and Portuguese in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and they were to divide the island between them, taking west and east respectively. The Dutch remained in Kupang, however, and the Meto interior only came under direct Netherlands-Indies government administration after 1912. West Timor and East Timor subsequently had little contact except along the border occupied mainly by Tetum people.

The bitter conflict over the independence of East Timor after 1998 only affected the Meto of the Oe-cussi enclave (which remains part of independent Timor Loro Sai) and some Meto living in towns and villages along the main road between Kupang and Kefamnanu where refugees from East Timor were settled in camps. Some Meto were harassed by members of pro-Indonesian East Timor "militias" from the camps and had food stolen, but there was no Indonesian military action in Meto areas.

Settlements

Most Meto live in small dispersed settlements of twenty to forty houses in mountainous areas, though increasing numbers live along the main road that runs from Kupang to Atambua as well as on side roads. Traditional houses are beehive-shaped and made from forest products, with roofs coming near the ground; however, many Meto have adopted rectangular urban-style walled houses made from either wood or concrete and having windows, particularly in areas nearer markets and roads. Settlements are not marked by central common grounds, stone plazas, or public structures, which may be found in some other areas of eastern Indonesia. Wooden and stone churches are increasing in number.

Economy

Subsistence. Meto are primarily swidden cultivators of maize and some dry-land rice. Harvests provide only limited and local surpluses. Meto also keep orchards of bananas, betel nut, coconut, and some other palms. Coastal villagers may fish and gather salt.

Commercial Activities. Owing to poor farming conditions, Meto have been drawn into a money economy through sale of forest products (such as palm sugar and wild honey) and livestock (chickens and cattle). The latter are sold in roadside or small town markets, usually to non-Meto middlemen (such as Chinese, Rotenese, and Makassarese), and are then transported to small interior towns and to Kupang and its nearby sea port, Haengsisi. Cattle were introduced by the Dutch and now outnumber people in western Timor, contributing to ecological degradation through loss of timber for fences and consequent erosion, while providing income for owners. Some cloths woven by Meto women enter the tourist markets of Kupang and Bali, but in small numbers compared to those from Sumba or Flores Islands.

Industrial Arts. Meto produce fine tie-dye *(ikat)* woven cloths on backstrap looms for men's and women's formal and daily attire. They also make baskets and mats in great varieties for daily and ceremonial use. They do not work metal, and must import both tools and the silver and gold jewelry that they value. Woodworking is limited to house construction and some furniture making. Utensils made in the past from palms are no longer found, nor is wooden statuary (except in some funeral contexts).

Trade. There is little trade in corn or rice, but villagers carry the products of their vegetable gardens and orchards, as well beef, pork, and chicken, to small town markets where they sell them. Some coastal people sell fish and salt and buy garden and orchard products from uplanders.

Division of Labor. Men and women engage in a variety of planting and harvesting activities in fields, orchards, gardens, and ponds, and both can be found in markets selling produce. Men mainly build and repair swidden fences and corrals, manage cattle, hunt, and do sea fishing, and some Meto men go to Kupang town for largely unskilled work. Women tend small animals, gather wild plants, and have primary responsibility for the children. Women are the weavers and men and women do basketry.

Land Tenure. Meto are primarily swidden cultivators of maize and rice who have rights of usufruct on land over which clans and territorial groups hold long-term rights. Orchards are held by the families of the planters and may be inherited. Land is not, in general, a commodity. The nuclear family is the primary farming unit, working its own plots alone or with some near kin.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Meto belong to exogamous patrilineal descent groups, or "name groups" *(kanaf),* which may be extensive and widely distributed within a territory, but which are not corporate. They provide Meto surnames. Localized lineages of the same "name group" (which may in fact use different surnames) are cooperative units for ritual, economic, legal, or marriage activities. Meto value continuing ties of affinal alliance between lineages that stand in complementary relationships as wife-givers and wife-takers.

Kinship Terminology. Meto have a Dravidian type kinship terminology that clearly distinguishes affines from agnates in a person's own generation and in the first ascending and descending generations. In the second ascending and descending generations, agnates and affines are merged terminologically in many Meto areas, though in some areas the distinction is maintained. Consistent with a Meto ideal of symmetrical marriage exchange, young men refer to their mother's brother's daughters and father's sister's daughters by the same term which means "wife way."

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage marks adult status and also establishes or maintains alliances between local lineages. Marriages may be arranged to continue old alliances, or an individual may choose a spouse, in which case the marriage will establish new alliances. Either way, parents and lineage-mates are involved because marriage establishes continuing relationships between wife-givers and wife-takers that are important in daily and ritual life. Bride-wealth is paid over time and goods are exchanged between affinal allies at subsequent life-cycle ceremonies. The amounts and the duration of payments vary in different Meto territories and, within the same territory, by social status as well as by the type of alliance made. In general, marriages to persons more closely related through previous marriages, or to persons from the same or nearby villages, require lower payments than marriages to more distant persons. A married couple's residence is normally virilocal, though it may be temporarily uxorilocal until a stage of bride-wealth is paid. Divorce and remarriage are possible though not frequent, and may entail bride-wealth repayment depending upon determination of fault.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit is normally a nuclear family of about five persons which occasionally adds "borrowed children" from other families or widows or widowers. Widowed or divorced persons, however, often live alone or with a child or grandchild in a separate domestic unit, usually near close relatives.

Inheritance. Meto may distinguish between inherited property, which remains within a patrilineage and normally goes to sons, and property acquired in a marriage, which may be inherited by a spouse and/or male and female children. The former category, not extensive, may involve heirlooms or orchard land. The latter may include orchards, livestock, or money. There is pressure to keep property within patrilineages or close affinal groups. The levirate, or widow inheritance, may also be practiced.

Socialization. Children are socialized mainly within the nuclear family or by mother's brothers (the primary wife-givers), and they participate in the work of the parents. Gender differences are marked early in life. Both parents socialize and educate young children through public verbal and physical affection and discipline. Corporal punishment of children by parents, of younger siblings by older siblings, and of females by males is considered acceptable, even necessary. As children approach adolescence, they must show public deference to all elders including parents, although they may be openly closer to their mother's brothers, father's sisters, and grandparents than to other elders. There are no initiation rites outside church christening ceremonies, although warfare played a role in that regard in the past for young males. From 1970 onwards, elementary and some secondary school education expanded considerably for Meto young people, but is still less than for Rotenese or Savunese.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Formerly Meto had noble, commoner, and slave classes, but the society has become increasingly more egalitarian. The Dutch abolished slavery in colonial times and the Indonesian government eliminated princedoms in the late 1960s, though former noble families are still accorded respect and may have greater access to power and resources than do commoners. Society is rooted in clan membership and affinal relationships between clans, and village leadership is often passed down in patrilines (as was true in the princedoms). There are no other formal groups in village society which form a basis for social interaction except for churches.

Political Organization. Until the early 1970s, Meto were subjects of ten self-governing princedoms. After 1912 these were organized by the Netherlands-Indies government into three districts, headed by Dutch administrators. After 1950 these districts *(kabupaten)* were headed by Indonesians. In the 1970s the princedoms became sub-districts *(kecamatan)* of the Indonesian state bureaucracy, some headed by former princes or their descendents, others not. In the early twenty-first century elected village headmen serve the government, some of whom are from leading local patrilines of the past. At the local level, informal dual headmen may be found, one to deal with government matters and another to handle customary internal issues. Recognized clan elders from the past princedoms may serve informal leadership roles within the sub-districts as well. Under government reforms in the period 1998-2001 more local fiscal and other autonomies have been granted to district governments, but Meto areas benefit little in this regard, owing to their poverty.

Social Control. Disputes are settled primarily at village level between agnates and affines of those concerned or by customary village heads or elders, with compensation being the primary means of settlement. The national court system is rarely used. Prisons may be looked upon as unjust because they remove a miscreant from the scrutiny and daily control by his agnates who paid his fine and the agnates of the victim who received the fine. In the past, princes were ultimate courts of appeal, and now problems may be carried to Indonesian sub-district authorities or Meto elders. Moral or ritual missteps and infractions, which are frequently blamed for personal or group problems or suffering, are believed to result from punishments by ancestors, from curses supported by transcendental justice, and from God.

Conflict. Conflict between individual, villages, or districts may arise over inheritance, marriage, and other domestic disputes, theft of orchard products and animals, or personal offenses. In the past similar reasons could lead to conflicts between princes of large princedoms or sub-princedoms, as could conflict over trade in such things as sandalwood and the desire to acquire new subjects and the tribute they could bring. Princedoms had specific clans responsible for managing such conflicts, and the title of "warrior" brought honor, as did the taking of heads. "Head swords" and warrior regalia are still valuable possessions in some family lines, and may be worn at celebrations of national holidays when warrior dances may be performed. Dutch control after 1907 reduced some conflict between princes, but in some areas stimulated other conflicts as princely lines sought the backing of the Dutch government. After the formal elimination of princedoms by the Indonesian government, the grounds for many old conflicts diminished further. There is some history of conflict between Meto princes and villages with Rotenese and Helong settled in the Kupang area, but it was evidently modest compared to conflict between Meto princes. There has been little conflict between Meto and Tetum peoples along their border in eastern Indonesian Timor.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Christianity (Catholic in North-Central Timor and Protestant in South-Central Timor and Kupang Districts) began slowly before World War II. It spread rapidly through an evangelical "movement of the spirit" which developed in the mountains in the mid-1960s. A variety of Protestant denominations came to the area since the 1970s, many with origins outside Timor. Previously most Meto followed traditional beliefs in Lords of the Sky and Earth, ancestral rewards and punishments, and ghost and spirit powers of places and things. Magical complexes associated with warfare and headhunting are all but gone, and certain other institutions are fading, such as sacred houses of clans, sacred clan regalia, and propitiatory stones and posts. Belief in ancestral power, spirits, curse and transcendental justice, and the potency of funerary rituals remain, however, and traditional beliefs and Christianity may be combined in complex ways.

Religious Practitioners. Specialists in the supernatural still may divine sources of affliction privately, propitiate Lords of the Sky and Earth, and deal with spirits regarding illness, sorcery, and other afflictions. Christian leaders seek to integrate Christian belief into Meto daily life and also assist people in dealing with afflictions, which sometimes involves them in older practices. Officiants who propitiated for the princedom's welfare and triumph in war no longer practice, and masters of clan ritual are less important.

Ceremonies. Apart from Christian home and church services to deal with the life cycle and affliction, public ceremonies involving agnates and affines focus on marriage and death (which bring together these basic social groupings and include village mates). Less public local lineage ceremonies still concern birth and agriculture (planting and harvesting), though these too are increasingly marked by Christian prayer.

Arts. Dances and gong-and-drum music associated with traditional religious ritual have declined with the advance of Christianity and the reduction of patronage once received from princes, as has the formalized and highly poetic ritual speaking which was important to nobles and the oral histories of princedoms and clans. Indonesian language education takes the young away from such poetic links to the past. Material arts are few, other than the fine tie-dye weaving by women of cloths worn by both men and women, and ornamental basketry made by both sexes for use in life-cycle rituals.

Medicine. Illness may have natural or supernatural causes. Herbal medicines for the former are widely known. Some Meto have medicine for the latter, but there are recognized specialists (termed *mnane* or *meo)* who deal with the supernatural. Women are aided in childbirth by knowledgeable

local women, close relatives, or village mates, not by specialists. Biomedicai facilities are limited to some towns and rural health posts, and not easily accessible to most Meto.

Death and Afterlife. Meto funeral ritual separates the deceased from living agnates and ensures that the spirit joins ancestors and does not wander on earth. Funerals require that the wife-giving affines of the deceased—who are responsible for a Meto's soul throughout his or her lifetime—lead a cortege (and carry the front of the coffin) from the house of the deceased to the burial ground. Death is the major life-cycle ritual and calls for attendance by many agnates, affines, and hamlet mates and the exchange of formal gifts. In the past, funerals and marriages of princes, and annual tribute offerings to them, were the major ceremonial events binding the subjects of a princedom together. In the early twenty-first century Christian elements play an increasing part in Meto funerals, though traditional elements may remain.

For other cultures in Indonesia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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CLARK E. CUNNINGHAM

Mohegan

ETHNONYMS: Mohegan Tribe, Mohegan Tribe of Indians of Connecticut, Moheag, Mmooyauhegunnewuck

Orientation

Identification and Location. Oral tradition describes the Mohegan as an ancient wolf clan of the Lenni Lenape (Delaware) that moved from upstate New York to Connecticut shortly before European contact. While traveling into southern New England, the Mohegans acquired the nickname *Pequotaug* (invaders), or "Pequot." During the 1630s dissension among the Pequot/Mohegan leadership led a group of tribes people supporting Sagamore (subchief) Uncas to split with the main body under Sachem (head chief) Sassacus. Uncas and his followers moved to a village on the west bank of the Thames River in the woodlands of southeastern Connecticut. There, at the place called Shantok, they fortified a village and reclaimed the original tribal name Mohegan.

Demography. Estimates of the Mohegan population from historical documents show periods of sharp decreases and increases. Some historians have estimated numbers between 1,500 and 2,000 at the time when Dutch colonists and traders first entered Connecticut in 1614. Over 200 Mohegans joined the colonists' forces in King Philip's War (1675-1676). DeForest (1852) reasoned that the 1704 tally of 150 Mohegan warriors represented a total of 750 Mohegans. Many early accounts are based on the Colony of Connecticut's replies to a Board of Trade and Plantations survey that asked for the number of warriors who could be placed in the field. Most counts did not include men away at war or at sea or families living off the reservation. A 1754 list taken at a town meeting in New London lists only 78 by name. Although the Mohegans sustained heavy losses from the American Revolution and the emigration to Brothertown by the followers of Samson Occum, 138 Mohegans were counted in the 1782 census. In 2001 there were almost 1,500 members enrolled in the Mohegan Tribe.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Mohegan language is an Algonquian dialect similar to that of other southern New England tribes but including some unique elements.

History and Cultural Relations

Some time after the Mohegan/Pequot moved into Connecticut from New York, the region was invaded by the English

and other European groups. A quarrel arose between the leaders Sagamore Uncas and Sachem Sassacus. Uncas favored an alliance with the English and wished to become Sachem, while Sassacus was committed to resistance.

Splitting with the main body of Pequots, Uncas's followers assumed the ancient tribal name of Mohegan and settled on the east bank of the Thames River in about 1635. To secure his small group Uncas befriended the English. In 1637 that alliance drew the Mohegans into the Pequot War, a conflict that resulted in the near annihilation of the Pequots. In 1676 the Mohegans again were lured into an English conflict during King Philip's War.

The English-Mohegan alliance also spurred conflict between the Mohegans and the nearby Narragansetts. In 1643 the two tribes fought the Battle of the Great Plain in Norwich, resulting in the execution of the Narragansett Sachem Miantonomo at the insistence of colonial leaders. The Narragansetts retaliated, attempting to starve the Mohegans out of their fortified village of Shantok until provisions were secretly brought in by the English.

During the eighteenth century Mohegan converts to Christianity included the Reverend Samson Occum, one of the first formally trained and ordained American Indian ministers. Occum traveled to England to raise funds for the creation of a New England Indian school, collecting eleven thousand pounds in 1766 for that institution, which later became Dartmouth College. However, when he returned home, the school began to exclude Indians.

The famous "Mason land court case" was decided against the Mohegan Tribe in 1767. Two years later the Sachemship was ended after the death of Ben Uncas III because of the Mohegans' resistance to colonial manipulation of tribal politics.

Discouraged by those events, Occum led Christian Indians away from English settlements to upstate New York in 1775. That migration was known as the Brothertown movement. The movement was interrupted by the Revolutionary War, and this group settled in Oneida County, New York, and later in Wisconsin.

Land allotments to individual members began in 1790, but the Mohegan's existence in southeastern Connecticut was not secure. Occum's sister, Lucy Occum Tantaquidgeon, encouraged her daughter, Lucy Teecomwas, and granddaughter, Cynthia Hoscott, to avoid the threat of federal Indian removal policy by proving that the Mohegan Tribe was already "Christianized" and "civilized." With that goal in mind, the Mohegan Church was founded in 1831 with the help of Sarah Huntington, a local non-Indian missionary who supported the church's fund-raising efforts and was successful in the campaign against removal.

Throughout the nineteenth century women leaders were preeminent. Martha Uncas (1769-1859) served as tribal headwoman and maintained traditional tribal life ways, including the Mohegan language and ancient tribal stories. She trained her granddaughter, Fidelia Fielding, and grandniece, Emma Baker, in those traditions. Fielding (1827-1908) was the last fluent Mohegan speaker before the current language restoration. Baker (1828-1916) served as tribal chairwoman and president of the Mohegan Church Ladies Sewing Society. Their protégée Gladys Tantaquidgeon attended the University of Pennsylvania from 1919 to 1926 and then worked for the Federal Indian Service and Arts and Crafts Board in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1931 she cofounded the Tantaquidgeon Indian Museum, the oldest Indian-owned and -operated museum in America, along with her brother, Harold, and father, John. In the 1970s and early 1980s Tantaquidgeon served as vice-chair of the Tribal Council. She received the title of medicine woman in 1992.

In 1978 the Mohegan Tribe applied for federal recognition from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. To facilitate that application, a constitutional governmental system was created in 1980. The title of chief and other traditional tribal positions were maintained. After recognition in 1994, under Chief and Chairman G'tinemong/Ralph Sturges, the Mohegans began to restore their original reservation lands in Uncasville, Connecticut, to federal trust status. The Mohegan Tribe opened the Mohegan Sun Casino there in 1996, and in 1998 Shantok, the village of Uncas, was repurchased by the tribe and placed in trust. Restoration of the Mohegan Church was completed in 2001.

Settlements

Shantok was the main seventeenth-century Mohegan village, situated in the present-day hamlet of Uncasville, Connecticut, in what is now the town of Montville in the county of New London, in the eastern portion of the town along the west bank of the Thames. About half a mile from the river was the home of Uncas, standing on a commanding site that is now called "Uncas Hill," which lies about three-fourths of a mile southeast of the present Mohegan Chapel. From this hill, the mouth of the Thames River can be seen and nearly the whole length of the river, to the head of the tidal water, where the Shetucket and Yantic rivers commingle.

In the eighteenth century the tribe split into two villages: Ben's Town and John's Town. Ben's Town contained followers of Ben Uncas III, a Mohegan Sachem installed by the colony of Connecticut against the wishes of the tribal majority. The latter, more populous group consisted of the supporters of John Uncas.

By 1790 the Mohegan Tribe was left with only 2,700 acres (1,093 hectares) of land, much of which was unsuitable for agriculture. More divisions of land would take place until the final division, the consequence of an 1861 act passed in the Connecticut General Assembly that resulted in the remainder of tribal lands being allotted to the members. The commissioners considered this too much land for the Indians to own, and so it was put up for public auction in 1871. The only exception was the land occupied by the Mohegan Church and its parish house, which would continue to be tribal land.

A Mohegan community continues to live in the hamlet of Uncasville, near the Mohegan reservation. The original reservation was disbanded in 1872, and the contemporary tribal lands were returned to federal trust status beginning in 1995, after Mohegan federal recognition in 1994.

Economy

Subsistence. In common with the other coastline tribes of southern New England, Mohegans followed a seasonal pattern for subsistence. The Mohegan Tribe was situated in villages on the banks of the Thames River throughout the

growing season, which lasted from May to the end of September. Mohegans cultivated extensive fields of corn, squash, and beans and took advantage of the abundant supply of shellfish, processing enormous quantities of food through drying and smoking to keep through the winter months. The spring migration of menhaden, alewives, and herring yielded not only protein but fertilizer for the corn fields.

This was also a season for berry, grape, and herb gathering. In late autumn the Mohegans would move away from the dank and bitter cold of the river sites to its traditional hunting territories inland, splitting into smaller groups so that no area would be overexploited. This was a time for harvesting acorns and butternuts and for building snares and traps for small game. Deer, turkey, and other mammals and fowl were supplemented by the supplies stored during the summer.

After colonial settlement diminished Mohegan lands, many tribal members were forced to work for wages. Much of the remaining Mohegan land was rented to whites for farming and use as woodlots. Overseers were appointed by the colony to keep accurate records of those transactions. Some of the funds were doled out to the tribe in times of need, but much of the money went for administrative costs. A few Mohegans turned to European-style agriculture, and some engaged in sheep husbandry.

Commericai Activities. The Mohegan Tribe opened its Casino of the Earth, Mohegan Sun, in 1996. By fall 2001 the facilities included the world's largest planetarium, a ten thousand-seat arena, a convention center, and a grand ballroom. This commercial venture has funded tribal social services, education, and other economic endeavors, including an aquaculture project. The lure of well-paying jobs and an opportunity to participate in tribal life continue to draw tribal members back to the home of their ancestors.

Industrial Arts. Weapons and tools initially were fashioned from stone, shell, bone, horn, or wood. Later, many European goods were adapted to fit native needs. Brass from kettles was turned into projectile points, scrapers, awls, combs, and decorative articles. The Mohegans became skilled in the use and repair of firearms. Line and rope were made from vegetable fibers and used for making fish seines as well as twined baskets and textiles. The early use of soapstone for receptacles was replaced by a shell-grit pottery technology that continued beyond the contact era. Mats and baskets were made from the rushes, irises, grasses, and shrubs. Clothing was fashioned from fur and leather as well as from twined materials, often insulated with feathers. Supple saplings were used to frame wigwams and longhouses, which were covered with bark or woven mats, depending on the season. During the colonial period Mohegans were known for basketry and for fashioning brooms and wooden utensils.

Trade. An important commodity for trade with inland tribes was *wampumpeag,* beads made from the shells of the white and purple quahog. During the summer the shells were collected as a by-product of preserving shellfish meat for later consumption. The winter months were spent grinding, drilling, and stringing the beads, which were valued as a medium for trade, barter, tribute, and ransom. From a survey of precontact archaeological sites, it appears that materials were traded from as far away as Vermont, Ohio, the Great Lakes, and Pennsylvania. After the arrival of Europeans, Mohegans quickly established trade for Dutch and English manufactured goods, acting at times as middlemen for inland tribes.

Division of Labor. Adult males banded together to perform community tasks such as clearing new corn fields through planned fires and turning the soil with bone and wood tools, cutting wood for the palisades that kept animals and marauders out of the village at night, and fashioning dugouts from trees that were felled with stone axes. These were labor-intensive activities best handled in a group. Iron and steel tools were supplied through the fur trade with Dutch, English, and French ships. Men hunted in the colder months, often forming groups to drive deer. Women were expected to tend the corn fields through the growing season with the help of children. Women also augmented the food supply by gathering roots and berries. Both men and women gathered and processed fish and shellfish.

As colonial settlement increased and game diminished, the Mohegans were forced to lease a portion of their lands and sell wood, handicrafts, and their labor. Wages were earned through service in the military and aboard privateers in times of war and through work aboard whaling ships and other commercial craft. Agriculture became a more important occupation. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many Mohegans moved away from their homeland to obtain a higher education and search for better-paying jobs.

Land Tenure. Mohegan lands were held by the community and were worked in common. The system of agriculture and living patterns required that no single site be occupied throughout the year. Through incursion and fraud those lands were reduced to 4,000 to 5,000 acres (1,619 to 2,024 hectares) by 1721. The colonial government reserved the right to deal only through the Sachem in acquiring lands, but this practice was not always followed. Divisions of tribal land enacted by the General Assembly of Connecticut took place in 1783, 1790, 1860, and 1872. Land considered to be excess was put up for auction by the state, to be acquired by the Mohegans' neighbors. The only plot of land that has remained tribally owned was the one occupied by the Mohegan Church.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent is traced both patrilineally and matrilineally. Women traditionally could occupy high-status positions, and it can be seen from early land transactions that they had an ownership interest in the land. Before European settlement Uncas had married a sister of Sassacus, which gave him an equal claim to the Sachemship of the Pequot. Dictated in 1679, the oldest recorded history of kinship traces four generations of unions of Sachems and close relations of Sachems from a variety of southern New England and Long Island, New York, tribes and shows a network of relatives occupying high-status positions.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Mohegans married people from their own tribe as well as those from other tribes. This practice seemed to extend to all social levels and continued after the settlers arrived. The genealogy of Uncas lists Pequots, Narragansetts, and Mohegans among his antecedents. Uncas had wives from

neighboring tribes as well. Some of the followers of Uncas who went with him to stay among the Narragansetts during his exile from the Pequots remained there with their Narragansett wives. During the colonial period those practices continued, with exogamy rising during times when the Mohegan population was low. Polygamy was practiced by the Sachems until Christianity made inroads on tribal customs. This also may have been the practice of the Sachem's councilors, but that is uncertain. Serial monogamy existed, with either party able to cast off a disagreeable spouse.

Domestic Unit. Mohegans formerly lived in wigwams within villages. Villages were mobile; a move often followed the exhaustion of land for agriculture or a change in the game population. The married couple, its children, and some of the couple's blood relations could occupy a wigwam. A Mohegan family might raise children who were not closely related. Even during times of hardship food was shared. This changed during the eighteenth century, when scarce resources tended to be kept within the family unit. Mohegans, however, continued to adopt orphans and give childless widows room at their hearths. Even at the beginning of the twenty-first century it was not unusual for three generations of a family to live under the same roof.

Inheritance. The first recorded Mohegan will dates from 1676. It was written by colonists for Joshua, the oldest son of Uncas, and clearly enumerates possessions and the estate and provides for trustees and the final disposition of the decedent's remains. The will has a clear European orientation as it makes provisions for Joshua's two sons to be educated in the English manner. His two wives had some land granted to them that was part of their families' tribal land. Joshua also left a large amount of acreage to prominent men in the colony, grants in which the parcel boundaries overlapped, a bequest that would keep the Connecticut courts busy for fifty years. Joshua predeceased his father, and Uncas claimed that the will ignored the traditional division of property, which would have included his father as an heir. Early documents reveal that in other southern New England tribes the daughters and sisters of high-status males also inherited positions of power as well as property on the demise of their ranking relative, and this might have been the case with Mohegans too, as the ruling families were interrelated.

Socialization. A traditional childhood offered the freedom to learn the skills needed to become an adult. Fishing, hunting, and competing in sports and games of endurance furnished boys with strength and skill. Girls helped their mothers and learned to perform tasks and crafts that made tribal life run smoothly. Discipline was mainly in the form of verbal disapproval. Indians were shocked by the corporal punishment that the colonists used to correct children, believing that such mistreatment of a child damaged the future adult. When schools were established, both boys and girls were enrolled. Colonists were encouraged to take Mohegan children into their families as servants and teach them to read so that they would be receptive to the Bible and Christianity. The girls often were relegated to a submissive state under the patriarchal structure of the "Christian" family, and both sexes were discouraged from "prideful" ways. After 1700 it was common for a young Indian to have an English name, retaining the Indian name of the father as a surname. Some who were bound out or apprenticed for two, three, or more years acquired the family name of those with whom they lived.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditionally, Mohegan leadership and land ownership were matriarchal. However, even at the time of Sachem Uncas (early to middle seventeenth century) there were disputes over the line of succession.

Tribal leaders typically were chosen by the older Mohegan women, a practice that has continued into the modern era. In 1970 the elder women *(nanus)* chose Courtland Fowler as the tribal chief, and in 1991 the tribal medicine woman Gladys Tantaquidgeon recommended Ralph Sturges as chief. Both men were elected by a majority of the Mohegan Tribe.

Oral tradition states that until the early twentieth century the Mohegans retained remnants of a chief s class, a warrior class, and a lower class made up of those from other tribes.

Political Organization. From ancient times until 1769 the Sachemdom was the main form of political leadership. Hereditary leaders from specific ruling families were chosen as Sachems and Sagamores. A tribal council made political decisions.

Social Control. After the Sachemdom was transformed into an honorary chieftainship in 1769, chiefs continued to resolve many disputes. However, the nanus handled some judicial matters. Today an elected Council of Elders serves as the supreme tribal judicial body.

Conflict. Precontact warfare was limited to skirmishing between various tribes, but Europeans introduced larger-scale conflict. To maintain the tribe's autonomy from the Pequots, Sachem Uncas made an alliance with the English in 1636. The European presence divided the native community, and by the 1640s the Mohegan were fighting with the neighboring Narragansett Tribe. Uncas never engaged in armed conflict against the colonists, and the Mohegans were never a conquered people. Intertribal alliances and organizations contributed to conflict resolution over time.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Mohegans believe in Gunche Mundo (the Great Spirit), along with lesser spirit beings such as the Weyut Mundo (the Fire Spirit) and Cheepai Wunxis (Foxfire).

Spiritual culture heroes include Moshup the Giant and his wife, Granny Squannit, leader of the *Makiawisug* (Little People). Sacred sites include Moshup's Rock, Shantok, and the Royal Mohegan (Sachem's family) burial ground in Norwich, Connecticut.

Hobbomockko ("he is bad") is considered preeminent among bad spirits, and Chahnameed is a trickster figure in Mohegan stories.

The Mohegans believe that the earth was created atop a giant turtle referred to as Grandfather. Each of the thirteen lunar months in a year is echoed in the thirteen sections of the turtle's back.

Religious Practitioners. *Pauwau* is the ancient term for a Mohegan medicine person. In modern times these spiritual

leaders generally have been women. This post was held from the American Revolutionary period until 1859 by Martha Uncas, and until 1917 by Emma Baker. Doctor Gladys Tantaquidgeon, the Mohegan medicine woman at the beginning of the twenty-first century, was trained by Baker, who was her great-aunt.

Ceremonies. The Mohegans have held a Green Corn Festival since ancient times. The celebration was conducted under a brush arbor in front of the Mohegan Church from 1860 to 1956. This three-day early September event was known as the "Wigwam." During the 1960s and 1970s the event was transformed into a late August Homecoming held at Shantok, a sacred site in Uncasville, Connecticut. By the 1980s the annual gathering had become a powwow, and in 1992 the two events were combined and the modern Wigwam Powwow was born.

Arts. The aesthically pleasing medallions, floral designs, and border embellishments painted on baskets, beaded onto clothing, and twined into *yokeag* bags were symbols that had intrinsic meaning to their makers and other tribal members. Painted splint baskets are highly prized by collectors. Made of hand-pounded ash and oak splint until the 1940s, those baskets feature symbolic motifs reflecting the tribe's view of the cosmos. Common patterns include the trail of life (a curvilinear path) accented with dots that represent people, four semicircular domes depicting the "dome of the sky," and a central circle signifying the spiritual force of the universe.

Other unique art forms include dolls made from turkey wishbones. Household items that otherwise would have been thrown away were transformed into toys to remind children that nothing should be wasted.

Medicine. Notable herbal healers include the Reverend Samson Occum (1723-1792), who circulated a medicinal notebook among the local Indian and non-Indian community in the mid-eighteenth century, and Medicine Woman Gladys Tantaquidgeon (born 1899), author of the monograph *Folk Medicine of the Delaware and Related Algonkian Indians.* Common remedies include bone setting for colds, mint for fevers, "weecup" (basswood bark) for coughs, and sassafras tea for a tonic.

Until the nineteenth century healers used carved wooden masks to chase bad spirits away from those suffering from illnesses and turtle shell cups to administer water and tea. After that time non-Indian doctors were commonly consulted, but herbal cures remained common.

Death and Afterlife. Traditional postcontact burials often featured fieldstones that face the southwest, whereas Christianized tribal members often chose east-west burial. Many Mohegan burial sites are situated along rivers. The Royal Mohegan Burial Ground in Norwich, Connecticut, is set on a rise above the Yantuck River. The other major burial ground, at Shantok, lies on the west bank of the Thames River. The latter site continues to be used for the internment of contemporary tribal people.

Colonial and Revolutionary era burials included more gender-specific goods, such as spoons, mortars and pestles, ocher, pottery, wampum, and hunting implements, along with food and clothing. However, modern burials more commonly include red cedar sprigs, arrowheads, tobacco, sweetgrass, or corn.

For the original article on the Mohegan, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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FAITH DAMON DAVISON AND MELISSA FAWCETT TANTAQUIDGEON

Ndyuka

ETHNONYMS: Ndyuka, Ndyuka Nengee, Ndjuka, Djuka, Okanisi, Aucaners

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Ndyuka live in the northern extension of the Amazon rain forest in the Marowijne (Maroni) river basin, which is shared by the Republic of Suriname and French Guiana in South America. The heartland of Ndyuka territory is considered to be the lower part of the Tapanahoni River, a tributary of the Marowijne. This area is now part of Suriname, formerly Dutch Guiana and independent since 1975. The Ndyuka are one of six Maroon ("Bush Negro") groups in Suriname. Maroons are the descendants of rebel African slaves who built independent communities in the Americas. For cultural and linguistic reasons Suriname's Maroons can be divided into two groups. The western Maroons include the Saramaka, Matawai, and Kwinti, who are settled along successively more western rivers in central Suriname; the eastern Maroons include the Ndyuka, Paamaka, and Aluku, all of which have settlements in the Marowijne basin.

Demography. There are no reliable census data for the Ndyuka. During Suriname's civil war (1986-1992) eight thousand Ndyuka fled to French Guiana. In that period, according to relief organizations, another ten thousand Ndyuka still resided in villages in Suriname's interior. Before the civil war thousands of Ndyuka settled in Suriname's capital, Paramaribo; others were forced to take up residence there in 1986, at the beginning of the armed struggle. Since many neighborhoods in Paramaribo are now populated by Ndyuka, it is safe to estimate the numbers of those living in that city at ten thousand. Finally, a few thousand Ndyuka live in the Netherlands, concentrated mainly in Amsterdam, Tilburg, and Utrecht. On the basis of such data and impressions, the total number of Ndyuka can be estimated to be between thirty thousand and thirty-five thousand.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ndyuka speak a variant of a Creole language called *Nengee* or *Ndyuka Tongo* (Language of the Ndyuka) by the eastern Maroons. Nengee or Ndyuka Tongo is closely related to *Sranan Tongo,* the Creole of the coast. Much of the Nengee or Ndyuka Tongo lexicon derives from various West and Central African languages. As much as 30 percent of the Ndyuka lexicon can be traced to English (the language of the original colonists in Suriname), 10 percent to Portuguese (the language of many Surinamese plantation owners), and another 10 percent to Amerindian languages and Dutch. The grammar resembles that of the other, lexically distinct Atlantic Creoles and presumably derives from African models.

History *and Cultural Relations*

The ancestors of the Ndyuka escaped from plantations on the Surinamese coast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After a protracted guerrilla war they concluded a peace treaty with the Dutch colonial regime in 1760. They were the first Maroon group in Suriname to be granted semi-independence, more than a century before the abolition of slavery (1863) in Suriname. Like the other Maroons, the Ndyuka had considerable autonomy in their remote forest villages, which outside observers called states-within-a-state. During the last decades of the eighteenth century the Aluku fought the longest and most bitter of the Maroon wars against Dutch mercenary troops and were defeated in 1793 by an alliance of Dutch troops and Ndyuka volunteers. The Paamaka, who were hiding in forest villages near the central part of the Marowijne River, established relations with the Ndyuka early in the nineteenth century. For the first half of that century Aluku and Paamaka were in essence Ndyuka vassals.

Involvement with the larger economic world has greatly influenced cultural and social life at different phases of Ndyuka economic development. After 1793 most Ndyuka men worked as independent lumberers, felling trees, squaring logs, and floating them in rafts to buyers on the plantations or in Paramaribo. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, hundreds of Ndyuka left their villages in the interior to build settlements on the coastal plain, below the rapids and falls of the Marowijne River and closer to their customers. As lumbering became more important, Ndyuka settlements on the coast became more permanent and obtained village status with the planting of a village mortuary and ancestor poles.

During the late 1880s new economic opportunities arose when rich deposits of gold were discovered in the hinterland. Ndyuka men abandoned the lumber trade to become boatmen who transported gold miners up and down the rivers. They paddled and punted dugout canoes loaded with miners and their equipment to remote places in the interior of Suriname and, more commonly, French Guiana. Ndyuka and Saramaka boatmen gained a monopoly over river transport in both countries. This period of prosperity was brought to an end after 1920 with the sudden decline of the gold industry.

During the 1950s various agencies of the Suriname government began to employ hundreds of Ndyuka, many of whom settled in Paramaribo. During the 1960s and 1970s the pace of migration to the capital increased. This process was spurred by the departure of tens of thousands of Creoles and Hindustanis to the Netherlands in the years before and immediately after independence (1975). Since 1970 about one-third of Suriname's population, more than two hundred thousand people, has settled in the Netherlands. Many Ndyuka bought real estate and other forms of property (taxis, buses, vans) at bargain prices.

After a small group of young Ndyuka men ambushed a military post in 1986, the military government reacted with collective reprisals against Ndyuka communities in the coastal region. The massacre by the army of the inhabitants of Moi Wana, a small settlement on the coastal road, prompted the flight of thousands of Maroons to French Guiana. Others found shelter with relatives in the capital. A full-scale rebellion of Ndyuka, Saramaka, and Paamaka against the army ensued. Although armed resistance ended in 1992, tensions still flare up when international commercial interests threaten to encroach on Maroon lands in the interior.

Settlements

Two ancestor shrines are central to Ndyuka ritual life: the mortuary *(kee osu)* and the ancestor pole, or "flagpole" *(faakatiki).* Without these two shrines no settlement can claim village status. A village *(kondee)* is therefore clearly distinguished from a settlement *(kampu)* regardless of the number of its inhabitants. Some Ndyuka settlements on the Marowijne and Lawa rivers may have as many as five hun-

dred or a thousand inhabitants, whereas some villages have fewer than a hundred.

Villages and settlements are built on islands in the river or on its banks and consist of an irregular arrangement of small houses, domesticated trees, shrines, and bushes. Villages appear to be abandoned for a good part of the year, when most men leave for work elsewhere and their families withdraw for extended periods to their forest camps. Most Ndyuka own such camps, which range from makeshift shelters on or near their gardens to full-fledged settlements for groups of kinsmen and their spouses. When asked why they often spend more time in their forest camps than in the village, Ndyuka contrast the freedom in their camps with the suffocating village life, in which people are believed to be constantly watching their neighbors.

Economy

Subsistence. The Ndyuka economy has always been based on swidden agriculture, supplemented by hunting and fishing and participation in the colonial and postcolonial economy. The major garden crop is dry (hillside) rice. Other crops include cassava, taro, okra, maize, plantains, bananas, sugarcane, and peanuts. Domesticated trees include coconut, orange, breadfruit, papaya, and calabash. Garden produce, game, and fish are shared among a small group of kinsmen. There are no markets.

Industrial Arts. When opportunities for employment decrease, the Ndyuka produce the bulk of their material products. Men build houses and canoes and carve wooden objects such as stools, paddles, winnowing trays, cooking utensils, and combs. Women sew, embroider, and carve calabash bowls. Essential goods obtained from the outside include shotguns, tools, pots, cloth, hammocks, salt, soap, kerosene, and rum. Increasingly, with economic expansion, articles bought in local shops or in the city are replacing locally made wooden utensils. Gas stoves and electrical appliances have become much more common in the last twenty years. Women buy dresses and many household articles. Outboard motors have long been common; transistor radios and tape recorders are ubiquitous.

Trade. Around 1954, when Suriname gained a semi-independent status, the authorities in Paramaribo began to invest in the exploration and exploitation of the interior. Many Ndyuka, as well as many other Maroons, became employed as boatmen or workers for government agencies. During the 1950s and 1960s hundreds of Ndyuka families settled in the capital to be closer to their employers. Since about 1985 the newly exploited gold fields of the Sella Creek, a tributary of the Tapanahoni, have formed a mainstay of the Ndyuka economy. At the beginning of the twenty-first century access to these deposits remains controlled by the Ndyuka, who often employ Brazilian workers. Horticultural production is in a steady decline, and Ndyuka gold miners buy food from shopkeepers or from other Maroons.

Division of Labor. The task of clearing and burning the fields is done by men, whereas planting, weeding, and harvesting are mainly women's work. Hunting with shotguns is an exclusively male activity, as is wage labor outside the tribal territory. After the outbreak of hostilities in 1986, when men had to hide from public view, women from the Cottica River area began catering to the rising demand for agricultural and other products in French Guiana, where the missile base at Kourou stimulated an economic upturn. Increasingly, Ndyuka women trade in urban goods, traveling by boat to the interior, where a new generation of gold miners is active. Men often charter airplanes, and women make use of modern equipment such as cooler chests and insulated bags to trade in frozen foods, roasted meat, and salted fish.

Land Tenure. Each matrilineal clan holds title to a section of the forest. Actual land use and ownership are, however, determined by smaller matrilineal groups, lineages, and segments of such groups. Every clan member has the right to hunt and gather in the part of the forest owned by his or her clan. Many Ndyuka assume that they hold corporate ownership rights over their tribal territory, believing that it was guaranteed by eighteenth-century peace treaties. However, the national government acknowledges and acts only on a presumption of individual property rights.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The dominant principle of Ndyuka social organization is matrilineality. All Ndyuka know to which of the fourteen matrilineal clans (ío) they belong. With few exceptions, Ndyuka villages are "owned" by a clan. Clans are divided into matrilineages *(bee)*. Each lineage can be subdivided into matrisegments *(wan mama pikin* or *mama osu pikin)*. As is common in matrilineal societies, other principles structure kin relations as well. Bilateral consanguineal kin groups *(famii)* play a fairly important role in Ndyuka culture. Additionally, the priests of Afro-Surinamese cults or other important elders sometimes are successful in encouraging consanguineal and affinal kin to take up residence in their village quarter. Such a following *(foloku)* gradually may assume a corporate identity—"the People of So-and-So." Generations after the founder has died some of these followings continue to be recognized as corporate groups.

Kinship Terminology. In contrast with Ndyuka matrilineal ideology, Ndyuka kinship terminology is remarkable for its symmetry. In what appears to be a standard Hawaiian type of nomenclature, kinsmen on the father's side have the same terms of reference as those on the mother's side. In the ascending generation, for example, kinship terminology does not discriminate between father's brother and mother's brother or between a classificatory father's brother and a classificatory mother's brother. All these relatives are called ti*u*. The same holds true for a father's sister and a mother's sister, who, along with all their classificatory equivalents, are called *tia*. Like Hawaiian, Ndyuka terminology always indicates the sex and generation of each relationship. But unlike Hawaiian and more like Eskimo terminology, fathers are distinguished from their brothers, and mothers from their sisters.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Older people remember that the matrilineage once was exogamous, but for at least the last fifty years marriages within the same lineage have been accepted as long as they do not involve members of the same matrisegment. Mar-

riage to an actual father's sister's daughter is not permitted. The Ndyuka regard this as a form of incest; it is "too close." A preferred alliance is marriage to a classificatory father's sister's daughter. People call such a marriage "replanting the seedling." As the Nyduka see it, by taking a wife from his father's matrilineage, a man continues to contribute to that lineage.

In Ndyuka society almost one-third of marriages are polygynous. Rules forbidding a man to marry his wife's (classificatory) sisters are strongly sanctioned. To marry two sisters is unthinkable; to have sexual intercourse with one's wife's sister is sinful and will arouse the wrath of the ancestors. Divorce is relatively easy and common; almost 40 percent of all marriages in a 1962 census of three Tapanahoni villages had ended in divorce by 1970.

Marriage is a contract between individuals and kin groups and involves continuous bargaining. A man has to supply his wives with a house, a garden plot, a canoe and a paddle, a hammock and mosquito net, and various household utensils. A newly married couple is likely to settle in the wife's village or opt for an ambilocal solution by residing alternately in the man's and woman's villages. Later in life many couples decide to settle in the man's village, especially if he has attained the status of village headman. In some larger villages that are home to the political and religious elite, 25 percent of married couples have opted for virilocal residence. If one disregards marriages within the village, about 30 percent choose Uxorilocal residence, while ambilocality is preferred by 28 percent.

Domestic Unit. The overwhelming majority of men and women have houses in more than one village. House ownership is an individual matter. Upon marriage a man will build a house for his wife in her village and cut her garden plot whether he intends to settle there or not. He also will maintain a house in his lineage's village. It is not unusual for a man to own a third house in his father's village. In view of the fact that nearly one out of every three men has more than one wife, the number of houses and garden plots that must be kept in a good state may rise above three. People, especially men, have to travel a lot. In the Tapanahoni River area, if one excludes the 15 percent of all marriages that are autolocal, in which partners pay only brief visits to each other, about a third of all adults live polylocally, with more than one place of residence. For a man this implies that he cannot identify too closely with one domestic unit since this would mean a loss of maneuverability in other groups. It is imperative to spread his interests over a number of villages, depending on how many wives he has.

Inheritance. When a village headman dies, only a male matrilineal relative can succeed him. The position of the headman's assistant, the *basia,* however, is open to sons as well. The inheritance of goods is not restricted to matrilineal relatives; the goods are divided among relatives. The ideal is that "everyone" should share in the inheritance: the deceased's matrilineal kin, his or her children, and other villagers. In reality the inheritance is shared by the famii, the small group of localized consanguineous kin. However, when divination shows that the deceased is a witch, his or her possessions are confiscated by the Great Father and his priests.

Socialization. After spending its first several years with its mother, a child is raised by an individual man or woman (not a couple) designated by the famii: girls normally by women, boys by men. Even when a child is raised by a matrilineal relative, father-child relations are warm and strong. Children assume responsibility for sex-typed adult tasks as soon as they are physically able to perform them. Girls are married by age fifteen, and boys not until their twenties. Until the 1960s only one elementary school existed in the Tapanahoni region because of Ndyuka opposition to Protestant and Catholic missionaries. The demands of city life and the opening of government schools have made this opposition disappear. Schools were closed during the civil war of the late 1980s.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Ndyuka, like the other Maroon groups, maintain considerable political autonomy within the Republic of Suriname. Ndyuka society is strongly egalitarian, and no social or occupational classes are distinguished. Elders are accorded special respect. Burial societies and spirit medium cults provide cross-cutting ties between greatly autonomous matrilineages and followings. Two associations are responsible for mortuary rites: gravediggers *(oloman)* and coffin makers *(kisiman).* All adult men are members of one of these sodalities. Some women join the gravediggers association but play narrowly circumscribed roles. The headmen of the gravediggers *(basi fu olo)* occupy strategic positions in the important corpse divination ritual.

Within the domestic unit and the local community status differences are apparent. The Ndyuka distinguish three classes of coresidents: those matrilineally related, the *goon pikin* or *pandasi;* inhabitants for whom it is a father's village *(dada meke en pikin)*; and affines *(konlibi).* These positions enjoin a specific behavioral code. A woman who decides to settle among her man's lineage mates tries to ingratiate herself with the women of his lineage; grateful for her labor, the host village will treat her with respect. A man staying with his wife also is treated as a respected guest as long as he does not take sides in local disputes and behaves modestly in public. The highest possible praise for such an affine is, "He is living the right way; he tries to make himself small."

Political Organization. The Ndyuka have a hierarchy of political functionaries appointed at council meetings and confirmed by the administration of Suriname. Confirmation by the government implies official recognition and the payment of a salary. The hierarchy is headed by a Paramount Chief *(gaanman).* Villages usually have two or three headmen *(kabiten).* The office of village headman is the property of a matrilineage. Two basia assist each headman. Regularly, a host of issues is submitted to arbitration in council meetings *(kuutu)* that vary in size from a few elders of the small family group to congregations of all the senior men of village or tribe, collectively referred to as la*nti* ("the citizenry"). Considerable power is wielded by priest groups of the main deities. Illness and misfortune bring clients to their shrines and serve as occasions for thrashing out controversies.

Social Control. Many important decisions affecting village life are made by a collective of male elders, usually after consultation with senior women. As many elders use these palavers to display their oratorical gifts, such council meetings

(kuutu) may last for hours before decisions are reached. Other conflicts and disagreements that are felt to be relevant only to a small group of kinsmen are discussed by a few men and women in the seclusion of a house, usually early in the morning. Gossip plays a role in controlling behavior.

Conflict. Before the 1990s physical aggression was strongly condemned and constituted a reason to convene a village council. The party resorting to violence would be fined regardless of the facts of the case. The only exception to this rule was adultery. A cuckolded husband, assisted by a few brothers, was allowed to give the adulterer a beating. Afterward the elders would assemble to discuss whether the wronged party had observed the rules that pertain to such cases: No sticks or other weapons were permitted, and no fights on the river or in the fields. All citizens were obliged to intervene and put an immediate end to the punishment. Other fights were few in number and were mainly between women. When men were involved, adultery was almost invariably the cause. During the civil war (1986-1992) units of the Jungle Commando, the rebel army, used similar tactics, intervening in conflicts that threatened to become violent. After 1985 the expansion of gold fields in the central Tapanahoni area brought an influx of Brazilian miners. Physical aggression between Ndyukas and these foreigners, but also among the Ndyuka, became much more common. The erosion of the authority of the traditional council meeting and of village headmen and the Paramount Chief, a process that began before the civil war, has proceeded rapidly. This development contributed to higher levels of physical aggression in the 1990s.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Ndyuka insist that human knowledge is severely limited, and other paths to the unknown are therefore highly valued. Much of what is "unknown" is the domain of the gods. Ndyuka recognize numerous gods *(gadu)* who are believed to be powerful and immortal beings, though few are considered omniscient or omnipresent. The Ndyuka pantheon has a three-tiered structure. At the top of the supernatural hierarchy is Masaa Gadu (the Lord God), the source of creation. Immediately after Masaa Gadu, but definitely at another level of spiritual power, are the Great Deities: Gaan Gadu (Great Deity) or Gaan Tata (Great Father), Ogii (Danger), and Gedeonsu. These divine beings intervene directly in human affairs, take sides in conflicts, and punish humans for their sins. Unlike Masaa Gadu, who protects all humankind equally, the Great Deities are tribal or national gods. It is said of Gaan Tata that he was so indignant about the injustice done to the Ndyuka that he led them out of slavery, fighting alongside his people like Yahweh among the Jews. Even today Gaan Tata is seen primarily as a staunch defender of the Ndyuka people against their enemies, the most outstanding of whom are witches *{wisiman)*. The deity is also pictured as a defender of traditional Ndyuka culture, upholding menstrual taboos and persecuting thieves, adulterers, and homosexuals. Ogii is the king of the forest spirits, a critical agency that is ambivalent toward gods and humans and, unless appeased, is an enormously destructive force. Gedeonsu is considered a shielding, comforting deity. In their prayers to him the Ndyuka say, "When we are hungry, we know where to run to. You will always be there to take care of us, to offer us solace/' During the civil war a delegation of guerrillas asked and obtained the support of Gedeonsu and important medicine men *(obiaman)* associated with that deity.

Most gods of the third tier, the minor deities, are potentially invading spirits. Until about 1970 the Ndyuka recognized four main pantheons: the *yooka* (ancestors), *papa gadu* or *vodu* (Reptile Spirits), *ampuku* (Bush Spirits), and *kumanti* (spirits residing in celestial phenomena such as thunder and lightning, carrion birds, and other animals of prey). These minor deities constitute a spiritual realm full of variety and color. They are depicted as human beings endowed with specific supernatural powers. They control particular domains and have distinctive interests, predilections, and frailties. Also like human beings, many deities mate, procreate, and produce hybrid types. They exhibit great differences in supernatural power, and their relations with humanity vary from benevolence to hostility. Except for the kumanti spirits, all can turn into avenging spirits *(kunu)* when offended.

Among the invading spirits, *bakuu* (demon spirits), which are classified as subsidiary to the forest spirits, are the most numerous. Their provenance can be traced to Paramaribo or to the coastal towns of French Guiana. In the first stages of bakuu possession the human carrier can expect help from the demon, but gradually the demon will corrupt its human vessel and become a threat to the lives of the medium's relatives. Missionary efforts have been made by Protestants, mainly the Community of Evangelical Brethren (Moravians), and the Roman Catholic Church, but the results have not been impressive. Recently, some Nyduka have responded to nonconformist or Pentecostal initiatives.

Religious Practitioners. There is no formal cult for Masaa Gadu. Worship of the Great Deities (Gaan Tata, Ogii, and Gedeonsu), however, has an organized framework. Shrines are dedicated to these powers, and priests officiate there. These institutions have a marked impact on social and political life. All the major problems facing the Ndyuka are discussed at the oracles of these deities. When a new medium seeks legitimization, his or her first trip is to one of these oracles. The importance of these Afro-American cults for the social and cultural life of the Ndyuka cannot be exaggerated. The oracular priests are specialists. The cults of the minor deities are led by medicine men. Every generation a prophet emerges who pronounces on the unsatisfactory state of social routines, governance, and public morals in Ndyuka society. Some of these prophets have had a great impact on religious institutions and daily life in general.

Ceremonies. Nearly all spirits first manifest themselves on New Year's Day *(yali)*. The return of hundreds *of* migrants from Paramaribo and from the Netherlands creates a climate favorable for decision making. The antiwitchcraft ritual characteristic of the Gaan Tata cult takes place regularly but has no fixed dates. Ceremonies to further the well-being of all Ndyuka are held every two or three years by Gedeonsu's priests. The minor deities sometimes are summoned to add luster to the worship of the major powers but mostly have their own specific rituals directed by leading mediums. Men and women who are mediums *of* snake, forest, or sky spirits form rudimentary organizations. For particular occasions

(New Year's Day) or the death of a fellow medium they assemble to perform their dances under the direction of renowned medicine men (basi) who are especially knowledgeable about the spirits being honored.

Arts. All Ndyuka men practice woodcarving. House fronts, stools, paddles, and winnowing trays used to be elaborately decorated, in some cases with *doo-doo tembe* (through-and-through) designs, and often were embellished with copper nails and small buttons. Houses and utensils made in the first half of the twentieth century show that this period was marked by an explosion in artistic mastery. Gainful employment, however, has been detrimental to Ndyuka art: Decorations have become less labor-intensive and simpler in design. Nevertheless, a new wave of prosperity gave an impetus to the arts: From the 1950s on, house facades, canoe prows and sterns, and paddles were painted in bright colors. The results are often spectacular, especially the intricate, multicolored, and geometrically patterned house fronts. However, when thousands of Ndyuka began to reside permanently in Paramaribo around 1970, few homeowners were interested in having their house fronts decorated in an elaborate way. Ndyuka women carve calabash bowls and spoons. They also sew narrow-strip garments, and in the 1970s they started to do cross-stitch embroidery.

Medicine. Illness is usually but not always considered to be caused by the displeasure of an ancestor or a deity. Through divination, specialists seek to understand which spiritual agency is involved and the reason for its displeasure. Often dissatisfaction with divination induces people to consult other mediums, medicine men, or oracles. If the minor spirits are considered responsible for illness and misfortune, they are placated with food, libations, and specialized drumming and dancing. Patients and their relatives also visit clinics and hospitals to get Western medicine and treatment. Western medicine is rarely seen to be in conflict with Ndyuka medicine.

Death and Afterlife. In the Ndyuka worldview the dead are always present among the living. Nearly every day village elders congregate at the "flagpole," the main ancestor shrine, to speak with the ancestors, pour them a generous libation, and solicit their help in cases of illness and misfortune. These daily prayers are not monopolized by the elders of a matrilineage but are considered the responsibility of every permanent adult male resident in the village. The elders address themselves to the ancestors who once were among the village's permanent residents.

A death in the village initiates a long series of rituals that take a year or longer, to complete. These funerary rites are supervised by the association of gravediggers, a responsibility sometimes shared with the coffin makers, the other burial association. Until the early 1970s the obligatory opening ritual was the inquest, the "carrying of the corpse," an ancient West African tradition. The basic idea is that a ghost, if properly cross-examined by gravediggers and other elders, will have to reveal its secrets and that its newly acquired omniscience may prove of inestimable value to the living. Since the last decade of the twentieth century a number of Ndyuka villages have resumed corpse divination.

During the inquest the interrogators' first priority is to establish whether the deceased was a witch or sinned in other unforgivable ways. If this turns out to be the case, the corpse must be removed from the village at once and brought to an unhallowed site in the forest. There a shallow grave awaits the sinner, and the ultimate humiliation of being left unburied awaits a dead witch. Witches and sinners are *gadu dede* ("killed by God") and are not entitled to a coffin or to elaborate funerary rites, which are reserved for the upright, a category of dead called "Gathered by the Ancestors" *(yooka dede)* and honored by the community with an elaborate burial.

For other cultures in French Guiana and Suriname, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 7, South America.

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Niueans

ETHNONYMS: Niue-fekai, Nuku-tulea, Nuku-tutaha, Motu-tefua, Fakahoa-motu, Savage Island

Orientation

Identification and Location. "Niue" literally translates as "Coconuts Here!" and refers to an ancient renaming by two men returning from Tonga with that previously unknown fruit. Another variant is "Niue-fekai," which often is used in myth and song and is variously claimed to mean "Niue, All

Around the World" and "Niue, the Wild Place." Four earlier names are attributed to Huanaki, a mythical progenitor of the Niue people: "Nuku-tulea" (Island That Grew up by Itself), "Nuku-tutaha" (Island That Stands Alone), "Motutefua" (Isolated Island), and "Fakahoa-motu" (Flowering Island). Another renaming occurred in 1774 when James Cook imposed the epithet "Savage Island" because of fierce resistance by its warriors to the attempts of the Europeans to land there. During the twentieth century the Anglicisms "Niue Island" (the place) and "Niuean" (the people and language) came into widespread use.

Niue's closest neighbors are Vavau (Tonga) 260 miles (420 kilometers) to the west, Tutuila (American Samoa) 370 miles (600 kilometers) to the north, and Aitutaki (Cook Islands) 590 miles (950 kilometers) to the east. Its geographic coordinates are 19°02"S and 169°52"W, and it is allegedly the world's largest uplifted coral atoll. Niue is roughly oval in shape. It has a land area of 100 square miles (260 square kilometers), a coastline of 40 miles (64 kilometers), and a high point 230 feet (70 meters) above sea level. The island's flattish surface is composed of coral rock outcrops interspersed with small pockets of soil and a covering of forest and scrub. Its climate is tropical, with distinct hot/wet and cool/dry seasons (respectively, November-April and May-October), a mean annual temperature of 75.5° F and an average annual rainfall of 80 inches. Fresh water is scarce, drought is a constant threat, and cyclones occur periodically. Trade winds buffet the south and east coasts for much of the year, making access to those parts of coastline particularly difficult.

Demography. In 1857 missionaries reported a population of 4,276 persons, very little sickness, and many three-generation families. Despite new epidemics and diseases, the kidnapping of more than 200 young men by Peru-based slavers in the early 1860s, and the absence overseas of many indentured laborers from the mid 1860s, a high point of 5,126 persons was recorded in 1883. By 1928 that number had fallen to 3,747, but after World War II both the total number of Niueans and emigration increased exponentially, so that by 1974 as many Niueans were in New Zealand as were in Niue. Census figures from 1991 showed 2,239 still on the island (including 200 Europeans, Tongans, Samoans, etc.) and 14,424 claiming Niuean ethnicity living in New Zealand.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language of Niue belongs to the Tongic subgroup of Polynesian languages and appears to have split from Tongan about 1,500 years ago. Some words suggest premodern borrowings from Samoa and the Cook Islands, and the presence of Samoan missionaries in Niue in the late 1800s influenced the modern language. By the 1990s Niuean predominated in domestic and village contexts, with English more common in business, education, and the media.

History and Cultural Relations

Niuean traditions claim that the island was built from a reef by two brothers, Huanaki and Fao, who swam from Tonga and became the ancestors of the inhabitants of opposite halves of the island: Huanaki of the northern moiety, or "Motu," and Fao of the southern people, "Tafiti." Other traditions speak of occasional contact with Tonga, Samoa, Aitutaki, and Pukapuka. They also suggest that about five hundred years ago Tonga succeeded in temporarily imposing a form of paramount chieftanship. However, by the late 1700s power was once more dispersed, warfare was common, and the island became isolated from the outside world. This changed with the establishment of Christianity and external trade in the mid-1800s. Niue was formally annexed by Britain in 1900 and transferred to New Zealand control the next year. During the 1950s and 1960s, major development programs were instituted and emigration to New Zealand was encouraged. The island became a self-governing territory of New Zealand and a member of the South Pacific Forum in 1974.

Settlements

Traditionally, Niueans lived in small huts on family cultivation plots scattered across the upper plateau. After Christianization, fourteen villages were constructed at intervals around the coast, each centered on a church and a green and all linked by a network of tracks leading to the administrative center of Alofi. For the next century people divided their time between weekday economic activities in the bush and weekend religious and social activities in the village. The destruction of many of the island's houses in major cyclones in 1959-1960 and their replacement by New Zealand-donated fibrolite and concrete homes consolidated the role of the village in island life. However, after the opening of an international airport in 1971 and despite improvements in the water and electricity supply, even the new houses began to be abandoned. By the mid-1990s emigration had totally emptied the village of Vaiea, and the long-term viability of several other villages was in doubt.

Economy

Subsistence. With its relatively harsh ecology, Niue has never permitted its inhabitants a physically easy life. Nevertheless, in the 1990s subsistence activities continued to be economically and socially important for most households. The staple food and main crop is taro, which is produced year-round by slash and burn methods. More permanent plants such as coconut, banana, and breadfruit are also valued. While foraging for wild plant foods is much less common than it was in the past, hunting for land crab, fruit bat, and pigeon remains important, as does fishing by canoe and motorboat. Most households also raise pigs and chickens.

Commercial Activities. In the 1850s coconut sennit was produced to finance the printing of the first Niuean Bible. Soon afterward, fungus began to be exported to China, and copra and woven goods to Europe. During the colonial era the emphasis was on handicrafts, copra, banana, and sweet potato for exportation to New Zealand. Since the 1960s small producers have grown for export limes, passionfruit, and taro, while the business sector has focused on food processing, honey, coconut milk, timber, postage stamps, and tourism. Cyclones and unreliable air transport links have often undermined these initiatives. The main source of cash for most households during the late twentieth century was wage employment, especially in the public sector. A market where local produce is sold was established in the 1980s at Alofi.

Industrial Arts. Much traditional manufacturing effectively died out in the late nineteenth century, in particular adzes

and other stone implements, weapons and most wooden utensils, four- and three-man canoes, fishing and hunting nets, woven feather and hair belts, and bark cloth. A half century later they had been joined by two-man canoes and wood and thatch houses. In the 1990s the only major traditional art still flourishing was women's weaving, particularly of mats, baskets, fans, and hats and the construction of one-man outrigger canoes by males.

Trade. No exchange links traditionally existed between Niue and other societies. The only true exchange between moieties, districts, or families occurred in the form of gifts and offerings for services rendered. Similar patterns continued in the 1990s, though often reinforced with cash payments. Prestige goods, especially foods, are still circulated between groups involved in ceremonies and feasting associated with political, religious, social, and life cycle events.

Division of Labor. Hunting and fishing and the making of the implements associated with those activities are quintessential male activities. Female equivalents include fine weaving and the gathering of certain wild foods. Many other tasks, including gardening, are shared, though men tend to do the heavy work, while women focus on cooking, housework, and childcare. Every adult Niuean is expected to be proficient in and contribute to a full range of productive tasks, though expertise in certain skills on the part of some individuals and families is recognized. Children are expected to help, and the wisdom of elders is valued.

Land Tenure. In the mid-1970s only 1 percent of the island was in Crown hands and 4 percent was held in the form of lease in perpetuity. Of the remainder, only 5 percent had been formally surveyed and registered, while 90 percent was listed as under "customary tenure." Much of the coastline, a few areas of forest, and church greens are under village control, but the bulk of the island is divided between specific family groups, or *magafaoa.* Every such piece of land, or *fonua,* has an ancestral "source," most often a male who lived several generations before the oldest living persons now associated with it, and each household controls and utilizes a number of fonua. Inheritance rights are granted to adopted children, and outsiders sometimes are given short-term use rights. Family members living away never totally abandon their rights.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent is determined cognatically. A typical Niuean will belong to the magafaoa of his or her parents, which also implies those of his or her grandparents. The strongest links are usually with the group on whose corporate holdings one actively gardens. During the 1950s the Land Court initiated a process of recording magafaoa genealogies. Very few are more than six generations deep, including living members. Despite the cognaticism, there is a patrilineal bias in the allocation of land rights.

Kinship Terminology. A basically Hawaiian classificatory system prevails, although in practice it often is modified in the ascending and descending generations by the addition of the ordinary word "male" or "female." Within their own generation, a male and a female use different terms for "brother" and "sister," though both may apply the same age indicators for "elder" and "younger" to siblings of their own sex.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In the 1920s around 90 percent of marriages were between people living in the same village; seventy years later intravillage endogamy was still the norm. While marriage to close cousins is discouraged, it sometimes occurs. Marriage often begins as a premarital sexual relationship. With the arrival of a child or before, the union ideally is formalized and the couple is assisted in establishing an independent household. Arranged marriages, particularly between elite families, occur in a small minority of cases; they are likely to be accompanied by a public ceremony and, as appropriate, extollation of the bride's virginity.

Domestic Unit. Early European visitors noted that the typical household, or *kaina,* consisted of a mature couple, their children, and one or more of the couple's elderly parents or unmarried siblings. That pattern persisted to a significant degree through to the late twentieth century. Young children often visit or stay in the kaina of close kin. While officially the husband is head of the household, the wife may be its effective manager and even its public spokesperson.

Inheritance. Just as during their lifetimes family heads are expected to allocate land equitably to all the members who require it, at an elder's death her or his lands should be subdivided judiciously among the children or their descendants. The most common exception would be someone who was particularly caring in the elder's latter years, to whom additional property may be bequeathed. Portable possessions often are buried with the deceased.

Socialization. Babies are pampered and indulged. They tend to be born at two-year intervals and weaned at around one year of age. Often a baby is cared for by his or her grandparents, especially if the mother is unmarried or if it is a first grandchild. Sometimes infants are given to childless relatives or friends for adoption. Daytime care of youngsters frequently is entrusted to young female relatives. From the time they are young, all children are expected to undertake small tasks. Disobedience is not tolerated, and any adult can reprimand a misbehaving child, though only close kin dispense physical punishment.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In 1974 Niue became a self-governing nation in free association with New Zealand, which retains responsibility for external affairs and is constitutionally bound to provide ongoing economic and administrative support. Local magistrates and visiting New Zealand judges administer the law. Universal suffrage prevails, with triennial Legislative Assembly elections for fourteen village and six common roll seats. Three of these members are then selected by the Legislative Assembly to be ministers, and one to be the premier. Several women have been elected to the assembly and appointed as ministers.

There are no hereditary or chiefly titles. Advanced age and male sex are the primary qualifications for leadership at the village level, though all married men and women demand respect in appropriate contexts. In the late twentieth century people still strongly identified with their village of birth—or, if they were born overseas, with that of their parents or grandparents. Religious, sports, and cultural activities often take the form of intervillage competition.

Political Organization. Although elected village councils have existed to administer government services since the 1970s, effective control of social life has continued to lie with local committees of Ekalesia Niue, the island's main church. Meeting each Sunday and attended by any married man who so wishes, this body makes decisions on a wide range of issues. A women's committee deals with matters specific to women and children, and a deacons' committee regulates religious matters. A strong egalitarian ethos pervades all political organizations, though in practice certain individuals or families often dominate the proceedings.

Social Control. Traditionally, a family or community could discipline disruptive members by sending them to sea or even killing them. During the missionary era order was enforced through the use of excommunication and forced labor. In the early twentieth century law courts introduced fines and imprisonment, though families and villages have often chosen informal methods, especially gossip, avoidance, and public condemnation.

Conflict. Since the last episode of intervillage/moiety war in 1852, there has been no major conflict. Warfare was replaced by competitive church activities and a version of cricket that incorporated many traditional warrior rituals. In the early 1900s several murders almost led to wider conflict, but each time village elders restored calm. Niuean men were enthusiastic volunteers for New Zealand army service during both world wars. When a brutal resident commissioner on Niue was murdered in 1952, the New Zealand government sentenced the three youths involved to death; only when these sentences were commuted to life imprisonment did the threat of open rebellion dissipate. Since the 1960s emigration has reduced the possibility of severe conflict.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Pre-Christian religious belief focused on Tangaloa, the god of war, and Hina, the god of knowledge, along with many localized deities. There were no idols, though there was a talisman, the *tokamotu,* which enshrined the *mana* of the island and has remained in a tapu cave for the last two hundred years. In 1846 a Niuean, Peniamina, began the conversion of his country to Christianity, and by the 1860s London Missionary Society (LMS) congregationalism dominated the island. Its dominance was challenged only after 1900 by the establishment of other churches. In 1991 the main affiliations were as follows: 76 percent Ekalesia Niue (ex-LMS), 12 percent Latter Day Saints, 5 percent Roman Catholic, 2 percent Jehovah's Witness, 1 percent Seventh Day Adventist.

Religious Practitioners. The main practitioner in modern times has been the Ekalesia pastor, or *akoako.* Every village is expected to have one, although after the depopulation that began in the 1970s this has not always been possible. Always from another village—and occasionally foreign—the pastor is supported by deacons and provisioned or paid by the congregation. In the 1990s a Niuean woman received theological training, but no village offered her a pastorate. Several expatriate Mormon missionaries and an expatriate Catholic priest have been based in the main town of Alofi since the 1950s.

Ceremonies. In the late twentieth century islandwide annual celebrations marked the arrival of Christianity in 1846 (Peniamina Day) and the achievement of self-government in 1974 (Constitution Day). As with all major occasions, these ceremonies incorporate religious ritual, speechmaking, feasting, and entertainment. Ceremonial events at the level of the village (White Sunday, a new building, a cricket match) and the family (a wedding, a boy's haircut, a girl's ear piercing) also involve various combinations of the same elements.

Arts. Significant social occasions always include dancing by organized groups, with the dances ranging from very traditional to more contemporary Tahitian, Samoan, and Western styles. The accompanying instruments may include drums, guitars, a tea chest base, and spoons. Singing is also important on such occasions, from ancient religious chants to modern satirical melodies. Hymns are an important aspect of ritual life. Some individuals, families, and villages are renowned as composers and performers. Clowning is common, especially among older women.

Medicine. Rudimentary Western medicine was introduced by missionaries in the 1860s and extended in the 1920s with the building of a hospital. Since the 1970s a well-equipped public health service has been staffed largely by Niueans and has been extensively utilized. For some problems people consult traditional healers who specialize in either herbal concoctions or massage.

Death and Afterlife. After a death, the church bell rings and the body is laid out in the family home. Wailing, speeches, prayer, and hymns continue for up to twenty-four hours, at which time the coffin is closed. After a brief religious service, burial takes place, usually on the deceased's family land. Over the following days a lonely or even vengeful spirit, or *aitu,* may be encountered in the village or bush before it finally moves on to a distant and undefined spirit world.

For the original article on the Niueans, *see* Volume 2, Oceania.

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TOM RYAN

North American Hmong

ETHNONYMS: Meo, Miao, M'peo, H'Mong, Mong, Moob, Hmoob

Orientation

Identification and Location. When the Hmong resettled in North America beginning in the late 1970s, they were dispersed in small communities across the United States and Canada. By the late 1980s secondary migration had resulted in the formation of ethnic enclaves in specific areas. The largest consolidations of Hmong people are in Minnesota, California, and Wisconsin, although Hmong live in at least twenty-eight states in the United States. There are approximately seven hundred Hmong people in Canada.

Demography. Hmong refugee admissions to the United States were greatest during the period 1975-1990, with peak admissions in the late 1970s and early 1980s and again in the late 1980s. In 2000, the Hmong population in the United States was estimated at approximately 170,000. There are approximately 700 Hmong living in Canada. According to the Refugee Services Section of the Minnesota Department of Human Services, in 1999 approximately one-half of the Hmong population was composed of individuals born in the United States.

Linguistic Affiliation. Hmong is a tonal language related to Yao, or Mien, and to other languages classified as Miao in China. There is no agreement about its wider relationships, but some linguists place it in the Sino-Tibetan language family. The two principal dialects in Laos are *moob leeg* and *hmoob dawb* (White Hmong). Other dialects are spoken and are mutually intelligible. The moob leeg are called *hmoob ntsuab* (Green or Blue Hmong) by the White Hmong.

History and Cultural Relations

Most sources date the origin of the Hmong to between 2700 and 2300 B.C. E. in the Yellow River and Yangtze River regions of China. Facing numerous conflicts with Han invaders from the north, the Hmong moved from their homeland to the mountains of Southeast Asia, settling in the nation-states of Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos in the early 1800s.

The history of the Hmong is characterized by a succession of migrations. There are enclaves of Hmong people in China, northern Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, northern Laos, and, since 1975, France, the United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina, French Guyana, and Germany. Swidden agriculture was the primary adaptive strategy among Hmong living in Laos. Their crops included rice, corn, and vegetables for subsistence and opium for medicinal use and sale. The resettlement of Hmong people from Laos to North America is a direct result of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. As many as forty thousand Hmong men and boys fought on the side of the United States and supported the Royal Lao government against the insurgent Pathet Lao. Most served in "Special Guerrilla Units" that received logistic support from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency beginning in 1961. A smaller number of Hmong joined the Pathet Lao, which received aid from the North Vietnamese and the Russians. After the fall of the Royal Lao government in 1975, loyalist Hmong families were attacked as they attempted to flee into mountain recesses or cross the border into Thailand. Countless people died from starvation, exposure, drowning, and disease during wartime migrations to escape the Pathet Lao and Vietnamese forces. Many Hmong fled from Laos, crossing the Mekong River to Thailand, where they lived in refugee camps until most were resettled in other countries.

Settlements

Initial sites for resettlement were determined by voluntary agencies working with the Office of Refugee Resettlement. The U.S. government's plan for resettlement was one of dispersal, but a wave of secondary migration resulted in Hmong ethnic enclaves forming in specific local areas, with large populations concentrated in California and Minnesota. U.S. Census 2000 figures computed by the Hmong Population Research Project show there are 169,428 Hmong in the United States, although there are significant discrepancies between local estimates and census figures. The Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota metro area has one of the largest populations of Hmong in the United States numbering as high as 80,000 people.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. Hmong in North America are employed in many different kinds of wage labor, ranging from farming and factory work to social service work. Some Hmong refugee families still depend on welfare assistance from the federal government. Hmong are beginning to enter the legal and medical professions in significant numbers and are increasingly being promoted to business and social service management positions. Besides their participation in the U.S. market economy as workers and consumers, Hmong people are purchasing and operating small businesses.

Division of Labor. Women have the primary responsibility for child care and domestic activities. Men participate in these activities to a lesser extent. It is acceptable for both men and women to work outside the home.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent for men and women is patrilineal; that is, it is traced through an unbroken succession of male ancestors. Men of the same patriline, their wives, and their children constitute the *kwvtij,* literally, "younger and older brothers." A woman marries into the kwjtij of her husband and is entitled to the ancestral rights of that group. A married woman retains her original *xeem* name because she is physically part of the clan she was born into even though she belongs to the spiritual world of her husband. The exogamous patrician (xeem) is the most encompassing level of kinship organization. At least eighteen patricians are still recognized in the United States. According to the rule of exogamy, a person can only marry someone from another patrician, although violations of this rule have been reported in the United States. Lineage organization is composed of all patrilineal descendants of a historical male ancestor, often a well-known political leader who lived five or more generations earlier. The Hmong term for lineage is *caj ceg,* meaning "a (single) trunk."

The next level of kinship formation is the family association, or *pawg neeg.* Although this term can refer to any organized group, it has a more specific meaning when applied to kin relationships. Closely related kwjtij, usually not an entire caj ceg, often form localized, semicorporate groups under the leadership of one or more elders to provide economic assistance and social support to the member families. These sublineages will extend help to *neejtsa,* the patrilineal relatives of wives, who have become separated from their close kwjtij and are unable to form their own support groups. The pawg neeg may consist of multiple houses dispersed over a geographic area. Members frequently trade services such as child care, participate together in rituals, and share other resources. Family members who live together constitute a "one house people," or *ib tsev neeg.* This group may include extended family members: a man and his sons, wives, and children as well as his parents, brothers, and sisters-in-law.

Hmong people also may be organized to a lesser extent on the basis of friendship, mutual acquaintances, common interests, affinal relations, and reciprocal advantage. Patrivirilocal residence in sublineage groups is preferred, but there are exceptions. Segmentary kinship allows for great flexibility in responding to changing conditions and may provide the Hmong with the means for surviving in urban America as a distinct ethnic group.

Kinship Terminology. In addressing or referring to relatives, kin terms invariably are used for some statuses and frequently are preferred for others. The common practice of teknonomy is described by Donnelly (1994): "If Nhia Doua and his wife Mee have a child Kong Meng, usually Nhia Doua will call his wife Kong Men's mother and she will call him Kong Meng's father."

Hmong kinship terms distinguish between the patrikin (kwvtij) of the father and the mother. This prevents parents' siblings from being merged into categories such as "aunt" and "uncle." Kin terms mark generational differences and in some instances relative age within a generation. Thus, father's older brother is *txiv hlob,* whereas mother's brother (with no relative age distinction) is *dab laug.* Males of the same generation who belong to one lineal group refer to each other as younger or older brothers, *kwv* or *tij (hug).* All females in this category refer to one another as sisters, *viv ncaus.* The children of clan brothers use sibling terms for one another. Separate terms exist for cousins who belong to other clans, which includes all cross cousins. Matrilateral parallel cousins, the children of two sisters, may belong to the same clan or different clans. In either case, these female cousins may refer to each other as viv ncaus. Hmong kinship terminology does not fit neatly into any of the kinship taxonomic groupings.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage outside the xeem, or patrician, is still customary among North American Hmong. First cousins who belong to different clans occasionally marry (cross cousins and matrilateral parallel cousins). If a serious interest develops between a man and a woman, often "go-betweens" *(mej koob)* and perhaps a negotiator's assistant *(thiaj com)* negotiate bride-wealth and help formulate an agreement acceptable to both families. Although some Hmong leaders have recommended that the bride-wealth be abolished, many Hmong practice this custom. Elopement can occur in the face of family opposition to a marriage. As in Laos, men sometimes try to force the commencement of a marriage negotiation by taking hold of a woman *(zij pojnaim).* With the help of kinsmen, the man removes the woman to a secure place until her parents have been informed and asked to consider his marriage proposal. Usually no repercussions result beyond the payment of a fine by the would-be suitor. However, such actions have sometimes resulted in legal charges of kidnapping and sexual assault in the United States.

Polygyny continues in private, although it illegal in the United States and is viewed with condemnation by the dominant culture. The levirate is customary in Hmong society. If a man dies and leaves a widow, the levirate decrees marriage between this woman and her husband's younger brother. If he is married, he takes the woman as his second wife. This practice provided support for numerous war widows and fatherless children during the war and the exodus from Laos. Both the junior levirate and polygyny are becoming less common as American-born Hmong mature and start families. This is also the case for sororate marriage patterns, in which a widower marries a sister or patrilateral first cousin of his deceased wife to maintain close bonds with the neej tsa.

After bride-wealth and a marriage contract have been agreed on, parties are given in honor of the marriage. Euro-American marriage customs may be integrated especially if the couple or their families have converted to Christianity. Nevertheless, life cycle ceremonies continue to express Hmong ethnic identity after resettlement despite some stylistic changes. Marriage rituals continue to symbolize the change *of* care for the bride from her family of orientation to her husband's family and the importance of an alliance between the two groups. Divorce is not common among the Hmong in North America, but it seems that as a result of migration and acculturation it is occurring more frequently. Similarly, there are attitudinal changes regarding gender roles and relations.

Domestic Unit. Many Hmong people live patrivirilocally in extended family groups that may include cognates, usually fathers, brothers, and patrilateral parallel cousins and their wives and children. Men and women commonly work outside the home. Families may form mutual assistance associations on the basis of friendship, common interests, and reciprocal advantage. A married couple may decide to leave the husband's sublineage and reside with the wife's group.

Inheritance. The nearest male relative inherits material possessions.

Socialization. Extended family members often play an important role in children's lives as caretakers. In Laos social maturity came early. Children were encouraged to accept responsibility in the social and economic life of the family. This practice has continued to a much lesser extent in North America. Particularly girl children often take care of younger siblings or perform household duties. Although Hmong girls fourteen to sixteen years of age and boys only somewhat older get married in the United States, the average age of both sexes at marriage appears to be rising with increased educational levels. Before resettlement, corporal punishment and firm control over children's mobility were customary. Many

Hmong parents feel distressed by what they perceive as a lack of positive influence over their adolescents' lives and are disturbed by the influence of a dominant culture that values individualism over interdependence.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Gender and age play a large role in Hmong social organization. Within the sublineage there is a male who speaks for the entire group when a collective decision has been made. Many family matters are considered private and are not referred to in the sublineage. The person who acts as the principal adviser and spokesperson is usually the oldest living male. Hmong family counseling emphasizes accepting responsibility and correcting behavior for the good of the family.

Political Organization. In most cities where the Hmong have settled, Hmong Community Associations and Lao Family Community, Inc., work as information clearinghouses and refugee assistance centers and provide cultural transition services to refugees and the wider community. These local organizations also have ties to the Hmong national leadership group. The political culture of the Hmong in the United States functions at several levels. Kinship is a relevant issue for organization and consensus as patrilineage and sublineage membership extends from the local to the national level. Hmong Student Associations have important social and civic functions and exist at many state universities where there is a sizable Hmong population.

Social Control. Pressure from the kin group is still a motivating force for most Hmong people, although how long this pattern can persist in a society that encourages individualism is questionable.

Conflict. In cases of domestic conflict partners may turn to their sublineages for support or, in their absence, to patrician descendants living nearby. Elders in kinship groups still provide guidance and advice. Some people may choose outside arbitrators and utilize host country legal processes. In communities with large Hmong populations public organizations such as schools, police departments, hospitals, and social service offices often hire bilingual workers to deal with linguistic and cultural barriers. Service organizations such as Lao Family Community Inc. and Hmong American Partnership, Inc., offer both technical support and conflict resolution assistance on many levels. There have been attempts to establish interclan councils in a number of communities, and the Hmong of Minneapolis-St. Paul have founded Hmong Circles of Peace, a grassroots movement that focuses on conflict resolution and restorative justice. Distinguishing features of the Hmong refugee experience are organization for self-government and to assist members in the acculturation process as well as the ability to redefine roles to fit new circumstances.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Generally, Hmong living in North America prefer to *coj dab* (bear [witness to] the spirits) or practice some form of Christianity, although some see no contradiction in practicing both. The more eclectic Hmong also participate in Buddihist rites with Lao friends and relatives. Persons who aspire to positions of political leadership particularly have to show tolerance for all faiths.

Hmong who coj dab have a concept of the soul or multiple souls in the special language of spiritual curers called *txiv neeb.* They believe in the existence of benevolent spirits and dangerous wild spirits and ceremonially venerate their ancestors. For health to be maintained, individuals must attend to good and evil forces. Equilibrium is sought by maintaining the coexistence of life-souls within the body through conversation with ancestral spirits and natural world spirits. Hmong txiv neeb speak of twelve human souls: three major souls each of which associates with three shadow souls. For a person to be in equilibrium, each of these souls must be intact within the body.

Christian missionaries were in communication with Hmong since 1600, but it was not until the 1940s and 1950s that Protestant missionary activity began to produce large numbers of converts. Many of those who immigrated did so with the sponsorship of Christian organizations, and many Hmong joined these churches. Fervent Hmong Christians who have la*wb dab*, or ``cast out the spirits," avoid social situations associated with coj dab practices, such as baby-naming ceremonies, and anyone who eats food that has been ritually offered to the dab is condemned. Because wives are expected to adopt the religious orientation of their husbands, Christian parents want their daughters to marry coreligionists. Several authors have noted regional trends among Hmong refugees to convert to Christianity, but no studies indicate the rate of change across North America.

Religious Practitioners. A *{tus,* "classifier") txiv neeb enters into a trance to communicate with spirits. In such a state he (more rarely, she) learns what has happened to an individual's soul or what dangers are threatening a person or group. A txiv neeb not only heals or protects clients but may be called upon to guide the dead to rest or determine whether circumstances are propitious for certain activities. Most kinship groups include several members who have these abilities. An individual usually is called by the ancestors to be a txiv neeb, but he or she must learn from a practitioner. A number of other spiritual practitioners and healers are associated with coj dab. The expression (tus) *khawv koob* has been translated as "magician-sorcerer," but it is more accurate to classify such a person as a healer who specializes primarily in reducing the pain of burns, stopping excessive bleeding, or causing broken bones to set. A *tus saib yaig* can ascertain what is likely to happen in the future, and a *kws tshuaj* is an expert on herbal cures. Christian Hmong serve their communities as ministers, priests, lay preachers, and church elders.

Ceremonies. There are many Hmong ceremonies. If harm comes to an individual, one of the most common forms of healing is *hu plig,* or soul calling. Infants are welcomed into their families by a naming ceremony. The *nyuj dab,* which requires the sacrifice of a cow, is performed to obtain help from the ancestors on behalf of an ill person. The males in a lineage group are responsible for taking the lead in ritually honoring the ancestors. New Year's celebrations conducted during November or December bring together large numbers of people in a celebration of ethnicity and to welcome in the New Year. There are many customary rituals connected with this celebration. The ball toss *(pov pob)* is a courting ritual

between a boy and a girl. Many ceremonies are conducted at funerals, including prescribed songs played by the *qeej* player or players, music, food, offerings, and rites conducted by male family members.

Arts. The Hmong qeej, a free-reed multiple-pipe musical instrument, is used to communicate in words with the spirit world. Each one of the seven tones in the Hmong language as well as all the vowel sounds can be replicated on the qeej. Thus, for knowledgeable listeners the qeej is said to speak Hmong. The Hmong are well known for embroidery; this elaborate hand artwork is called *paj ntaub.* More recently, these intricate and vivid pieces have become story clothes illustrating Hmong migration, folk tales, daily life, and the war and the exodus from Laos. The tradition is passed from mother to daughter.

Medicine. Hmong in North America may use Western biomedicine, traditional Hmong healing and spiritual practices, or a combination of both. The medicinal use of herbs has a long history in Hmong culture. The use of herbs *(tshuaj ntsuab)* by practitioners who understand the curative properties of particular plants for various ailments is one type of medical specialization in Hmong culture. Spring (1989) found that 92 percent of the medicinal plants cultivated by Hmong refugees in Minnesota were potentially efficacious according to Western biomedicai criteria. Hundreds of herbal treatments for somatic illnesses exist, and it appears that they are available to and are utilized by many Hmong people. Other medical practices include abdominal and herbal body massage, coin rubbing, cupping, and moxibustion.

Death and Afterlife. The prayers and chants at a coj dab funeral recount the perilous passage of the deceased's soul back to its ancestral home in China. According to some researchers, Hmong who coj dab believe that an individual has three soul entities: one that stays with the body, one that stays with the family, and one that eventually is reincarnated. When a husband or wife dies, a *txiv saib* is hired to speak at length, often in rhyming couplets, about the life of the deceased. He also helps reassure the neej tsa that death will not break the relationship between the kin groups. Family elders then call upon the ancestors to witness a blessing *(foom)* of good fortune that they are bestowing on all of the surviving members of the deceased's family.

For other cultures in Canada and The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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JULIE KEOWN-BOMAR AND TIMOTHY DUNNIGAN

Northeast Massim

ETHNONYMS: No single name is used for the island cultures of this region by the inhabitants, but some of the neighboring cultures refer to all the inhabitants as Muyuw. Each island has a recognized individuating name, such as Gawans for the people on the island of Gawa. Muyuw, which Europeans named Woodlark Island, is divided into three distinctive units from east to west: Muyuw, Wamwan, and Nayem.

Orientation

Identification and Location. This region is the home of the people *of* the northeastern section of the Massim, a word

that may have originated in the region but is a European spatial designator. Although there are common physical, linguistic, and cultural characteristics throughout Milne Bay Province, among the Massim in particular, the region is defined by, and individuals and cultures understand themselves in terms of, linguistic and cultural variability. For example, although most linguists would say that Muyuw and Trobriand people speak different languages, there is a gradient of differences between the two. Similar continua run south from the Trobriands and from Muyuw to the island cultures of the Southern Massim. Cultural variation among these peoples operates in the same way.

This region is about 144 miles (230 kilometers) from east to west and 50 miles (80 kilometers) from north to south. The western end of the region, Iwa, is about 50 miles (80 kilometers) from the center of the Trobriand Islands. Included in the northeastern sector are Iwa, Kwaiwata, Dugumenu, and Gawa, which were called the Marshall Bennet Islands by Europeans after the 1830s, and Muyuw (Murua), or Woodlark Island. The name *Woodlark* was given to the island by a British sea captain in 1836 to commemorate its discovery in about 1832 by Captain Grimes of a Sydney-based whaler of that name. In its most extensive sense, Muyuw denotes the major landmass (Muyuw Island), Budibud (called the Laughlan Islands by Europeans), Nasikwabw (Alcester Island), and Yemga (Egum Island). Yalab (Yanaba) Island, which is the northern side of an atoll of which Egum is the volcanic center, is not considered to be in Muyuw but is included along with Iwa, Kitava, and the Trobriands by the indigenous residents.

Demography. In 1851 a Marist mission estimate of the population on Muyuw listed 2,200 inhabitants, but that figure may have included only the southeastern corner of the island. An estimate made in 1915 placed the population between 700 and 900. This would represent a loss of about two-thirds of the population between 1850 and 1915, a loss that may have been due to the arrival of Europeans. In the early 1970s Muyuw's population was approximately 1,500, and in the government census taken in the 1980s it was approaching 2,000. Other islands between Muyuw and the Trobriands have much higher population densities: Gawa has about 530 people; Kwewata, 250; Iwa, 590; and Kitava, 1,370. Although more recent official census figures are not available, the running count island officials put the population of the region, including Iwa, at over 5,000 in the late 1990s.

Linguistic Affiliation. Throughout the northeastern Massim area, Muyuw is the lingua franca understood by most people. At the end of the twentieth century Kilivila was the first language spoken not only in the Trobriands but also on Yalab (Yanaba). Budibud is the language of Budibud (Laughlan Islands), and people on Nasikwabw (Alcester Island) speak what is now called Misima-Paneati.

History and Cultural Relations

Early European contacts were made in the last half of the eighteenth century through the explorations of Bougainville d'Entrecasteaux. "Trobriand" is a French name derived from one of the early voyages. Budibud was one of the first places in the greater Muyuw region to come into the European orbit. It served as a primary trading center for the distribution of European goods as well as an early major focus of the copra trade. Between 1812 and the mid-1830s British and later American whalers were active in the region and presumably made numerous contacts with Muyuw. Whaling flourished in the region during the 1840s and reached a peak around 1860. In 1847 whalers directed French Marist missionaries to Muyuw. They were relatively unsuccessful in converting the residents and were replaced in 1852 by the Milan Foreign Mission Society, which also failed and left the area in 1855. There was little missionary success on Muyuw until after World War II, when most of the population became nominal members of the Methodist (now United) Church. Evangelical Christians had increasing success on the island from the 1980s into the mid-1990s, a time of intensified mining exploration and timber-cutting activities.

Throughout the 1850s European trade goods, especially iron, were introduced to Muyuw. The premium placed on this metal as a source of tools and weapons soon ended the native stone tool industry. In the 1880s a German trader, W. Tetzlaff, set up a lucrative copra and trading operation on Budibud because those islands had been a traditional coconut plantation. After his death in 1892 the business was taken over and expanded by two Englishmen, Dick Ede and Charlie Lobb. The price collapse of the copra industry in 1929 brought an end to the expansion of this trade, and the industry never fully recovered. However, copra sales have continued to the present. In 1895 Ede and Lobb discovered gold on Woodlark Island, and that led to a gold rush and continuing interest in the island's mineral resources. By 1940 the island had produced some two hundred thousand ounces of gold. Just before World War II began, the last mine closed as the price of gold failed to keep pace with the cost of the mining operation.

Further Western development on Woodlark up to 1978 followed the enterprises of the Neate family in trade, lumbering, and the development of the ebony craft industry. The Neates were replaced in 1980 by the Milne Bay Logging Company, whose arrival coincided with worldwide expansion of the tropical timber trade. Apart from Australian and American activity during World War II, this timbering was the most important Western activity until the early 1990s. However, the island may now be too small a source of quality timbers.

Settlements

Traditionally, settlements varied from kinship-related hamlets consisting of a small number of randomly placed dwellings on the smaller islands to larger villages in two east-to-west rows on Muyuw. In Muyuw yam houses are situated in gardens, though this pattern changes at the westernmost village. In Mwadau village and on all the islands extending into the Trobriands, yam houses are placed either in the village area behind the house or directly in front of it and are built with an eye toward longevity.

A colonial-era attempt to organize the smaller islands into villages is nearly over as these islands, including Nawyem in Western Muyuw, have reverted to what residents consider the traditional form: more scattered hamlets. On Iwa and Kitava, the nearest islands to the Trobriands, where the ideal village plan was and remains concentric, the houses of higher-ranked people were decorated with carved and

painted boards. In the ideal pattern in the east, as exemplified by Wabunum village in 1982, houses are arranged in east-to-west rows oriented so that the front faces either south or north. This allows the sun to jump over the house ridge as it rises, a fact of cosmological significance to the people. In addition, each house mediates a set of oppositions, effectively north/south and factually front/back, public/private, formal/domestic, and male/female. Each of these forms pertains to activities and their locations within the individual household, and all are overlaid by different orders of relations with kin. This pattern is transformed toward the western end of the region. Boagis, on the southwestern tip of Muyuw and not considered a Muyuw village, does not fit the Muyuw pattern. Its irregular lines of houses are arranged along a north-to-south axis, with most of the houses being open to the west. On Gawa small hamlets and hamlet clusters are laid out across the top of the island.

Before the 1920s and early 1930s houses were built directly on the ground with earthen floors, but after that time they were elevated on stilts. In recent years only temporary houses used to house village guests have been built directly on the ground. These houses are constructed with small poles and woven coconut fronds for siding. In regular house construction sago leaves are used for the roof and siding, except in western Muyuw and the small islands, where pandanus or coconut leaves are used for that purpose. Most houses have both front and back doors. The back door is oriented toward the areas at the back of the house where food is prepared, often, in Muyuw, in earth ovens, and where, also primarily in Muyuw, wells are located. The front part of the house is considered male and more public, while the rear is considered female and more private.

Economy

Subsistence. Fishing, horticulture, arboriculture, and outrigger canoe production remain major productive activities of the northeastern Massim people, closely related to the debt-credit networks that anchor kinship relations and the interisland exchange system, the *kula*. Taro, yams, bananas, sugarcane, sweet potatoes, and in recent years squashes and maize are grown. Toward the eastern end of the region taro and yams are the major items in kinship exchanges, while toward the west yams predominate. Villages in central and eastern Muyuw maintain large orchards of sago, whose leaves are used for house roofs and sidings and whose trunks are turned into a flourlike food for rituals, interisland exchange, and daily consumption. In the small islands to the west people plant and tend hundreds of nut and fruit trees to supplement the root crops. Most agricultural practices are imbued with ritual and ceremonial significance and are intertwined with the interisland exchange or series of mortuary ceremonies, especially east of Gawa. Pigs are important not only as an item in the diet but as a means of acquiring status and prestige through gift exchange.

Industrial Arts. Regional specialization in crafts is characteristic of the Muyuw area. Gawa and Kweywata specialize in the production of the largest class of outrigger canoes, *anageg*. Kweyakwoya in interior eastern Muyuw used to specialize in the production of medium-size outrigger canoes called *kaybwag* in addition to intricately carved paddles, sago troughs and hammers, wooden platters, ornate prow boards, and decorative carvings for domestic dwellings and yam houses. Sulog was the center of the stone tool industry until the introduction of iron. Budibud specialized in raising pigs and growing coconut trees, whose leaves were used to make coconut leaf skirts. Pandanus leaves were used to make sleeping mats.

Trade. The northeastern Massim area is part of an elaborate ceremonial exchange system known as the kula. This system involves the complementary exchange of two different kinds of shell valuables: *mwal* (arm shells) and *veigun* (necklaces). People engage in the kula to generate rank orders among individuals and prestige for their communities. This system is not just a matter of trade or barter but involves a highly formalized gift-giving ceremony between partners in which the equality of the gifts presented is ensured by the desire to acquire a reputation for generosity and the prestige of being a great giver *of* gifts.

Basic to the kula exchange are subsidiary transactions between communities in which village specialties of food or crafts are exchanged for one another. Although many of the items acquired are consumed as food or utilized in other ways, for example, as clothing, sometimes their exchange becomes the basis for obtaining *kitoum,* a specific classification of the two main kula valuables that confers formal ownership on the possessor. Every kitoum is a prized mwal or veigun, the primary means of interisland exchange. However, not every mwal or veigun a person holds is his or her kitoum.

Although a few valuables are always moving between contiguous villages, the articles travel in waves of up to five hundred valuables, with each crest taking about five years to circle the ring. Communities unite to form trading expeditions to move the crests. These expeditions generally are led by prominent members of the community with considerable experience and prestige in kula transactions. People contact established trading partners who exchange lower-ranked items as well as the primary kula articles. Each transaction involves the formal presentation of gifts to one's partner (the opening gifts), debate and sometimes haggling over the exchange, and, after the successful conclusion of the exchange, the final presentation of the closing gifts that end the negotiations. Generally, a man will receive arm shells from one partner to whom he gives necklaces and necklaces from another partner to whom he gives arm shells. Traded objects of this nature seldom cease circulating, and it is extremely rare for one valuable's return item to be given immediately. Often it takes months or years between the receipt of a mwal and the return of its veigun. This exchange form effectively divides labor between partners and is conceived to be like the division of responsibilities between husbands and wives.

Division of Labor. On Muyuw, men are considered producers and women are distributors. Men prepare the gardens, while women tend them, coordinate consumption, and plan future plantings. In fishing, men are directly involved in catching the fish and women cook and distribute the food. Both men and women garden on Gawa. Men are involved in more active occupations such as canoe building, hunting, house construction, the initial clearing of gardens, net making, and coconut gathering, while women typically work at more sedentary jobs such as cooking, clothing manufacture, and mat making.

Land Tenure. Property, including land, sago, betel and coconut trees, fishing nets, outriggers, and kitoum, is owned by the *dada* (subclans). Such property may pass from one subclan to another to cancel debts generated by the exchange of pigs in the mortuary system, especially in the large and small islands east of Gawa. The actual holdings of a subclan are always a function of the debt-credit relations it has with the clans into which it is married. Songs, dances, ritual shouts, and other entities with intangible value are also subclan property.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The northeastern Massim are divided into several matrilineal, totemic clans *(kum)* and subclans *(dal, dala)*. Among the islands that are conceived to be Muyuw there are eight clans, four old ones and four new ones. This representation changes from Gawa to the west, and so increasingly there is only the idea that there are four clans, the same as the so-called old clans in Muyuw. These clans go by the same names as those in the Trobriands. These identities expedite the kula exchange, and so partners in the trading relationship are often members of the same clan. Clans are identified with birds, fish, other animals, and, especially in Muyuw, the four winds, and these signs establish communication links throughout the Massim people and beyond. Clans function primarily in the selection of marriage partners, while subclans are the property-holding units. Traditionally, on Muyuw a form of incipient moiety structure existed, aligning the villages on the island into two war communities. These relations, however, crossed clan and subclan identities.

Kinship Terminology. The terminology is a variant of the Crow system used in the Trobriands. In the Trobriand system, the children of the father's sister are called by the same terms as paternal uncles and aunts and the mother's brother's children are classified with the same term applied to one's own children. There are several variations in the kinship terms used on Gawa for cross cousins. In Muyuw the kin terms are identical to those in the Trobriands except for a set of cross-cousin terms not found to the west and used for both patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousins.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is organized by clan and subclan exogamy. Marriages are usually monogamous and after the early years relatively stable. Cross-cousin marriages are reported in areas to the west of Muyuw, and in the Trobriands the marriage of a man to his father's sister's daughter is an ideal. Although this form of marriage is not accepted on Muyuw, the children of cross cousins may marry.

Completing a marriage takes a number of steps, sometimes over many years. A man and a woman are considered married after they are publicly recognized to be staying with each other. They are likely to spend the early years of marriage living with the wife's parents. After an exchange of gifts between the families the couple can be led back to the man's father's house. Until this time, in Muyuw at least, the gender identities of the couple are formally inverted, with the woman having the prerogatives of the man, and vice versa, with respect to the formal control of their children. While a return to the man's village fixes the gender identify of the man, only a later exchange, ideally from the woman's brother through her husband, establishes the gender identity and responsibilities of the woman.

Marriages are formally ended with rituals conducted over a couple's deceased children, usually long after they are dead. Most of the transitions in a marriage, including its formal ending, are conducted around an exchange called *takon.* This involves the exchange of female things such as vegetable food and pigs for male things such as knives, axes, and in some contexts kula valuables as kitoum. This word or its cognates, and exchanges similar to those in Muyuw, are important in many of the northern Massim societies. Traditionally, interisland marriages also occurred, many of which were designed to strengthen trading partner relationships in the kula exchange.

Domestic Unit. Throughout this region most work, which is aimed both at kinship and at kula responsibilities, is organized among married couples, their brothers- and sisters-in-law, and their proximate ascending and descending affinal relations. Residence is patrivirilocal. A small but significant number of men will, once they are married, move to their mothers' brothers' villages.

Inheritance. Land and other valuable material and intellectual items of production descend in accordance with the debt-credit network among intermarried subclans. Extensive mortuary rituals that are constant throughout the Massim but vary from one island to another are the prime mechanisms for passing responsibilities and productive resources across generations. Personally owned kula valuables (kitoum) often follow the same lines through time. However, a father should pass one or more of these items to his sons upon the death of his wife in partial recompense for the labor his wife gave him over their married lives. If a man's sister's son works with and for him, the man will try to pass one or more of his kitoums to him as well. There are often conflicts over such matters, and much attention is paid to how important men divide their resources among their sons and their sisters' sons.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. There are no real class distinctions in the islands, but individual status and prestige and subclan resources vary greatly and may change as a result of success in productive endeavors, all of which lead to mortuary rituals and the kula exchange. Clan, subclan, and household heads are treated with great respect. On Muyuw there is a hierarchical ranking of villages involved in craft and food production. Lowest in rank are the craft villages, followed by those producing vegetable foods and fish, with the top ranking going to those producing primarily vegetable foods. A linear and nonrepetitive age grade system also exists on Muyuw, with separate terms for male and female and their marital status. The age grades begin with the infant *(apwaw)* and end with the *yelew* (ancestor).

Political Organization. Traditionally, each clan in its particular locale tended to recognize one man as its head. This person would be referred to as a *guyawor* a *guyau.* This term is cognate to, and the status shares family resemblances with,

the system of chiefs in the Trobriands. However, nowhere from Iwa to Muyuw, perhaps for at least six hundred years, was there a recognized paramount chief or a chiefly system tied specifically to clan or subclan status. Many Muyuw say that the people who reside in north-central Muyuw, Warnwan, are the island's guyaw. However, unlike in the Trobriands, where public deference was shown to such people, the main prerogative of the Muyuw guyaw was to be buried upright rather than lying down in a grave. The status is invisible and is not formally tied to a subclan, unlike the case in the Trobriands. Throughout the twentieth century on Muyuw, the kind of deference shown to Trobriand chiefs was approximated only in regard to those individuals who became extraordinary successful in the kula. On Gawa, Kwewata, and Iwa there are intimations of hierarchical forms more like those in the Trobriands. One or two subclans will claim a kind of symbolic control over half or more of these islands. However, real control is dispersed and not hierarchical.

In the post-World War II period the Australian government, under a United Nations trusteeship, set up local government councils as a new form of indigenous political participation. Although this system has undergone minor terminological and other changes, it continues. Practically every hamlet or collection of hamlets has a local government councilor, and each island sends one or more representatives to council meetings, which are held at Guasopa in southeastern Muyuw near a World War II-era airstrip.

Social Control. Most mechanisms for enforcing social control work through obligations and desires and are located in the kinship/mortuary system and the kula. From an early age people are taught what is involved in marriage, and the only way to become effectively married is by gaining the support of elders. Sooner or later one behaves according to their desires. Periodically, people are formally instructed in correct behavior through a speech form called *geyguiy (gweiguya* in Gawa). Most of these speeches are made in private, but if a young person or a couple is especially problematic, the speech may be made in the open for all to hear.

Conflict. Warfare was common throughout the area before the early twentieth century. Gawa was frequently at odds with both Kweywata and Nasikwabw (in the Alcesters), and small-scale battles were fought between opposing factions on the same island. On Muyuw warring groups were organized into two war communities or alliances. Villages were arranged in these alliances in a manner that crossed the three-tiered productive system: craft production, vegetable foods and fish production, and vegetable production alone. One of these alliances consisted of Kweyakwoya, Sulog, Wasimoum, Wayavat, Kowuway, possibly Moniveyova, and Dikwayas. The second opposing alliance contained the communities *of* Budibud, Kavatan, old Guasopa villages, Bomasiu, Nasikwabw or Boagis, probably Mwadau, and Kaulay. Warfare was ended under government administration, and conflicts in the late twentieth century usually took the form of neighborhood disagreements over work projects and kula cooperation and accusations of witchcraft.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Geliw, Tudav' (Tudava), and Malit' (Malita) are the three primary creator beings responsible for all aspects of culture and society on Muyuw and Gawa. The mythology and cosmology associated with these beings affect many aspects of daily life, such as the laying out of settlements and the arrangement of gardens, which correspond to specific cosmological elements. Under the influence of Christianity, God and Geliw are considered roughly equivalent, as are Christ and Tudav' and Satan and Malit'. Belief in witchcraft is an important part of the religious system, although it can be argued that much of the current witchcraft ideology arose out of alienated forms of exchange associated with incorporation into the modern world system. On Muyuw, for example, witches are thought to receive their nefarious and debilitating powers by marrying a devillike character who clearly looks like a gold miner.

Religious Practitioners. Witches *(bwagaw)* figure prominently as practitioners of evil magic. They are generally women and have the magical ability to fly from island to island, sail in steamships, and drive trucks through dense interior jungles. They are counterbalanced by specialists who use their powers to care for and protect the community at large. These curers are usually men of high prestige in the community (guyaw). Although not a class of specialist, garden, fishing net, and dog (for hunting wild pigs) magic is differentially distributed in the population. For the most part it is said that only men possess such magic, which is thought to be public and opposite the private magic of female witches. However, some women in Muyuw know and occasionally use garden magic.

Ceremonies. On Muyuw a new year or first-fruits ceremony called *ivisan ven* or *kapwalas* is observed. The rites are first held in the easternmost villages, often in late March, and then progressively cross the island from east to west, village by village. This rite officially opened the yam harvest season and was especially significant for its purificatory purposes. The Muyuw rite functioned to reorder and correctly align the productive and moral relationships of the people. On contemporary Gawa there is a purification rite that shares some features with the Muyuw new year rite, but no formal new year ceremony and little evidence of a calendar are recorded.

Two major reciprocal community entertainments are called the Comb and Drum dances. Although exhibiting some quasiceremonial aspects, they are essentially secular. Similar practices seem to be observed on Iwa. However, Iwa is the place where a formal new year rite called *Milamala* starts a progression that passes on to Kitava and through the Trobriands more or less from one full moon to the next. Iwa times the rite with a full moon observed about the time of the June solstice; the people watch the rising of the Pleiades, not the sun, to time the rite. The custom appears to end in the southern Trobriands in Vakuta in late September.

Arts. Woodworking is a highly developed skill on both Muyuw and Gawa, as is the art of carving and painting canoe prow boards. A complicated aesthetic order has been made all but invisible by missionary, state, and other modernizing institutions. Nevertheless, dancing, especially the Drum dance, is a favorite form of entertainment on Gawa, particularly for young people. Songs or chants are composed by women to celebrate a man's kula acquisitions or in honor of the dead. Traditional musical instruments consist primarily of drums, with the occasional use of conch shells. Rhetorical

skills are highly developed and frequently are employed to persuade one's kula partner to release certain prized valuables in exchange transactions. The same skills are also used as a means of social control in persuading individuals such as witches to change their antisocial behavior.

Medicine. All long-term illnesses and all deaths except for those of the very old are believed to result from witchcraft. Curing therefore is relegated to the use of exorcistic magic to drive the evil from the afflicted. These curing practices may be focused either on the individual or at the community level, in which case special purification rites *(bibira)* are used to drive out illness and evil influences. On Gawa bloodletting is sometimes employed. An extensive use of plants for medicinal purposes in this area has gone largely unreported.

Death and Afterlife. Traditionally, death precipitated a series of elaborate and often extensive mortuary practices. This practice started about six hundred years ago and follows approximately a thousand years of mortuary customs focused on building megalithic ruins. Until the colonial government ended secondary interment practices, about two months after a corpse had been buried, it was exhumed and the forearm bones, phalanges, skull, and cervical vertebrae were removed. These bones were cleaned and kept in the house of the mourners or worn as ornaments over a period of about twenty months. Eventually they were disposed of by exposure on the cliffs that bordered the shore.

As is the case elsewhere in the region, complicated sets of mortuary rites still follow deaths, generically called *sagal.* In theory there are three rites for each death, called *Ungayay,* Lo'un, and *Soi,* or more specifically *Anagin Tavalam* ("Fruit of Our Crying"). Ungayay consists of the wake, a minor collection and distribution of food, and the burial. Lo'un occurs months or even years later after the Ungayay and terminates the marriage of the deceased's parents by means of a takon exchange (an exchange form in which vegetables and pork are exchanged for kitoum or kula valuables). The final rite, which also involves the distribution of pork and vegetable foods, transfers the obligations of the deceased to the people organizing the ritual. It is also an occasion in which marriages, kula, and other important relationships are discussed and debated. The order of the second and third rites is variable, and sometimes the rites are combined. Gawan mortuary rites are essentially internal matters, and overseas visitors are not formally invited.

Although belief in reincarnation is generally denied, the islanders do believe that when a person dies his *Kaluwan* or *Balouma* (life force or soul) leaves the body but remains around the living for a few days. In this form it is an *Aluw* and is the subject of fear, for at this stage it is vulnerable to manipulation by witches. Within a few days the Aluw turns into a *yeluw* (ancestor) and departs for Turn (Tuma), the island just northeast of Kiriwina in the Trobriands. Yeluw are invoked in magical practices used to influence the outcome of gardening, fishing, and kula endeavors.

For other cultures in Papua New Guinea, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 2, Oceania.

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JOHN BEIERLE AND FREDERICK H. DAMON

Nuer

ETHNONYMS: Nath

Orientation

Identification and Location. The term *Nuer* has been used for over two hundred years, but its origin is unknown. It is likely that the term came from neighboring groups, especially the Dinka. The name is used in both the singular (a Nuer person) and the plural (the Nuer people), but Nuer people call themselves *Nath.* Along with the neighboring Dinka, the Nuer form a subdivision of a larger East African cultural group known as the Nilotics that also includes the Luo, Shilluk, and Anyuak. The Nuer live in South Sudan in the swamps and open savanna on both sides of the Nile River south of its junction with the Sobat and Bahr-al-Ghazal and

along both banks of those tributaries. Nuer territory lies approximately 500 miles (800 kilometers) south of Khartoum, the capital of Sudan. The Nuer are so similar to the Dinka in physical appearance, language, and customs that there is no doubt about their common origin, though the history of their divergence is unknown. The two peoples, despite intermittent conflicts, live in close proximity, maintain continuous contact, have intermarried, and have borrowed cultural patterns from each other. They have an array of myths and legends that speak of their historical unity. Both groups recognize their common origin.

Like all other South Sudanese peoples, the Nuer became part of the Sudanese polity in the 1820s, when the nation-state was taking shape, beginning with the Ottoman invasion from Egypt in 1821. Their incorporation began with the slave trade. Like the other South Sudanese groups, the Nuer have resisted incorporation into the Sudanese political structure. This resistance has led to the development of two distinct parts of the country: the north and the south. Northerners self-identify as Arabs and are Muslim, while Southerners identify themselves as black, African, and, increasingly, Christian. The north has held state power because of its long history of benefiting from contact with the Arabs and then the Turks, the British, and the Arabs again after independence from Britain in 1956.

All these governments attempted to force Nuerland into the structure of a united Sudan. A combination of that effort and neglect of social and economic development in the south have caused rebellions. Two civil wars have ensued, the latest of which continues into the beginning of the twenty-first century. Nuer participation in these wars has two sources. The first is resistance to the authority of the Khartoum government, which keeps them Sudanese but does not provide education and health care. The other is cultural differences such as Islamic beliefs in the north and Christianity and traditional religions in the south. This conflict reflects an uneven distribution of resources that favors the north.

Demography. In the 1930s the Nuer population was estimated at around 200,000. The British colonial government's census of 1952 put their number at 250,000. Sudan gained independence in 1956, but the country had already plunged into a north-south civil war in 1955 that continued through 1972. The first government census after the war indicated that the Nuer numbered nearly 300,000 in a country of 15 million. That number was said to have risen to 800,000 when the civil war resumed in 1983. Over the last eighteen years of the war, at least a quarter of the 2 million estimated casualties are thought to have been Nuer, and their current population is estimated as approximately *500,000* of Sudan's total estimated population of 26 million.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Nuer language is in the Nilotic branch of the Nilo-Saharan language family, a branch that includes Dinka, Luo, Shilluk, Anyuak, and a number of other language groups. Linguistic similarities between these groups and a shared vocabulary indicate a degree of shared origin or mutual influence.

History and Cultural Relations

It has been suggested that the Nuer, along with other Nilotic groups, settled along the Bahr-al-Ghazal, Bahr-al-Jebel, and Sobat rivers in South Sudan around the fourteenth century; that is where they acquired their techniques for animal domestication. When other groups migrated southward in search of more elevated terrain to avoid floods, the Nuer stayed where they were.

Cattle are central in Nuerlife and have also affected the politics of contact between the Nuer and other nearby pastoral peoples. Because cattle represent the Nuer's social, cultural, and economic security, they are a constant source of conflict. The grazing plains of the upper Nile have been a major cause of conflict between the Nuer and the Dinka and among the different subgroups of Nuer. Cattle have also dictated the way the Nuer have reacted to state authorities. The successive governments in Khartoum have mandated that cattle in all Nilotic areas be incorporated into the state economy. Taxation was one method for achieving that aim. Requiring the Nuer to pay taxes in cash in a cashless economy where paid labor did not exist ensured that the Nuer would have to sell their cattle. The effort by the north to commercialize Nuer cattle has historically caused the Nuer to challenge the government, including their participation in the current war. Among the Nuer, the government's efforts to commercialize their cattle has been seen as an assault on their identity. There are regional variations between different Nuer subgroups, and these differences have been used by the government to weaken Nuer resistance. Nuer cattle have become monetized and commercialized, and the sizes of their herds have dwindled drastically, causing large numbers of Nuer to seek refuge in disaster relief centers across the country or in Dinka villages to the west.

Settlements

Nuerland is in the swamps of the upper Nile, and villages are grouped according to the lineage system into the few elevated areas. Because of the environment, the Nuer engage in a nearly constant movement between the cattle camps of the dry season and villages in the few mildly elevated parts of the territory where they grow millet. Their movement is dictated by *tot* and *mai*, the two seasons, which are characterized by rain and drought, respectively. Much of Nuerland is flooded during the rainy season between April and October, and this has caused the shifting of villages. During the dry season between November and March, resources become limited and sending most members of the family to the cattle camp is the norm. As a result of this seasonal migratory system, the Nuer have been characterized as transhumant.

Much of the civil war has been fought in the Nuer area, and that has been detrimental to village life. Whole villages were burned, and the displaced populations have moved from one place to another over the last two decades. In their villages, the Nuer build huts with round mud walls and conical grass roofs that are windowless and have small doors that force people to crawl into their homes. Recent oil exploration and development have brought disaster to Nuerland, and more villages have been burned since 1998 to create a secure buffer zone and make room for foreign oil companies.

Economy

Subsistence. The Nuer economy is based on a combination of, in order of importance, cattle herding, horticulture,

fishing, and collecting wild foods. Cattle are the Nuer's most cherished possession, an essential food supply as well as the most important social asset. Cattle play an important role in rituals. Nuer institutions, customs, and social behavior are directly related to cattle. They are always talking about their animals, and cattle are involved in their folklore, marriage practices, religious ceremonies, and relations with neighbors. The Nuer believe that a cow should not be slaughtered except as a sacrifice to God, the spirits, and the ancestors. An ox can also be slaughtered to feed important guests at marriage ceremonies. In recent times more Nuer have slaughtered their livestock because of the famines that have afflicted the South Sudan, but in general they eat the meat of every animal after it dies.

Almost every Nuer cultural practice and social activity relates to livestock. The circulation of cattle between the members of a lineage dictates kin relations. Cattle and other types of livestock, such as goats and sheep, have a special position in religious ceremonies. Animals are sacrificed to treat illness; as a way of praying for rain, fertility, and a good crop yield; and to appease the ancestors. In addition to their economic utility, cattle are an end in themselves, and possessing and living with them is a Nuer man's ultimate desire. More than any other factor, they determine the Nuer's daily actions and, because of their wide range of social and economic uses, dominate people's attention. Livestock is the currency used in trading transactions.

Although the economy is based on a combination of cattle herding, horticulture, and fishing, pastoral pursuits take precedence because cattle not only provide daily nutrition but have a general social value in all other aspects of life. Traditionally, when there was shortage of food and nowhere to barter, people relied on collecting wild foods and fishing. Recently, the Nuer have engaged in trading as a source of subsistence. Wild foods are abundant during certain times of the year throughout Nuerland. Recent famines, displacement, and loss of assets because of the war have forced the Nuer to make gathering wild foods, trading, and fishing important components of their economy. Besides grain and dried fish, the Nuer do not have nonperishable food items that can be stored for extended periods. The goal of economic activity is to satisfy immediate dietary needs rather than to accumulate wealth. When a household can harvest surplus grain, it converts the proceeds into cattle.

The soil is black cotton soil that maintains its fertility at all times. People may use slash and burn horticulture if soil becomes eroded, which is rare. The main crops are millet (sorghum), maize, and vegetables. Agriculture is typically a horticultural activity in that the Nuer rotate crops and their tools are rudimentary ones, such as the hoe. New tools have been introduced by relief aid agencies to help displaced persons reestablish their livelihoods. The area of land that a household cultivates varies according its labor force. On average a Nuer household grows two acres. When crops fail in one area because of floods or drought, grains can be purchased from areas of surplus within Nuerland or in the towns where Arab traders keep shops.

Commercial Activities. Barter existed in Nuerland before there were markets, and a person who produced surplus food could exchange it for livestock. When the Nuer were introduced to items such as sugar, salt, clothes, medicine, and soap, it was difficult to acquire them since there was no paid labor and no other type of cash economy. The easiest way to buy those goods was to sell livestock in the city, but selling cattle was considered shameful. It was not until the British colonial government imposed a poll tax and insisted that it be paid in cash that the Nuer sold livestock. When Arab traders began to venture into Nuerland to sell a few of those items and later opened shops, grain became available. A few Nuer got involved in trading by selling old oxen in the city and then buying trade items and sometimes returning to the city to purchase more cows. Trading became another means to increase one's herd. However, in the 1970s, when the first civil war ended and reconstruction began, the Nuer found opportunities for paid labor in urban construction projects. Much of the money they made was used to buy basic supplies and cows.

Industrial Arts. The Nuer produce a variety of functional items, including clay pots, mats, decorated gourds used as eating utensils, and baskets. Sewing papyrus into smooth mats is a painstaking industrial art. Mats are the basic form of bedding.

Trade. Historically, trading was not an important aspect of Nuer economic activity until the middle of the twentieth century, when Arab traders went from village to village selling salt, cloth, beads, and medicine. Those items were purchased with small livestock or chickens, and when cash became available, women brewed beer to buy those items. When northern traders realized that the south, including Nuerland, was a good area for business, there was an influx of Arab goods and the markets grew. The Nuer have gotten involved in trading, but it is still largely a male preserve as it involves long-distance travel to acquire the goods, and because of the lack of security, such travel is limited to men. Goods are smuggled out of the north as well as from the neighboring countries of Kenya and Uganda. Over the last decade international humanitarian relief has facilitated trade by providing cargo space on trucks and planes.

Division of Labor. The division of labor is similar to that of the neighboring groups. In general, certain tasks are regarded as being for women and others as being for men, but there is a great deal of flexibility. Women's work tends to take place around the homestead or the village. It includes farming, food preparation, and care for the young and the very old. Men's work takes them farther from home, since it involves looking after cattle. In the field of food production, ideally both men and women plant crops. Women weed, thresh the grain, store and pound it into flour, and prepare meals. Men do the harvesting and graze the livestock far afield. Women, girls, and uninitiated boys milk the livestock. Construction of houses is generally shared. Men build the walls, cut and transport timber, and put up the frame, and both men and women thatch the grass roofs. The only areas of rigid sexual division of labor are milking the cows and cooking. Initiated men never, under ordinary circumstances, cook or milk cows.

Land Tenure. Land is communally owned. Individuals can take, tame, and use as much land as their labor capacity allows, and this continual use entitles people to land. If they move away, it can be taken over by others. When a household moves, it may demand payment from the next occu-

pants as remuneration for the labor expended in taming it and for any dwelling structures that may be usable. The only land that is contested is the grazing plains. However, the actual grasslands are not restricted to any group, although the elevated camps where the people reside are assigned according to lineage.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Nuer are patrilineal, but people are considered to be related equally to their kin through both the mother's and the father's sides. Thus, descent can be best described as cognatic. The Nuer consider kinship the most important basis of social organization. People determine whether they are related by their clan names. The members of a clan share a totem and believe in their descent from that totem. It is also on the basis of clan membership that strong marriage or sexual prohibitions are established and enforced.

Kinship Terminology. Children have to learn kinship terminology at a very young age and apply it strictly in their daily interactions with adult relatives. It is the means by which individuals express respect for one another. Those who do not share an age set cannot address one another by their first names. Kinship terminology is intended to maintain the descent group, and descent organizes domestic life, socializes children, allows the transfer of property and ritual roles, and settles disputes. The responsibilities, obligations, and rights derived from descent membership and expressed through kinship terminology extend to many areas of life. The Nuer use bifurcate collateral terminology.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage and family are the most fundamental institutions and are a universal goal. Polygynous marriages are common. Marriages of members of any local group are usually the best way of creating links through women between persons from different communities. This practice makes maternal and affinal ties in kinship reconfigurations an essential aspect of kinship, as exogamous rules are strongly enforced on both sides. A man may not marry a close cognate. The Nuer consider that if any relationship can be traced between a man and a woman through the mother or father, marriage should not take place between those persons.

Courtship is permitted among people who have established the nonexistence of a consanguineal relationship. Courtship, which is always initiated by men, is the preferred method of finding a mate. After the male initiation ceremony, a young man takes on the full privileges and obligations of manhood in work, war, and play. Courtship and cattle become a young man's major interests, and he takes every opportunity to flirt. When it is his turn to get married, a Nuer man is asked by his family to identify which one of the girls he has courted he loves the most. Once the family has reached an agreement, the elders visit the woman's family to announce their intention and discuss the number of cattle to be paid in bride-wealth. The marriage is brought about by the payment of cattle, and every phase of the ritual is marked by the transfer or slaughter of cattle. Some couples may decide to elope, in which case the question of bride-wealth is settled later, but this method is risky and the two families may end up in a bloody battle.

Marriages are stable, and grounds for divorce are limited; a woman's failure to conceive is one of them. Since marriages involve the exchange of property, which is often contributed by different members of the extended family, individuals are not free to terminate marriages. Decisions regarding divorce are usually subjected to the scrutiny of both sides before they are finalized, as the groom's family has invested materially in the marriage and the bride's family does not want to lose the bride-wealth it has received.

Domestic Unit. A married couple may live with the man's family before moving out to establish their own home. The couple is free to live in a place of their choice, but residence with the man's family is preferred.

Socialization. Children are cared for by both of their parents, grandparents, and older siblings or any other relatives willing to do so. Boys are generally engaged in tasks concerning cattle and with serving the adults at the cattle camp. Girls are expected to identify with their mothers, who teach them about women's roles. Boys usually identify with their fathers, who initiate them into manly activities and teach them their responsibilities for work and war.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Nuer are organized around clans and lineages, with the lineage being a smaller segment of the clan. The degree to which people relate to one another is based on their kin relationship. The narrower the gap in structural distance is, the more likely it is that the relatives will share a village. Those members of a lineage who live in an area associated with it see themselves as a residential group, and the concept of lineage therefore functions through the political system. A clan has a headman. Several headmen are appointed as government subchiefs and serve under an executive chief. Nuer society is segementary. Group size can change according to political circumstances. For example, many clans may form a phratry and reside together if there is a need for collective defense and then break apart when that need ceases to exist.

Political Organization. The Nuer are divided into a number of subgroups that have no common organization or central administration. Those groups may be described politically as tribal sections. Some live in the homeland to the west of the Nile and can be distinguished from those that have migrated to the east of the river. Therefore, it is proper to distinguish between Western Nuer and Eastern Nuer. The Eastern Nuer may be further divided into those tribal sections living near the Zaraf River and those living to the north and south of the Sobat River. In each of these groups there are headmen, subchiefs, executive chiefs, and paramount chiefs. These are all politicized positions that emerged after the establishment of the nation. Traditionally, Nuer political and administrative structure relied on community elders who enforced norms and regulations through respect and fear.

Social Control. Homicide is common and is usually related to cattle. Murder can be immediately avenged or become the basis of blood feuds. The mechanism to deter homicide and revenge is blood wealth, which is payable in cattle. The norm is thirty cows paid to the family *of* the slain person.

Conflict. The Nuer's relationship with the Dinka has been based on a cycle of war and reconciliation because of cattle rustling or theft. There is a myth in which the two groups are represented as two sons of God, who promised his old cow to Dinka and its calf to Nuer. One night Dinka came and took the calf from God by imitating the voice of Nuer. When God realized that he had been cheated, he became angry and charged Nuer to avenge that act by endlessly raiding Dinka's cattle. Today the Nuer raid cattle and seize them openly by force of arms.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Although large numbers of Nuer converted to Christianity at the end of the twentieth century, the majority remain followers of traditional religions whose central tenet is the worship of a high god through the totem, ancestral spirits, and a number of deities. The high god is called Kuoth and is the source of life; below Kuoth is a host of earth deities. Nuer religious practice involves sacrifices of animals at designated times of the year, such as beginning of the rainy season, the blessing of the harvest, and the end of the year. At these prayer gatherings the religious practitioners call for peace and good human and animal health and fertility. Ancestral spirits are thought to be able to increase the productivity of the land, increase the number of cattle, and provide safety. They are believed to watch over the living, reward good behavior, and punish wrongdoing. They function as mediators between the dead and the living. There are times when the gods need to be appeased, especially when they are angered by human behavior, and rituals are performed on those occasions. All these practices were a source of misunderstanding between the Nuer and Christian missionaries, who initially believed that the Nuer were worshiping idols. However, as a result of the religious conflict between the north and the south of Sudan, Christianity has grown steadily among the Nuer and Christians are currently estimated at 30 percent of the Nuer population.

Religious Practitioners. The central figure in religious practice is the leopard-skin-chief, but there have been numerous prophets whom people have believed in, the highest of whom was Ngun Deng. He rose in Lou Nuer, and his pyramid is the most impressive religious monument in Nuerland. The practices of traditional religious leaders have been regarded as complemented by Christianity, and there is no conflict between Christianity and traditional religion. However, the Nuer believe that there is a contradiction between their traditional beliefs and Islam.

Ceremonies. The Nuer engage in elaborate social and religious ceremonies. Dancing and singing are crucial forms of entertainment, and dances give young people an opportunity to interact and court. Although the Nuer do not conduct elaborate burial ceremonies, the death of a spiritual leader is always marked by a huge celebration in which cattle camps gather and young men engage in mock battles, sing to their favorite oxen, and feast. In the past a well-known spiritual leader might be buried alive to prevent his soul from taking the good health of the whole society with him. When he was thought to be dying, cattle camps were moved to his house and celebrations went on for days, during which time he was kept near the grave until the appropriate time came to bury him.

Arts. The Nuer spent long hours engaging in body beautification practices such as painting the body with cow dung ash mixed with cow urine. Hairstyling is another time-consuming endeavor.

Medicine. Although biochemical medicines are available and the Nuer believe in their efficacy, traditional therapeutic medicine is still highly regarded. It is sometimes the only medical system available because of war. The therapeutic techniques used among the Nuer include various kinds of surgery, dispensing medicinal plants, and bone setting. These are all techniques that can be passed between the generations. Other practitioners whose skills are "god-given" practice healing methods throughout Nuerland. They include diviners who are believed to diagnose by communicating with the supernatural world. They are widely believed in, but the rising number of people who are familiar with the concept of germs, viruses, and parasites and understand the way biomedicine works have started to challenge them.

Death and Afterlife. When a person is alive, his or her soul is thought to roam during sleep. The soul must return before the person wakes up. This is how dreams are believed to happen; dreams are things the soul has encountered while roaming the world. Death means that the soul has failed to come back before the person has awakened, and so, realizing that it is too late to rejoin the body, it goes to join the souls of the relatives who have died before to live with them.

For the original article on the Nuer, *see* Volume 2, Oceania.

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Nupe

ETHNONYMS: The Nupe call themselves Nupeci and refer to their language as Nupe. Their neighbors, such as the Hausa, Gbari, Birnin Gwari, Yoruba, and Kakanda, identify them by other names: Nufawa, Abawa, Anupeyi, Anufawhei, Tapa, and Anupecwayi.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Nupe are divided into different subgroups, including Batau, Kyedye, Eghagi, Ebe, and Benu, along with several others that speak related languages. Some Nupe have always lived outside the group's boundaries, and other peoples have lived in Nupeland. Although the Nupe are scattered over several states in west-central and northern Nigeria, the majority resides in Niger State in Nigeria. A sizable population lives in Kwara and Kogi states as well as in the Federal Capital Territory. The main towns are Bida, Minna, Agaie, Lapai, Mokwa, Jebba, Lafiagi, and Pategi.

The Nupe occupy a lowland of about 6,950 square miles (18,000 square kilometers) in the Niger Basin, mostly to the north of the river between the Kontagora and Guara confluents, from Kainji to below Baro. Despite its inland location, most of the area is less than 330 feet (100 meters) above sea level and never rises more than 820 feet (250 meters). Its ecology is typical of Guinea savanna, drier to the northwest and more humid to the southeast, but it also has broad areas of seasonally flooded land along the major rivers, notably along the Kaduna and the Niger.

Demography. The first official census, carried out in 1952-1953 by the British government, put the total population in the Nupe province at 319,465. Censuses conducted by the independent Nigerian governments in 1962 (revised in 1963) and 1973 are considered unreliable. The controversial 1991 census placed the population of Nupe at 1,062,000. The population of Nupe seems to be increasing as a result of advances in hygiene and preventive medicine in Nigeria since the 1940s. The death rate, especially among children under age five has declined, while the birthrate remains relatively high.

Linguistic Affiliation. Linguistic evidence suggests that the Nupe language belongs to a branch (Nupoid) of the Benue-Congo group of languages. Others languages in the group are Igbira (Ebira), Gbagyi (Gbari), Gade, and Kakanda. Nupe is related most closely to Gbari and Kakanda in structure and vocabulary. There are at least two markedly different dialects: Nupe central and Nupe Tako.

History and Cultural Relations

The oral traditions of the Nupe credit the foundation of the Nupe state to Tsoede in the fifteenth century. Before his time there were a number of small semiautonomous states in the area, such as Ebe, Gbidye, Kusopa, Benu, Beni, Dibo, Kede, Ebagi, Batsoi, Kupa, Cekpa, and Gwagba. Tsoede, who first took the title of *Etsu* (king), was an Igala prince from Idah, south of the Niger River. The Nupe state was brought about by conquest. The Nupe have influenced and been influenced by their neighbors in cultural matters, including language, religion, arts, agricultural techniques, and trade. Bronze figures found at Tada and Jebba suggest a connection with Ife and Benin. Stone figures found among the Igbomina-Yoruba of west-central Nigeria that have Nupe and Yoruba cultural traits suggest interactions between those groups.

The history of Nupe in the early part of the nineteenth century was marked by political instability caused by disputes over succession. This conflict culminated in 1796, when two rival Etsu, Jimada and Majiya II, claimed the throne. Islam has been an important northern influence, and the first Nupe king to become a Muslim reigned about 1770. The Fulani conquest that occurred in stages after 1820 was even more influential. At the end of the century British rule was established through the activities of the Royal Niger Company. The Bida Emirate was governed as part of the British colony of Nigeria until 1960, when Nigeria gained independence. During the creation of states by subsequent Nigerian governments, Minna was made the capital of Niger State, although Bida remains the largest predominantly Nupe town.

Settlements

The Nupe live in large villages or towns called *ezi.* Small settlements are called *tunga* or *kangi,* words that signify a "daughter-settlement" of a village or town. The local arrangement of Nupe settlements is consistent, with clusters *o{* compounds consisting of a number of walled compounds, or "houses," forming a ward, or efu. The wards are separated by stretches of open land and farms. A Nupe settlement with its scattered wards used to be encircled by a large town wall, whose remains can still be found in many places. The militant history of the Nupe led to walled villages and towns to protect people from attack. The traditional house consists of a number of huts, mostly round, built of clay and thatched with grass and surrounded by a high mud wall. In the twentieth century Western architecture and taste became common, especially among people living in towns. Sheets of corrugated iron are used in place of thatch roofs, and concrete cement houses are replacing mud constructions. Individual families that earned high enough salaries built their own houses rather than living in extended family homes. The refusal to contribute to the cost of the repairs of the extended family home often led to the early disintegration of those homes.

Economy

Subsistence. Most Nupe are farmers, and the staple crops are millet, guinea-corn, yams, rice, and groundnuts. Cassava, maize, and sweet potatoes (grown inland) are of secondary importance. The large proportion of seasonally flooded (fa*dama)* land has allowed a greater emphasis on growing rice, sugarcane, and onions. This has encouraged the establishment of commercial growing and refining of sugar at Bacita. The Nupe practice hoe agriculture, using a large, heavy hoe called a *zuku* and a small hoe called *dugba.* The Nupe system of agriculture is based on shifting cultivation combined with rotation of crops. The low population densities and less intense form of agriculture allowed more of the original savanna to survive, and woodland products are significant, particularly from the shea-butter tree and the locust-bean tree. There are many fishermen in the villages on the banks of the Niger and Kaduna rivers and their tributaries. Cattle raising is engaged in by the Bororo Fulani, who move their herds from one pasture to another as necessity dictates.

Commercial Activities. Every Nupe town or village has a market and regular market days. Markets are held either once a week or every five days to accommodate the needs of each area and the system of local transportation. Every kind of trade and craft is represented in the markets, including agricultural produce, foodstuffs, livestock, pots, and tools, along

with products and services of tailors, leather workers, barbers, and butchers.

Industrial Arts. The traditional industries, especially guild-organized crafts in which membership is largely hereditary, are done by men. These trades include blacksmithing, brass and silver smithing, glassmaking, weaving, beadwork, building, woodcarving, and carpentry. Nupe brasssmiths *(tswata muku)* are found mostly in Bida. The woodcarving tradition of the Nupe does not depend on the ceremonial or ritual use of artifacts but is almost entirely "art for art's sake."

Trade. The development of cash crops has involved mostly foodstuffs for the Nigerian market rather than industrial crops for exportation overseas. Nupeland was an important market center on trade routes. Those ancient trade routes have given way to motor roads and railways. Nupe exports rice, kola nuts, smoked fish, palm kernels, shea nuts, shea butter, groundnuts, and craft items to other parts of Nigeria and imports palm oil, salt, southern kola nuts, and livestock.

Division of Labor. A Nupe woman's obligations as a wife are to prepare meals for the family, perform child care, wash clothes, and bring firewood and water. Women spin, weave, cook food for sale at the market, or practice hairdressing. Men perform the primary productive activity, such as cultivating or transplanting crops; women occasionally assist in the harvesting. Women are in charge of preparing and marketing agricultural produce. The division of labor is flexible, and couples generally help each other when necessary.

Land Tenure. Under traditional conditions only men can hold or claim land. Lands were apportioned by the village head among the heads of families. The family head granted the right of occupancy to members of his family. Land cannot be sold, but it may be redistributed after the migration of the holder or the extinction of the family. The small individual plots *(buca)* are situated near the village, and the larger family plots *(efako)* some distance away. Old men who own plots are given preference by locating their plots near the village so that they do not have to walk too far.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Nupe have only one word for kinship, *dengi,* which defines relationship in the widest terms as well as in a more restricted sense. The basic structure of kinship is the extended family, which entails living together in the same "house" and recognizing a common family head, *emitso.* Kinship and the access to political and religious rights vested in it are determined by paternal descent.

Kinship Terminology. Within the kinship group generation, older brothers are distinguished from younger brothers, and the father's older brothers from his younger brothers. The older brothers, who represent the potential family heads senior to one's biological father, are called "father"; the younger brothers, who may be placed as junior relations under one's father, are called "little father."

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally, marriage could be contracted in one of two ways: The would-be bridegroom asked for the consent of the girl (sometimes the girl suggested to her father whom she wanted to marry), or the marriage was arranged by the heads of the families. Polygynous marriages were very common both before and after the introduction of the Islamic faith. Marriage involves the payment of a bride-price by the groom, and postmarital residence is patrilocal. Marriage has no real meaning without procreation. Barrenness is regarded as a curse and a misfortune, and traditional means are utilized to secure fertility or cure barrenness. Divorce rarely occurs because men want to avoid the publicity and ridicule of divorce proceedings in Alkali court (Islamic court). Most marriages are terminated only by the death of a spouse. Widows must remain in the compound for five months before they can remarry.

Domestic Unit. The members of a household share a house and cook and eat together. Household size has declined as young people have migrated to towns to work or attend school. Most households consist of a nuclear family and relatives of the husband or wife. Children are often left in the care of grandparents when married couples move to town. In a polygynous setting each wife has her own hut or room, and in some cases all the women eat together. Maintaining a household requires the labor of both men and women. In times of economic hardship a mother may take over some of the financial duties of the household normally handled by the father.

Inheritance. The deceased's property is divided between his oldest son, other sons, full brothers, and daughter in decreasing proportions. If the children are very young, the money is held in trust for them. If the marriage did not produce children, a woman may inherit from her husband or the deceased's brothers may forgo their right in her favor if they feel she has been a very good wife.

Socialization. Infants and children are cared for by both parents, by grandparents, and by older siblings. Emphasis is placed on sharing, cooperation, avoidance of quarrels, and respect toward one's superiors. Children may be sent right to a boarding school for years, or their relatives may take them in, enroll them in school, and arrange their marriages. Children call these foster parents father and mother and when grown up visit them and give them money before visiting their biological parents.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Social organization in Nupe villages and towns follows a consistent pattern. Normally, the village chief rules over his community, assisted by the village elders, the *nusazi,* or Old Ones. The elders are the heads of families or of groups of families that live together in one compound or efu. Appointment to the position of an elder is expressed in the titles the chief confers on these members of his council. The office of the elders is very loosely specialized. Certain titles reflect the special occupations nusazi and their families follow, such as hunters, drummers, and blacksmiths. No "house" may be excluded from a share of village offices or "own" more than one title. The village elders are the representatives of the chief through whom his orders reach the community; the informants on whom the chief depends, and the spokesperson of the people they represent both in their official capacity and as heads of kin groups.

Political Organization. Among the pre-Fulani (Islamic) Nupe the link with magic and myth, rituals and taboos, and the law of succession separated the king from his subjects. Fulani rule turned this semisacred kingship into strong rulership. The king became the highest rank holder in a royal nobility characterized by precedence and promotion. The elimination of primogeniture provided a system of succession that allowed for a balance of power that could satisfy rivals. The Fulani created emirs (kings), who in a loose sense became vassals of the Fulani Empire of Gwandu. Under British indirect rule in Nigeria the Etsu was still elected from the ranks of the royal princes by *gitsuzi* and *sarakizi* (title of royal and non-royal elites) and assisted by a council of four.

The Etsu is the head of his government. He is responsible for law and order in his domain, carries out measures of administration, and tries certain legal cases, advised and guided by the district officer in charge of the division. The appointment of a new Etsu was subject to confirmation by the colonial governor of Nigeria, and in some cases the governor could depose the emir on the advice of the district officer. The Etsu Bida and other chiefs of the emirate are paid a salary in accordance with the importance of the office. Since the independence of Nigeria in 1960, the position of Nupe king has continued to be affected by the political situation. However, the practice of compensating traditional rulers with salaries and confirmation of new appointments to the throne has continued under subsequent Nigerian governments.

Social Control. Social control is geared toward ensuring social responsibility. Religious (desecration of sacred objects or places) and kinship (inheritance, violation of marriage rules, incest) offenses may result in ostracism or punishment by the deity. Simpler offenses traditionally were settled by reparation *(gyara)* or arbitration, and more serious offenses involving "criminal" cases called for formal judgment and punishment *(sheri'a).* The Koranic law introduced by the Fulani was modified by the British and continued to exist side by side with customary law.

Conflict. Before the British conquest Nupe history was characterized by conflict with other groups for the purpose of expansion, conquest, or revenue. Villages frequently were involved in the wars of the kingdom, either causing wars by rebelling against the central government or being forced to take part in the wars the kingdom waged against other groups. Three subgroups of the Yoruba close to Nupeland—the Yagba, Abunu, and Igbomina were victims of this aggression. The defeat of Old Oyo *(katunga)* by the Nupe took place in the early sixteenth century. The Nupe later penetrated deep into Yorubaland, sacking Ede on the Osun River and raiding some Ijesha villages. These military activities continued until the Nupe were conquered by the Fulani and then by the British Royal Niger Company in about 1900.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Precontact religion involved a variety of local deities and the honoring of ancestors. Among pre-Islamic Nupe veneration of the guardian spirit Gunu was the most widespread religious practice and represented the peak of ceremonial life. Animals are sacrificed in his honor, and their blood is poured out as a libation to him. Every eleven months the men go to his altar, where they kneel down and bow their foreheads to the ground. There is also a semireligious institution called *Ndakogboiya,* in which a man may complain of a wife's conduct and beg that she be exposed, together with any other guilty party. The man then mounts a stilt and appears among the people, proclaiming their evil deeds and receiving propitiatory offerings of goats and fowl. The Ndakogboiya lost most of its efficacy when Islam replaced ancient religious beliefs.

Jubril, a Nupe king of about 1770, was the first to adopt Islam, though Islamic influence in the area may date back to 1700 C.E. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, under Etsu Mu'azu, the impact of Islam was felt through the activities of Mallam Dendo, who came to Nupeland as an emissary of the Fulani.

Religious Practitioners. In Nupe communities religious rituals are relegated to different officials. At Doko the Dibo Saba ritual addressed to an ancestor chief is performed by the chief, while the sako ritual, which involves a small group of hereditary hunters, is performed by the head of that group. The hereditary *gunnu* priest is known as *Gunnuko* (Great gunnu) or, more specifically, *Ndazo,* "the rare man." In Jebba the Ejuko is the guardian of the lineage of Tsoede. The importance of these rituals has not shielded them from the impact of cultural change. After Islamization these activities were curtailed, and they now are regarded as Satanic worship.

Ceremonies. Ceremonial events play a major role in the social life of the Nupe. Ceremonial occasions include funerals, weddings, the naming of newborn, the coronation of a new chief, graduation from a school, the anniversary of Nigeria's independence from Britain, and Islamic and church events. The advent of Islam brought many celebrations to Nupe life: the Islamic New Year *(Muharram), Id el Fitri* (Ramadan) , and *Id el-Kabir* (falling in the month of pilgrimage). These ceremonies involve the giving of alms and the sacrifice of a ram by those who can afford it to commemorate the name of God. On these occasions people wear their best clothes and visit friends, relatives, and persons of importance.

Arts. At the time of the Fulani conquest the main forms of artistic expression included weaving, cotton spinning, and hairdressing by women. Other art forms include embroidery, leatherwork, indigo dyeing, straw hat making, mat making, the manufacture of rope and twine, basketwork, and canoe building. These items are not marketed overseas. Drumming, singing, dancing, and oratory (including preaching) are also prevalent art forms.

Medicine. Therapeutic practices among the Nupe include the use of natural materials such as herbs, grasses, roots, and the leaves of trees, which are processed by pulverizing, boiling, or mixing. The manufacture or application of medicine often involves invocations of the deity and sacrifices. The knowledge of medicine is transmitted through teaching and in some cases is considered hereditary. With Islam came *Mal·lams,* who administer cures and sell charms or amulets prepared in accordance with Islamic belief. Western medicine is practiced in hospitals and dispensaries, but the high cost of such treatment leads people to depend on traditional medicine.

Death and Afterlife. After conversion to Islam the Nupe came to believe that life emanates from God and exists with

God in the sky. At birth it is sent down when the child is in the womb, and at death "God takes it away." During sleep body and life soul are separated temporarily; normally the soul will return to the body, but at times a person may die while asleep. Death is accompanied by ceremonial observance. This is consistent with the Nupe religion, which emphasizes ends rather than beginnings. While Islam has reduced the incidence of extravagant burials, ritual elaboration at the death of old people continues, since "they have seen the world" and there is no cause for grief. Drumming, singing, dancing, and feasting accompany their death. This festive aspect is absent in the case of younger people, whose death makes "the heart ache." The funeral includes the burial, called *mba,* and funeral rites performed after 8 days, 40 days, and 120 days in some cases. The number and scale of funeral rites vary with the age, sex, and status of the deceased. Old men and family heads and old women are buried in their sleeping rooms, beneath the floor; everyone else is buried in the space between the houses or by the compound wall. Sometimes graves are built from concrete cement blocks to make them more permanent and keep the memory of the deceased alive.

For other cultures in Nigeria, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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ARIBIDESI USMAN

Ogoni

ETHNONYMS: Khana

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Ogoni live in an area along the eastern edge of the Niger Delta. Ogoniland, as this area is known, is to the northeast of the Imo River, and the city of Port Harcourt in Rivers State lies to the west. The Ogoni homeland covers more than 400 square miles (1,036 square kilometers), borders the Bay of Guinea, and features deep valleys and gentle slopes. The region once was covered by a thick rain forest but has suffered from deforestation and pollution after decades of aggressive oil exploration.

Ogoni oral history provides a vivid story of the group's origins in the Niger Delta. The version accepted widely by the Ogoni tells of their migration from Ghana during a brutal civil war. Although the dates are not specified in Ogoni narratives, scholars believe that archaeological and linguistic evidence indicates that the Ogoni arrived in the Niger Delta around 15 B.C.E. Ogoni history speaks of an Ogoni woman named Gbenekwaanwaa leading a group composed primarily of warriors, spirit mediums, and medicine men by canoe to the settlement of Nama. Some people believe that this is why the Ogoni describe themselves to others as *Khana.*

Demography. In 2001 there were an estimated 500,000 Ogoni living in Nigeria, a country with more than 100 million people.

Linguistic Affiliation. In addition to English, three distinct languages are spoken in Ogoniland: Khana, Gokana, and Eleme. Linguists trace these linguistic clusters to the Cross River group of languages in the large Niger-Congo language family.

History *and Cultural Relations*

Radiocarbon dating in and around Ogoniland suggests that the Ogoni are among the oldest settlers in the Niger Delta. Archaeologists and linguists trace the Ogoni presence in that area to 15 B.C.E. These estimates are supported by references in Ogoni oral history to a "silent trade" that many scholars trace back to the fifth century B.C.E.

Ogoniland did not necessarily play a prominent role in the transatlantic slave trade, and there is little evidence to suggest that Ogoni were enslaved.

When the British entered Nigeria and imposed colonial rule in 1885, they left the Ogoni in relative isolation. Despite indigenous resistance, colonial rule was imposed on the Ogoni in 1914. The Ogoni were not held in great esteem by British colonial officials and were neglected within the ethnically based colonial social structure.

In the late 1940s the Ogoni successfully fought colonial efforts to separate them into groups and incorporate them into the existing territorial divisions of Opobo, Degema, and Ahoada. They also persuaded colonial officials to grant them their own Native Authority, a distinction that had been achieved by many of Nigeria's larger ethnic groups years earlier. However, efforts to preserve the traditional communal system were stymied in 1956, when the Ogoni were divided into three separate county councils: Khana, Gokana, and Eleme.

Their relationship with neighboring ethnic groups was further strained a year later when the Ogoni provided the swing votes for two members of an opposition Nigerian political party, the Action Group. That vote forced the removal of two members of the Igbo-supported ruling party in eastern Nigeria, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. However, conflicts over oil and money have come to define the status of the Ogoni in Nigeria.

Ogoniland was forever altered when oil was discovered by Royal Dutch Shell in 1958. An estimated 900 million barreis of oil worth roughly $30 billion has been exported from the area since 1958. The discovery of oil placed the Ogoni people on a collision course with forces interested in looting the resources of their homeland. The World Council of Churches estimates that since 1993 nearly two thousand Ogoni have been killed and more than thirty thousand displaced as a result of conflict with Royal Dutch Shell and the Nigerian government over oil exploration in their homeland.

Economy

Subsistence. The Ogoni economy is based largely on fishing and subsistence agricultural production of foods such as yams and cassava. Yams occupy a central place in the economy. They not only are an important source of physical nourishment but also have tremendous spiritual importance in the culture. The annual yam harvest is a time when the Ogoni pay respect to the land on which they live. However, oil reserves dispersed throughout Ogoniland remain a primary source of income for the Nigerian government.

Commercial Activities. Oil exploration and exportation is one of the chief commercial activities in Ogoniland, but many of the most impoverished residents of the area do not receive the benefits derived from oil revenues.

Trade. The Ogoni played a major role in commerce involving agricultural products on the rivers and streams of the Niger Delta. Although the origin of those commercial activities is not known, scholars believe that as early as the thirteenth century Ogoni traders were using large canoes to carry yams, plantains, palm oil, pots, and lumber to sites along the delta. Ogoni traders ventured into the hinterland and returned with salt cones, medicines, copper rods, and iron bars used to make daggers and knives.

Land Tenure. In precolonial times land was used primarily to cultivate crops such as yams, plantains, and cassava. When an individual needed additional income to survive, the culture allowed him to pledge *(bere)* his land to someone else in exchange for hard currency. The land was never sold outright but instead was used as collateral until the loan was repaid. While awaiting repayment, the pledgee could use the land to earn an additional income by cultivating crops to sell at markets throughout the delta.

Sociopolitical Organization

Political Organization. Ogoniland is organized around six major territorial kingdoms: Babbe, Eleme, Gokana, Ken-Khana, Nyo-Khana, and Tai.

Conflict. The discovery of oil in the Niger Delta and throughout Ogoniland brought with it an intense struggle over money, power, and the right to self-determination. The Shell Oil Company began exploring for oil in Ogoniland in 1958. Since that time more than two-thirds of Nigeria's oil has come from this region, and oil exports from the Niger Delta constitute more than 90 percent of Nigeria's export income. As Shell and the Nigerian government stepped up their efforts to export oil, they came into direct conflict with Ogoni customs and traditions. Ogoni leaders accused Shell and the Nigerian government, led by General Sani Abacha, of exploiting the Ogoni people and their natural resources with little concern for the social and economic impact. Deforestation, environmental pollution, unemployment, and destitution strained an already tense situation. In 1990 Ogoni leaders responded by forming a resistance organization called the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP). Doctor Garrick Leton was elected as the group's first president, Chief Kobani as its vice president, and Ken Saro-Wiwa as its publicity secretary.

The poet and writer Ken Saro-Wiwa emerged as one of MOSOP's most vocal and visible leaders. He and other Ogoni leaders crafted an Ogoni Bill of Rights that articulated an alternative environmental, economic, and political arrangement for the exploration and exportation of oil in Ogoniland. MOSOP urged Shell and the Nigerian government to adopt more environmentally responsible methods of exploration and share the immense wealth generated from that exploration with the Ogoni people. MOSOP is a self-described nonviolent movement, and its public protests against the construction of additional pipelines were met at times by fierce and violent government opposition. Ogoni leaders accused Shell of allowing its pipelines to fall into disrepair, leaking oil and contaminating the environment. Shell in turn accused the Ogoni of deliberately sabotaging the pipelines.

On 4 January 1993, MOSOP mobilized 300,000 people, more than two-thirds of the Ogoni population, for a peaceful protest against Shell in the town of Bori. Ogoni Day, as it was called, caught the attention of environmental and political activists worldwide. After consistent and intense pressure from MOSOP and other nongovernmental organizations around the world, Shell halted its operations in Ogoniland in 1993. However, the company returned a year later with support from the Rivers State Internal Security Task Force (ISTF), a special Nigerian military unit formed specifically to suppress the activities of MOSOP. Shell's return and the presence of ISTF sparked another round of fierce protests and public confrontations.

The conflict often turned Ogoni against Ogoni. After an international tour designed to raise global awareness of the plight of the Ogoni, Ken Saro-Wiwa returned to Nigeria in late 1992 with the intention of mobilizing an Ogoni-led boycott of the country's national elections in June 1993. Saro-Wiwa's intentions placed him in direct conflict with some of the more conservative Ogoni elders, who considered the boycott counterproductive. The bitter struggle between the two factions culminated on 21 May 1994, with the brutal murder of four conservative Ogoni leaders in Gokana Kingdom. Although international observers argue that the crimes probably were committed by a group of disaffected youth, the Nigerian government accused Saro-Wiwa and eight other MOSOP leaders of committing the crime. While under arrest, the Ogoni 9" were prohibited from seeing family members and were denied access to lawyers and basic medical care. Despite appeals from international groups, Saro-Wiwa and his fellow detainees were executed on 10 November 1995.

Conditions changed with the death in 1998 of Nigeria's military dictator, General Abacha, and the installment of a democratically elected civilian-led government a year later.

President Olusegun Obasanjo's government, working with Shell, has initiated development projects in Ogoniland designed to clean up the environment and bring money and jobs to the Ogoni. In 2001 MOSOP actively participated in hearings held by the Oputa Human Rights Investigation Panel. They submitted the so-called Ogoni 13 petition, urging the Nigerian government to acknowledge the past and accept responsibility for repression by past regimes.

The following is an excerpt from the Ogoni 4 petition presented by Joseph Kobani, a lawyer and the brother of the late Chief Edward Kobani. "The Ogoni crisis ... started with the gross injustice meted out to the Ogoni people dating back to the period before independence. With the discovery of oil in commercial quantities in Ogoni, the mindless exploitation of this resource brought with it myriads of problems including underdevelopment and environmental degradation. Regrettably no benefit accrued to the Ogoni themselves from this resource. Rather, the proceeds thereof were being used to develop other parts of Nigeria. Ogoni sons and daughters could not find jobs in the oil companies exploiting this resource. Our children could not even go to school where such existed because we could not afford to educate them. It was worse at the federal government level. The sum total of this state of affairs was that the Ogoni people became an endangered species—in danger of extinction."

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Christianity is widely practiced in Ogoniland, but a number of indigenous elements of Ogoni culture are still present. The traditional culture places a great deal of importance on the land, including the abundant streams and rivers that run throughout the region. Those streams and rivers provide food and a source of spiritual nourishment for the Ogoni. They are afforded a good deal of prominence in Ogoni culture and are worshiped by some as a god. The Ogoni also believe that the human spirit or soul can manifest itself in animals.

Arts. In the late 1940s the scholar M. D. W. Jeffreys spent a considerable amount of time investigating the Ogoni pottery industry. According to Jeffreys's account (1947), the women in the Ogoni community handled the production and distribution of pottery. Jeffreys described the pottery as being crafted on a foot-operated turntable called the *ladum,* a tool shaped like a saucer that stood on a pedestal "about three inches in diameter and two inches high." Upon completion, each item was given a unique brand by the potter, distinguishing the handiwork from that of others in the community. Jeffreys recorded more than forty-five different markings during a visit to a pottery market in Ogoniland. Although Ogoni pottery making was quite common in the late 1940s, Jeffreys indicates in his notes that the craft was rapidly being displaced by the presence and availability of large gasoline and kerosene tins that were proving to be more adaptable to Ogoni needs.

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ALONFORD JAMES ROBINSON, JR.

Ojibwa

ETHNONYMS: Anishinaabe; Ojibway, Ojibwe; Chippewa (United States); Mississauga or Southeastern Ojibwa (southern, central Ontario), Nipissing, Algonquin, Plains Ojibwa (sometimes Bungi); Northern Ojibwa; Saulteaux or Sauteurs (Manitoba); Ojicree or Oji-Cree; Southwestern Chippewa

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Ojibwa live in numerous communities ranging mainly from southern and northwestern Ontario, northern Michigan and Wisconsin, and Minnesota to North Dakota and southern and central Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The most common explanation of the name "Ojibwa" relates it to a root meaning "puckered up," a reference to a distinct style of moccasin. Ojibwa speakers commonly refer to themselves as *anishinaabeg,* a term meaning ``humans" (as opposed to nonhumans) or "Indians" (as opposed to whites).

Before European contact the Ojibwa homeland extended along the eastern and northern shores of Lake Huron, up

the northeastern shore of Lake Superior, and probably into the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. In the 1600s and 1700s the Ojibwa expanded along fur trade water routes to the north and west. Those with ancient connections to Sault Sainte Marie were referred to as Saulteaux (people of the rapids), a term still widely used in Manitoba. Numerous other local group names have gone out of use or have lost their reference to a specific place. For example, in the 1600s the Mississauga (now an alternative term for the Southeastern Ojibwa) were a band residing near the Mississagi River on the northern shore of Lake Huron.

Demography. Estimates of the Ojibwa population at the time of European contact are speculative. Kroeber (1953) suggested a figure of 30,000 for the Northern Great Lakes, plus 2,000 for the Plains Ojibwa and 3,000 for the Ojibwa in Wisconsin. The Algonkin and Ottawa he grouped separately, at 7,300. By comparison, Rogers (1978) estimated all the Ojibwa-speaking groups in the Great Lakes homeland in the 1600s at about 3,000 to 4,000, while Peers (1994) noted a lack of evidence for an Ojibwa presence on the Plains before the late 1700s. From the 1630s onward smallpox, measles, and influenza epidemics periodically reduced native populations. The combined Canada-United States Ojibwa population in 1912 was reported to be 38,000 to 41,000. In 1986 the U.S. and Canadian populations registered as members of Ojibwa bands (Canada) or tribes (United States) totaled about 80,000. This does not include people categorized as Ottawa or Algonkin or nonstatus Indians or persons of mixed descent who may self-identify as Anishinaabeg. In Canada a governmental act that allows the recovery of Indian status by women who had lost status by marrying out and their children has led to a considerable increase in the numbers of registered Ojibwa.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Ojibwa language is a member of the Algonquian language family. It includes several dialects. Southern Ojibwa speakers include the Ottawas and Chippewas of southern Ontario, Manitoulin Island, and the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. To the east the Nipissing and Algonquin represent another speech community, and western and northern Ojibwa speakers may represent perhaps three dialectal variants. The Northern Ojibwa of the Severn River region (neighbors of the Swampy Cree) speak a dialect increasingly known as Ojicree or Oji-Cree; outsiders have identified these communities as Cree, a label sometimes adopted by those people when speaking English.

History and Cultural Relations

Recorded Ojibwa contacts with Europeans began in the 1640s in the Great Lakes region; French Jesuit missionaries first preached at Sault Sainte Marie in 1641. Iroquois warfare against the Huron and their Algonquian allies led to the destruction of the Huron confederacy in 1649 and to the wide dispersal of those communities. By the 1690s the Mississauga, the Ottawa, and others had defeated the Iroquois in several battles, and Mississauga villages began to occupy old Iroquois sites along the northern shore of Lake Ontario.

French fur traders began actively to pursue contacts with Algonquian communities around and beyond the upper Great Lakes to meet European demand for beaver felt for hats. French trade goods, especially kettles, knives, awls, and axes, drew strong Ojibwa interest for their convenience and durability and tended to replace or supplement bark and pottery containers and stone tools; cloth, trade beads, tobacco, and alcohol were also in demand. Dependency on European goods should not be assumed, however; the guns of the 1600s, for example, were unwieldy, inefficient, and dangerous to their users. The fur trade fostered specialization; Ojibwa winter hunting and trapping began to focus more on securing furs. The Ojibwa increasingly expected French traders to advance goods and provisions as "debts" to support fur production. Ojibwa women were essential as processors of leather and furs; their workload in this sphere increased as the trade grew, although metal tools facilitated many of their customary tasks.

By the late 1700s Ojibwa groups had spread into Manitoba, Minnesota, and beyond. Montreal-based Canadian traders were moving westward to compete with the English Hudson's Bay Company, which was extending its trade into the interior of the vast Hudson Bay watershed known as Rupert's Land, which it had claimed by royal charter since 1670. Many Ojibwa had long associated with the Canadians and frequently intermarried with them "according to the custom of the country." From the Great Lakes to the far Northwest a sizable population of mixed descent had arisen by the mid-1800s. Depending on circumstances, these people might remain with maternal relatives and identify as Ojibwa or might be connected with the growing number of Metis who began in this period to see themselves as ethnically distinct. The rise of the Plains Ojibwa dates to this period.

Ojibwa communities diverged in several other directions by 1850. Those who traveled with the fur trade into the subarctic regions above Lake Superior adopted a lifestyle closer to that of their northern neighbors, the Swampy Cree. Ojibwa communities in southern Ontario were displaced by Loyalists who streamed into the region after the American Revolution and later by thousands of immigrants from the British Isles. Governmental policy oscillated between encouraging Indian reserves and agricultural mission settlements in the south and removing Indians to more northern localities, such as Manitoulin Island.

The Ojibwa communities that spread into Wisconsin and Minnesota by the early 1800s did so largely by means of intermittent warfare with the Dakota and other groups and by allying themselves with Ottawa, Potawatomi, and increasingly Metis associates and relatives. By the 1850s their land base and population had been severely reduced by U.S. removal policies, disease, and pressure from white settlement, especially in more southern areas.

Settlements

Ojibwa settlements were largest during the summer, when people gathered at choice fishing and trading spots such as Sault Sainte Marie. The more southerly groups established durable villages on lakes and rivers, where they practiced small-scale agriculture, growing corn and other domesticated crops; stands of wild rice and sugar maple trees also attracted seasonal settlement. In the fall smaller kin groups consisting of, for example, two brothers and their wives and children, left the bigger lakes and rivers to canoe and portage inland, setting up winter camps in hunting and trapping lands that their families might have used for generations.

Dwellings varied seasonally. Conical or dome-shaped structures made of saplings bound together and covered with birch or elm bark or hides (depending on the region), later supplemented by canvas, were standard. Polygynous men and their families might occupy a peaked-roof long lodge with doors at both ends. Log or frame houses became common in more southern areas during the 1800s, but indigenous dwelling types were common along inland rivers and lakes in northern Ontario and Manitoba through the 1930s.

Economy

Subsistence and Commercial Activities. The Ojibwa economy was mixed, combining the seasonal harvesting of wild resources (fish, game, birchbark, berries, plant medicines, and other local products) with gardening (in the south) and trade. Management of these resources by fire and other methods enhanced productivity; wild rice, for example, was reseeded where old beds had declined and was introduced to new locations where conditions were promising. The rise of the fur trade brought an increased emphasis on beaver, muskrat, and other pelts and encouraged the production of maple sugar and wild rice for trade. Fish, notably whitefish, and more specialized products such as sturgeon isinglass acquired commercial value, leading to competition in several areas between Ojibwa groups and outside entrepreneurs; overfishing by those entrepreneurs led to massive depletions in several areas by 1900. The Plains Ojibwa turned more to bison hunting, although they maintained mixed seasonal use of other resources and did not become as oriented to horses as did other Plains groups.

Industrial Arts. The processing of leather, bark, plant fibers, wood, stone, clay, and to a lesser degree native copper from around Lake Superior yielded a diverse material culture; for the Ojibwa of the Plains the bison furnished hides, pemmican, and other useful products. On arrival, European traders in the Northeast and the subarctic region found canoes, snowshoes, and moccasins essential to travel and increased the demand for these goods. The metal goods they introduced greatly facilitated woodcutting, cooking, and sewing, and glass trade beads, silk thread, and recycled materials such as snuffbox lids made into tinkling cones augmented traditional decorative materials such as porcupine quills. By the later 1800s basketry and beadwork became a significant source of income for Ojibwa women in areas frequented by tourists, sports fishermen, and cottagers.

Trade. The Europeans found the Ojibwa already engaged in trade with the Huron to the south and the Cree to the north; goods such as cornmeal and Iroquoian pottery moved north, while furs for winter clothing traveled south along old trade routes that reached from the southern Great Lakes to James Bay. The French fur trade cast Ojibwa, Nipissing, and Algonquin groups into middleman roles as conveyors of high-quality Cree beaver pelts to Montreal and Quebec. By the 1700s French forts and missions on the Great Lakes became magnets for trade and to some extent settlement, fostering the rise of an Ojibwa-Metis population. In the north trapping remained important through the middle of the twentieth century, and it still augments income from other sources.

Division of Labor. Most hunting, trapping, and trading was done by men; women's work centered on child care, gathering firewood and berries and other plants, and processing leather, clothing, and food. Older men assumed the most prominent leadership and ceremonial roles.

Land Tenure. Land tenure was established by continued use and habitation of village sites and by local consensus about which family groups frequented specific lakeshores and streams in the winter hunting season. Patterns of water travel and watersheds shaped land use in most areas, and concepts of trespass and respect for occupancy rights reinforced the stability of use patterns except when disruptive rivalry with other groups occurred, as in the upper Midwest "debatable zone" between the Ojibwa and the Dakota in the late 1700s and early 1800s. By the late 1800s land cessions and the creation of reservations, along with fish, game, and migratory bird laws, the damming of rivers, and other changes, had undermined Ojibwa land use patterns in all but the most northerly communities.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Patrilineal exogamous clans structured Ojibwa kin relations in most areas, though clan solidarity and functions were more visible in southern regions. The Southwestern Ojibwa of Minnesota had twenty-three clans, while fifteen or twenty were reported for the Lake Superior Chippewa in the 1800s. Among the Berens River Ojibwa in the 1930s seven clans were reported. The Northern Ojibwa, in contrast, developed regional bands traceable to a remote genealogical ancestor, such as the Cranes in the area of Weagamow and Big Trout lakes.

Kinship Terminology. Ojibwa kinship follows a bifurcate collateral pattern with Iroquois-type cousin terminology, distinguishing cross cousins from parallel cousins, aunts, and uncles and merging parallel cousins with siblings.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Although parents commonly arranged the marriages of their children, liberal courtship customs allowed eligible mates (ideally classificatory cross cousins) to form relationships that were sanctioned as marriages. A man's presentation of gifts to the woman's parents and their acceptance allowed a marriage to go forward. Temporary matrilocal residence was common and might be lasting if the wife's parents lacked other male hunters. Polygyny was not usual, but men who achieved power and prestige might have two or three wives or, rarely, more. Divorce was permitted, as was remarriage after divorce or the death of a spouse.

Domestic Unit. Residential units consisted of long lodges occupied by extended families that often included three generations or, in the summer, clusters of smaller dwellings occupied by related families that dispersed into smaller groups for winter hunting. By the early 1900s log and frame nuclear-family housing prevailed in most areas. Nuclear family units, however, still often house one or more grandparents as well as children adopted or fostered because they need a home, because the home needs children, or both.

Inheritance. Clear gender roles led to women's property being passed down to female descendants, and men's down to males. Ceremonial properties, religious powers, and lead-

ership roles usually passed down the male line but also were legitimated by appropriate vision experiences and the demonstration of suitable personal qualities.

Socialization. Children learned gender and adult roles largely by experience, observation, example, and stories and legends rather than through formal teaching or discipline. Boys at puberty sought gifts and blessings from dream visitors by fasting in isolation for several days. Thunderbirds or other beings might bestow powers that helped men throughout life if they were respected and obeyed. Girls at first menstruation were secluded, but vision experiences, while they might occur and confer special powers, were not sought or needed by females to the same degree. Women after puberty observed various taboos on the handling of men's tools and products of the hunt, and all children learned customary patterns of respect, avoidance, or joking relationships toward different classes of relatives.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Ojibwa communities consisted of local autonomous bands of interrelated families that often were known by a name reflecting a geographic feature of their territory, such as rapids or a river mouth. More southerly bands ranged up to several hundred people; those living on the Canadian Shield had perhaps 50 to 150 persons. By the late 1800s many bands, especially on the Plains, consisted of an ethnic mix of Ojibwa, Ottawa, Cree, Metis, and Dakota or others.

Political Organization. Leadership in Ojibwa bands commonly passed down the male lines of large, successful families. The men and, more rarely, women who gained leadership were respected for their abilities, knowledge, and evidence of spiritual powers in hunting, healing, or other domains. Younger leaders might be successful warriors, and older men might demonstrate shamanic powers that attracted allegiance from members of their families or communities but appeared frightening and evil to outsiders such as missionaries, who became their rivals in some respects, or to potential enemies. By the late 1800s outside pressures fostered more formalized chiefly roles, especially in Canada, where the Indian Act of 1876 required the election of chiefs and councils. Elections and majority rule at least nominally replaced older, more consensual political processes. Tensions between young and old, Christian and nonconverted, and "progressive" and "conservative" grew; while generational and civil-chief/warrior rivalries were not new, factionalism was exacerbated by social and economic stress.

Social Control. Ridicule, gossip, and ostracism were the principal means of social control. Persons who manifested the threatening behavior of a cannibalistic *wiindigoo* or a "bear-walker" who pursued others with bad medicine might be executed. It was expected that wrongdoers and breakers of taboos would bring penalties from offended spiritual beings upon themselves or their children *(onjinewin,* punishment for a moral wrong), obviating need for human intervention.

Conflict. Strong sanctions controlled overt expressions of conflict and anger. Direct conflict usually was deflected through avoidance or silence; if it was not defused, antagonists might resort to indirect warfare, "throwing bad medicine" through sorcery. The introduction of alcohol evidently decreased inhibitions on physical abuse and violence. Stresses in modern reservation communities have exacerbated generational conflicts. Old mechanisms of control have broken down, and high youth suicide rates in northern Ontario testify to widespread problems in parent-child communications and to drastic changes in values related to individual behavior, agency, and responsibility.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Ojibwa cosmology, reinforced by language, presents a universe filled with beings and forces conceived of as animate and capable of interacting with human beings. To speak of thunder, for example, is to speak of the Thunderers or Thunderbirds *(animikiig* or *pinesiwag),* beings who require respect and offerings and may help humans and visit them in dreams. Objects and animals may not be what they seem; certain stones may speak and have powers, or a seemingly ordinary creature may be a spirit visitor in human or animal form. Debate exists over whether the Ojibwa had a pre-Christian concept of a supreme god *(gichi-manidoo,* Great Spirit), but along the Berens River non-Christians spoke of a remote, ungendered unseen power, *gaa-dibendjiged* from whom powers emanated to all other beings in varying degrees. Animals, plants, the four winds, and other natural phenomena had spiritual "owners" or "bosses" who appeared in myths and dreams and controlled human relationships with the entities they represented.

In the nineteenth century intensive missionization by Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists, and others began, particularly in the more southern regions. The results varied widely. Churches and schools built within Ojibwa communities allowed children a degree of familial continuity and contact with elders and gave the Ojibwa opportunities to assimilate aspects of Christianity on their own terms. When, in the late 1800s, perhaps a third to a half of the rising generation was sent to distant boarding schools, old belief systems were lost in many instances. Since the late 1900s Ojibwa traditionalists have tried to revive religious beliefs of the past in a framework of a broader pan-Indian spirituality, while Christians commonly turn to the evangelical and Pentecostal churches active on many reservations.

Religious Practitioners. Young people who received special gifts on their vision quests and support and teaching from powerful older relatives became shamans with various specialties, such as healing or divining future or distant events through the use of the shaking tent (a small structure in which the operator communed with visiting spirit beings and received answers to questions and problems) or conducting *Midewiwin* (Grand Medicine Society) ceremonies.

Ceremonies. The Midewiwin, which was prominent among most southern and central Ojibwa until Christianization and other forces diminished its practice and then was revived in the late 1900s, was the most prominent ceremony. Held in spring and/or fall in a long lodge built for that purpose, it was an occasion for reciting origin and migration myths, healing, and initiating new members. More generally, individual and group ceremonies infused everyday life; the harvesting of game or roots, the naming of a child, or the passing of a thunderstorm were occasions for prayers and of-

ferings. Innovations occurred through dream messages that individual recipients received and promulgated. In the late 1800s, for example, a Dream Dance involving the use of a large drum and the transmission of an elaborate song cycle spread across Minnesota and Wisconsin and eventually to the Berens River in Manitoba.

Arts. Musical instruments included rattles, flutes, water drums, and large drums such as those of the Dream Dance and those used more recently in powwows. Individuals received songs from dream visitors who conferred powers to heal, secure success in hunting, or conduct certain ceremonies. Inscribed and painted arts included migration stories and song notations on birchbark Midewiwin scrolls and pictographs on rock faces above water, as at Agawa on Lake Superior. In the 1960s Ojibwa artists led by Norval Morrisseau created the pictographic or "Woodland" school of native painting. Using leather and cloth, Ojibwa women have a long tradition of porcupine quillwork, silkwork, and beadwork, most commonly using floral motifs; birchbark basketry is also a widely used medium for quillwork.

Medicine. Serious illness was ascribed to personalized causes: retaliation from offended spirit beings or sorcery for improper behavior or for having done wrong to an animal or a person. Curing could involve a specialist's use of medicinal plant remedies, the sweat lodge, the Midewiwin ceremony, and a shaman's aid in soliciting the victim's confession of past taboo breaches or other acts that might have brought about the ailment.

Death and Afterlife. The deceased were dressed in fine clothes, wrapped in bark, and buried (or in older times when the ground was frozen, placed on high scaffolds) with the goods needed on the journey to the afterworld. Southern Ojibwa groups placed the land of the dead or of ghosts *(jiibayag)* to the west; Berens River Ojibwa placed it in the south. A small log house or picket fence was placed over the grave, and relatives left offerings such as tea or tobacco for the deceased or for the use of others who might visit to pay their respects. Reincarnation was seen as possible though rare; clues would be a few gray hairs on a baby's head or a person's recollection of experiences while in the womb or before.

For the original article on the Ojibwa, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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JENNIFER S. H. BROWN

Okinawans

ETHNONYMS: Ryukyu, Liu-Kiu, Liu Ch'iu, Loochoo

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Okinawans live in the Ryukyu Archipelago, a chain of 170 islands that stretches in a 750 mile (1200 kilometer) arc from Kyushu, Japan, to Taiwan. The islands range in form from large volcanic islands to small flat coral reefs. Warmed by the northward-flowing Black Current *(Kuroshiwo),* the climate is subtropical and humid. The islands are subject to torrential rains and frequent typhoons. Amami Oshima Island is one of the wettest, with an average annual rainfall of 120 inches (3,086 millimeters), with the heaviest rainfall occurring from March to June. Okinawa is the largest island, 85 miles (135 kilometers) long and 17 miles (28 kilometers) wide. The island of Okinawa and all the islands south constitute Okinawa Prefecture, and those north of Okinawa are part of Kagoshima Prefecture.

Demography. In 1998 the population of Okinawa was 1.31 million, not including the approximately 300,000 Okinawans who live in Japan proper and the 300,000 who live overseas. Naha is the capital and the largest city with a population just over 300,000. Ninety percent of Okinawans live on Okinawa Island.

Linguistic Affiliation. Japanese and the Ryukyun languages spring from a common parent language dating back 1300 years. The Ryukyun dialects are 62 to 70 percent cognate with the Tokyo Japanese dialect. The ability to speak and understand standard Japanese and the local dialect varies by generation. Okinawans under twenty years of age speak only standard Japanese. Those between twenty and fifty understand the local dialect but speak Japanese, whereas those over fifty may understand standard Japanese but speak only the local dialect.

History and Cultural Relations

The earliest prehistoric site in the Ryukyus is Yamashito-cho, which dates back to 30,000 B.C.E. Other later sites include Pinzu-abu (23,800-24,800 B.C.E. and Minatogawa (14,600-16,250 B.C.E.). The Minatogawa people are considered the direct ancestors of the Okinawan people and are believed by some scholars to have migrated north from the Sunda Shelf along what was then the Ryukyun peninsula before the end of the last ice age (10,000 B.C.E.). A Paleolithic Yaeyama culture in the central and southern half of the Ryukyus has strong affinities with Indonesian and Melanesian cultures. On the island of Okinawa the Yaeyama culture is overlaid by the Neolithic Jomon culture, which is found throughout Japan.

References to the Ryukyus as the "Islands of the Eastern Seas" or "Southern Isles" are found in seventh-century historical records of China and Japan. The southern sea route between China and Japan passed by the Ryukyu Islands, which became a temporary refuge for shipwrecked sailors as well as travelling ambassadors and priests. Okinawa also became a permanent home for officials and nobles banished from the Japanese court. Okinawan myth points to a great cave on Iheya Island as the ancestral home of the Okinawan people and to Kudaka Island just east of Okinawa as the place where the gods introduced agriculture, the "five fruits and grains." Wet-rice cultivation spread to the Ryukyus between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed the rise of fortified villages and conflict among local chiefs *(aji);* this eventually led to the consolidation of power in three major kingdoms in 1310 and the unification of the island under the first Sho Dynasty in 1416. Although a minor kingdom with poor resources, Okinawa became a wealthy trading center, transshipping cargo between Southeast Asia, China, Korea, and Japan. Okinawans looked to China as the center of civilization and sent tributary delegations to the Middle Kingdom on a regular basis. The court adopted Chinese manners and dress. The ruler Sho Shin (1477-1526) abolished feudalism and established a Confucian state that included a hereditary social system with nine ranks and eighteen grades. The aji were not allowed to carry arms and had to live in the capital. Students were sent annually to Beijing, and Chinese teachers, artisans, and traders lived in a special section of the Okinawan port of Naha, where they had a great influence on Okinawan architecture, law, ritual, and dietary customs. The period between 1400 and 1550 often is called the Golden Age of the Ryukyu Kingdom.

In 1609 the Japanese warlord Satsuma invaded Okinawa because the island did not support the Shogun Hideyoshi's planned invasion of Korea. He also wanted control of the island's overseas trade. Okinawans maintained their tributary relationship with China even though they had become a vassal state of Japan. This pretense was maintained for the next three hundred years. Beginning in 1724, the aji were allowed to settle in the countryside to alleviate overcrowding in the capital. In the nineteenth century various Western powers made calls to Naha and signed treaties, including the American Commodore Perry in 1853. Fearful of foreign intrusions, the Meiji government officially annexed Okinawa in 1871 and abolished the kingdom in 1879. The Meij i government imposed a program of assimilation, forbidding the use of Ryukyun language. During that period many Okinawans emigrated overseas (nearly 200,000 between 1920 and 1940) to places such as Hawaii, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, the Philippines, Taiwan, New Caledonia, and Micronesia. In 1945, the last battle of World War II was fought on Okinawa. Lasting three months, the "Iron Typhoon" claimed the lives of 150,000 Okinawans and left 90 percent of the population homeless. Okinawa remained under American occupation until 1972, when it reverted to Japan. To counteract pressure for reversion and prolong the military occupation, the Americans adopted a program of "Ryukyuization" in which they encouraged the use of Ryukyun language in schools and on the radio and funded historical research that favored an indigenous perspective. The United States still maintains a large military base on the island. Tensions continue to exist between Okinawans and Japanese over ethnic versus national identity, diversity versus homogeneity, and local versus central control.

Settlements

Fifty of the 110 islands in Okinawa Prefecture are inhabited. The largest and most populated island is Okinawa. The most common type of village is called *Shima,* or "island," and ranges in size from fifty to two hundred closely built homes surrounded by fields. These villages are the oldest type of settlement on the island and are found in the valleys. In the upland country there are dispersed homesteads *(Yaadui)* whose occupants are the descendants of nobles who were permitted to settle the countryside after 1724. Stringlike settlements along highways are a postwar phenomenon.

Economy

Subsistence. In 1960 half of the population engaged in farming, but by 1990 that proportion dropped below 10 percent. A quarter of the land on the island of Okinawa is cultivated. The main crop is sweet potatoes, followed by soybeans, rice, and sugarcane. Sugarcane is a cash crop that was introduced in 1623. Wheat, millet, barley, and Irish beans are important crops on other islands. The most commonly cultivated fruits and vegetables are wax melons, green beans, muskmelons, bananas, eggplant, tomatoes, pumpkins, and cucumbers. Okinawans also raise rabbits, goats, pigs, horses,

and oxen. Fishing is a major occupation in coastal villages. The principal fish caught are bonito, sea turtle, sea bream, whitefish, and globefish. A typical meal consists of boiled sweet potatoes, miso soup, a vegetable, and noodles.

Commercial Activities. Many vegetables are grown for sale in urban markets. The major commercial activities on Okinawa are food processing (sugar and pineapples), oil refining, and tourism (over four million tourists annually). Other commodities produced and exchanged on the islands are tobacco, firewood, charcoal, fish cakes, dried bonito, seaweed, and sea salt. Other economic activities include fishing for tuna, raising cattle, raising silk cocoons, making tea, tanning, limestone quarrying, and distilling.

Industrial Arts. Okinawa is famous for a colorful batik cloth called *bingata.* In earlier times bingata kimonos were worn by Naha's upper class. The oldest surviving piece of bingata cloth dates back to the 1470s. Tsubaya pottery and lacquerware were also famous Ryukyun manufactures and trade goods. Today the Japanese government is attempting to establish Okinawa as a "Multimedia Island" (MMI), a center for research and development in CD-ROM and Internet technology.

Trade. For centuries Okinawans conducted a profitable transshipment trade between East Asia and Southeast Asia. Some of the most profitable exports were textiles, dyes, lacquerware, fans, colored silks, paper, porcelains, gold, copper, grains, fruits, and vegetables. In the first half of the twentieth century Okinawa produced sugar for export.

Division of Labor. In general, women work in and around the home and men work in the fields. Women's work includes child care, maintaining the house and surrounding grounds, doing laundry, preparing food, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes, and feeding pigs. Men plant and transplant rice, prepare the rice fields, harvest rice, and build and repair houses. Men weave baskets and mats. In fishing villages men catch the fish and maintain the boats and gear; women sell and distribute the fish. The major occupations are agriculture, fishing, wood gathering, and stone cutting.

Land Tenure. Meiji land reforms in the period 1899-1903 introduced the Japanese system of private property and ended the communal land tenure system. Before land reform villagers had the right of cultivation but not that of ownership. Village elders redistributed the land every two to ten years according to an allotment system *(jiwanseido)* in which every member of a family, young and old, male and female, received a share.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Okinawan kinship includes two distinct systems: a commoner, household-based system *(uji)* and a noble, genealogy-based system *(munchuu).* The latter system was keyed to a founding ancestor and observed strict patrilineal rules; the former system was cognatic and bilateral, permitting various choices for heirs to the estate. Commoners lived in shima villages with only three to four descent groups. Nobles lived in upland villages, some with as many as ninety descent groups. Noble genealogies were registered in the capital. The development of a new class system over the last hundred years has favored the munchuu system, which has absorbed the uji system. The destruction of many genealogies during the war and the loss of family members have complicated this process. Okinawans attribute half of their illnesses to irregular descent lines, which shamans try to rectify by engaging in "munchuu-making."

Kinship Terminology. In the past the noble and commoner classes used different sets of kinship terms. Today there are three distinct kinship terminological systems that correlate with kinship, household, and village structures. The same kin term, such as *ottoo* (father), can be found in more than one system. The first system is egocentric and bilaterally symmetrical: Persons are classified by sex, generation, and relative age. The second system distinguishes between an individual and age groups senior to that individual. It also distinguishes between community leaders and ordinary persons. Socioeconomic status is relevant in this system. In the third system kin terms are used in combination with the household name, such as *Hampata ŋ choonan,* "the heir of the Hampata household." The branch houses of younger brothers and collateral kin are built around the main house *(muutuyaa)* and are named in relation to the main house, such as "Little Hampata," "East Hampata," or "Behind Hampata." The use of Japanese terms, which distinguish between the nuclear family and extended kin, has become more common and may reflect nuclearization of the Okinawa family.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Beginning in the mid-1700s, it was official policy to restrict movement of peasants, village endogamy was mandated by law, and the penalty for marrying outside the village was a fine equivalent to a year's wages. In the past women married as young as thirteen and fourteen years old. A diviner was consulted to find a propitious wedding date. Since the 1890s the Japanese have discouraged endogamy, and young people today consider it barbaric; nevertheless, a large percentage of marriages continue to be transacted in this way, perhaps as a result of a long tradition of mutual aid among village households. Marriage involves a betrothal ceremony *(ubukui)* and the exchange of a bride-price *(injoojing).* On the wedding day the wedding party first visits the bride's house and offers her family gifts. Then everyone returns to the groom's house for a ceremonial exchange of drinks. The groom and bride then celebrate separately with their own friends and reunite the next day. In the countryside families may forgo the wedding ceremony. Residence is virilocal.

Domestic Unit. The household *(yaa)* is the basic social unit and source of identity in Okinawan society. One can be a member of only one household, and family members who leave the house are struck from the household roll. Households have their own names, which are used as terms of reference for individuals. The household has one vote in village-level politics. The household is also an economic and ceremonial unit. Households have their own fields, and members participate as a unit in village ceremonies and communal work groups. A household consists of a couple, their unmarried children, and the father and mother of the oldest son. Each family keeps a set of ancestral tablets and worships deceased members of the household. A family is considered connected to the ancestors through the house lot.

Inheritance. The first son succeeds as the head of the house. If he emigrates, the second son can replace him as a temporary head. If there are no male heirs, a daughter may succeed to the household head and then pass the estate to her oldest son. Inheritance occurs at retirement or death of the father. The first son receives about 50 to 60 percent of the land, and the rest is divided among the younger brothers. Because of land scarcity there is pressure on younger brothers to emigrate or move to the city and engage in another profession. A daughter's inheritance comes at marriage and consists of such goods as a kimono, chest, mirror, pillow, and futon.

Socialization. While growing up, children have a close relationship with their parents and grandparents. Although children are given a lot of leeway, they are scolded severely for serious offenses and can be sent out of the house or tied up. Respect for education is deeply rooted. There are nine years of compulsory schooling, after which schooling is limited. After graduating from school, young people usually join a youth organization, which they stay in until age thirty for men and until marriage for women. Youth group members get together for music and dancing and work on cleanup and repair projects or on farms. Young men tend to associate with each other in clubs or gangs and get together with women their age to drink, sing, and dance at informal "rowdy houses" *(yagamayaa)*. Only 28 percent of young men and women go to college, compared to 44 percent for the rest of Japan. Institutions of higher learning are Okinawa University, Kokusai University, and the University of the Ryukyus, which are all on the island of Okinawa.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Each village usually is subdivided into neighborhoods or wards *(kumi)*. Kumi members cooperate in labor exchanges during the harvest, for house construction and repair, and for government labor details. In the past there were class divisions between a commoner class *(hakusoo)* of farmers and merchants and an upper class *(yukatchu)* of gentry and nobility. The gentry lived in villages separate from the commoners and had little contact with them except in an official capacity. The Japanese abolished the landlord class and all class divisions, but pride in having noble origins lingers in upland villages. In shima villages, prestige is accorded to the direct descendants of the founding household *(niiyaa)*, or root house. Today great emphasis is placed on education, in part because it is an avenue for upward mobility. Teachers, doctors, and government officials are highly regarded.

Political Organization. The hereditary fiefs of the ají became administrative districts *(majiri)* under the centralized Shuri government, which appointed district officers. A district consisted of several villages *(mura)* and was the land-distributing unit in the system of communal land tenure. Most districts remained intact under the Meiji government. Today districts and villages are called *son* and *ku* (or *aza)*, respectively. Most of the islands except for the larger ones constitute a district. Naha is the capital of Okinawa Prefecture. The chief functions of the district government are to collect taxes and keep records, including household registers *(Koseki)* and land registers. The district mayor *(soncho)* is elected to a four-year term. There are departments of general affairs, economy and finance, school affairs, agriculture and industry, public welfare and social affairs, and land affairs.

Social Control. The members of a community were bound together by customary exchanges of labor and goods that occurred at times of harvest, house building, birthday ceremonies, and funerals. The close and cooperative relationship between "true" relatives who live together in the same wards and neighborhoods creates a homogeneous and relatively peaceful community. The individual's obligations to village and family curb inappropriate behavior, as does the threat of ridicule, censure, and ostracism. Police are highly respected and have the authority to settle minor disputes. They deal with problems of juvenile delinquency, petty theft, drunkenness, and prostitution.

Conflict. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Okinawa was beset by constant warfare as petty kingdoms vied for power and control. That period was succeeded by an era of total peace when the island was unified under one kingdom and all warriors were disarmed. The nobility then settled down to a quiet life of luxury and ease, supported by a profitable long-distance trade and a serflike peasant class. Early travelers from the West commented on a society with no arms and no violence. However, the aji took up martial arts, and karate originated on Okinawa. In the Japanese era Okinawans suffered from discrimination by the Japanese, who considered them backward. Tensions continue to exist between Okinawans and Japanese and between Okinawans and the fifty-thousand American military personnel and their families who in 2001 continued to live on the island's thirty-nine U.S. military bases. In 1995, eighty-five thousand Okinawans demonstrated in downtown Naha after the rape of a twelve-year-old girl by three U.S. servicemen. A Japanese court found the servicemen guilty of abduction and sexual assault and sentenced them to seven-year prison terms.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Okinawans believe in supernatural entities called *kami*, of which there are five categories. There is the supreme heaven kami and those for the sea, sun, and water. Next are the place kami, who dwell in the well, hearth, paddy, and toilet. Occupational kami include the tutelary spirits of carpentry, boat building, and blacksmithing. Ancestral spirits *(futuki)* are an important link between the living and the supernatural realm. The final class of kami includes living persons, such as the village priest, who manifests a kami spirit. Kami have the capacity to alter, supervise, and influence life events. They form a reciprocal relationship with people that is maintained through rituals. Kami and ancestors must be notified of all life cycle events, including graduation from high school. Misfortune is viewed as resulting from an impaired relationship with the supernatural, caused by the neglect of ritual or prayer, damaging a sacred grove, or disrespecting the ancestors.

Religious **Practitioners.** Religious practitioners are almost all women. In the past neighborhood, village, kin group, and nation each had a head priestess *(noro)*, usually the wife of the political leader. The noro preside over all ritual acts, including fertility, rain-making, installation, ancestral, hearth, travel, house construction, and boat-launching rites. A psy-

chosomatic disorder called *taari* that involves weakness, loss of appetite, auditory and visual hallucinations, and disturbing dreams usually precedes a calling to the priesthood. Other practitioners of the supernatural include sorcerers *(ichijamaa)* and diviners *(sanjinsoo)*; the latter are usually men. Diviners use horoscopes and diving sticks and consult books of signs to determine propitious dates for house building, marriage, bone washing, and tomb building.

Ceremonies. The major public celebrations are based on the lunar calendar and are occasions to honor the dead and give thanks. The two most important holidays are the Lunar New Year and the Festival of Oban (O-Bon). New Year's is both a private and a public affair. A family recounts its past bad deeds and vows to do better. Special offerings are made to the ancestors and gods at the family altar. It is a time for family reunions, and families visit the place of the first ancestor of the village. There is much feasting and drinking among neighbors and relatives in the village. On the sixteenth day of the first lunar month the family visits and prays at the family tomb. The Festival of Oban on the fifteenth and sixteenth of the seventh lunar month is a ghost festival during which the spirits of the dead are welcomed back to their earthly homes for a couple of days and then sent quickly back to the afterworld. Lanterns light up doorways to show ghosts the way, and prayers and offerings are made to them. Other holidays include the Festival of the Full Moon (fifteenth day of the sixth lunar month, hereafter 15/6), Chrysanthemum Day (9/9), a rice cake festival (8/12), the spring equinox festival of Higan (15/2), the Doll Festival (3/3), Boys' Day (5/5), and a thanksgiving festival (15/5).

Arts. Okinawa's peak period as an independent kingdom was from the twelfth to beginning of the seventeenth centuries. This era produced Okinawa's greatest work of literature, the twenty-two-volume ``Omoro Sōshi," a compilation of songs that were transcribed between 1532 and 1623. The earliest song dates back to 1260. The *sanshin* is a three-string instrument that accompanies singing and dancing. There are three types of dance: court, semiclassical, and folk. The most famous poets are the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women poets Yoshiya Chiruu and Un'na Nabii.

Medicine. Bad winds *(yankaji)* and retributive spirits are sources of sickness. Illness also can result from the loss of one's soul *(mabui)* or essence (shii), as a result of sorcery *(ichijama),* or because one has offended the ancestors and other spirits. Shamans *(yuta)* preside over curing rites and attempt to retrieve lost souls. Other medical practices include the use of herbal remedies for digestive disorders, bloodletting, and salt for purification. Bush doctors *(yabuu)* practice moxibustion (the use of burning punk on meridian points on the skin) and acupuncture and prescribe herbal remedies. Okinawa has modern medical facilities, although it has been difficult to extend medical care to the remote islands. In 1999 the Remote Medical Care Assistance Information System for Isolated Islands and Remote Areas in Okinawa Prefecture was set up and includes a diagnostic support Intranet and Internet system, teleradiology (remote radioimaging diagnosis), and telepathology (remote pathological imaging diagnosis) instruments.

Death and Afterlife. Burial takes place within a few hours of death. The ancestors are notified by the burning of a large bunch of incense. The family then notifies the mayor, neighbors, and relatives. A policeman is summoned to determine the cause of death and do the paperwork. The body is washed and dressed in the deceased's best clothes. Mourners arrive with small gifts of money. The body is placed in flex position in a simple wooden box-shaped casket. Close neighbors help serve tea, candy, and cake. A professional wailer is hired. The casket is placed in the village funeral palanquin, and the funeral procession makes its way to the family tomb. There is much wailing and weeping along the way and at the gravesite. The mourners pray and burn incense, and the casket is placed in the tomb. Sandals, a cane, a paper umbrella, a lantern, flowers, and memorial tablet are some of the things left at the tomb door for use by the deceased. The funeral is followed by a forty-nine-day mourning period that involves a series of seven memorial rites at the tomb held every seven days. Memorial observances are held at the first, third, seventh, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of death. After the thirty-third year the deceased joins the ranks of ancestors and is no longer mourned as an individual. Bone washing occurs one to three years after burial.

For the original article on the Okinawans, *see* Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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IAN SKOGGARD

Omaha

ETHNONYMS: The descriptive name *Omaha {umóⁿhoⁿ,* "against the current" or "upstream") was used before 1541. It conveys the oral histories of eighteenth-century migrations and separations from other groups (Osage, Quapaw, Kansa) in which the Omaha moved up the Mississippi River drainage basin. Some early documents use the term *Maha.* Since the 1990s there have emerged multiple spellings of the name in the Native American language community *(Umoⁿhoⁿ, Umoⁿha, Umaha).* In the 1900s, linguists used the term *(Cegiha* (Dhégiha, or *Thégiha,* "on this side") when referring to the Omaha, but the Omaha do not.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Omaha are headquartered in and around the northeastern Nebraska town of Macy on a portion of their aboriginal lands retained under an 1854 treaty. In the 1990s greatly reduced reservation lands still encompassed portions of Thurston, Cuming, and Burt counties in Nebraska and Monona County in Iowa. Omaha lands include the arable Missouri River bottom to the east bordered by steep sandstone bluffs covered with dense second-growth native timber on the Nebraska side of the river. Fertile rolling upland prairie extends from the river, is crossed by several smaller streams, and is bounded by Logan Creek on the west. This region is subject to wide variations in temperature and moisture.

Demography. Records just before 1800 indicate an Omaha population of over two thousand. A smallpox epidemic in 1800-1801 reduced that number by more than half, but a high birth rate and productive subsistence practices permitted a return to the earlier figure by the 1820s. The Omaha experienced years of displacement and famine that reduced their numbers to under eight hundred by the 1850s. Indian agent records indicate a relatively steady population increase since the latter half of the nineteenth century in spite of intermittent epidemics. In 1994 the Omaha Tribe reported an enrolled population of over seven thousand. Well over half the enrolled members live off-reservation in neighboring urban areas. Issues regarding minimum requirements of Omaha blood for enrollment and the status of nonenrolled Omahas are hotly debated.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Omaha language is related, with increasing distance, to the Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw languages. Linguists view Omaha and Ponca as dialects of the same language. Most Omahas see their language as separate from the politically distinct Northern and Southern Ponca. Collectively, these five languages make up the Dhegiha subgroup of the Mississippi Valley branch of the Siouan language family. In 1994 the Omaha Tribe reported that less than 1 percent (seventy) of the enrolled members were fluent speakers. Since the 1970s tribal government and educational institutions have been using various versions of a 1911 orthography to produce some written materials.

History and Cultural Relations

Omaha oral traditions acknowledge a migration to the Great Plains from the east. Archaeological evidence generally points to the Ohio River Valley region as a probable point of origin. Colonial European documents noted that the Omaha were in southwestern Minnesota and northwestern Iowa by the 1670s. They arrived at the Missouri River by 1714. For a time the Omaha dominated the Missouri River fur trade and had relations with French, Spanish, British, and later American traders. Introduced diseases and encroachment by hostile tribal groups from the north drove the Omaha to the mouth of the Platte River in the 1840s. The 1854 treaty established the current reservation while removing all other lands. Northern portions of the reservation were sold to the Winnebago in 1865 and 1874. The Omaha were immediately subjected to American colonial pressures for assimilation on the reservation that intervened in all aspects of their culture and society. The Omaha were the first U.S. tribe to participate in land allotment. They have experienced land loss, boarding schools, and Christianization. In 1936 the Omaha voted to accept political reorganization under the Indian Reorganization Act, ending the role of the traditional Council of Seven. The Omaha avoided termination of their sovereign nation status by federal policy makers in the 1950s and have maintained a heritage of peace with non-Indians. While contending with uninterrupted assimilation pressures in the twentieth century, the Omaha continued to be significant participants in issues of tribal sovereignty, economic development through casino gaming, negotiations over the repatriation of human remains and grave goods, and the maintenance of their historically recognized form of the *Hethúshka* war dance.

Settlements

The Omaha are known to have occupied sites in Minnesota and South Dakota before moving into the Nebraska region. The most prominent Omaha village was *Tó*^{n}*wo*^{n}*to*^{n}*gatho*^{n} (Big Village) on Omaha Creek in Dakota County, Nebraska. Established in 1775, it was deserted and reoccupied several times because of disease and enemy attacks until its final abandonment in 1845. When the Omaha returned to the area on the newly formed reservation in 1855, they divided into three villages: *Win-dja'-ge* in the north, dubbed the "Make-Believe White Men" village; the largest village, Biku-de, where Macy now stands; and Jan-(th)ca'-te on Woods Creek. Oral histories recount that the Omaha learned about the earth lodge from the Ankara or the Pawnee. While they lived in the eastern woodlands the Omaha had used bark-covered houses. Earth lodges up to 40 feet (12 meters) in diameter were built for village use and often were arranged in accordance with matrilocal residence patterns. The buffalo hide tipi was employed during bison hunts and erected in association with patrilineal clan patterns. By the early twentieth century earth lodges had given way to mill-cut lumber houses based on the floor plans of white settlers in the area. Tipi covers began to be made of cotton canvas material and then diminished in use. By the end of the twentieth century tipis were used only by the Native American Church for worship services and by a handful of community members at the annual August powwow. Most Omaha at Macy reside in modern housing projects built and managed by the tribe. Other tribal members rent or own houses, apartments, or mobile homes in the surrounding countryside and in non-Indian towns. A general shortage of affordable housing on the reservation was a chronic problem in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Economy

Subsistence. Prereservation Omaha developed an annual cycle of spring planting, summer hunting, fall harvesting, and winter hunting. Females tended gardens containing several varieties of maize, beans, and squash. They also exploited a wide range of native plants for food and medicines. The tribe participated in annual summer and winter communal buffalo hunts on the western Great Plains. The ceremonial and economic significance of the buffalo overshadowed a critical dependence on deer, antelope, bear, smaller mammals, birds, fish, and crustaceans. The Omaha were active participants

in the fur trade until its general collapse at the end of the nineteenth century. In the early reservation period many Omaha were successful farmers, readily adopting American seeds and agricultural techniques to produce annual surpluses. With the loss of land ownership after allotment many Omaha began leasing their dwindling land base and shifted to a wage labor economy. The postreorganization tribal government, together with the local public school district, provides most of the jobs in an otherwise economically depressed rural agricultural area.

Commercial Activities. Northeastern Nebraska remains primarily an agricultural district. Most of the remaining Omaha lands consist of heavily timbered but otherwise nonarable Missouri River bluffs with limited economic development potential. The Omaha Tribe runs a farming operation on the Nebraska side of the river. A small casino was established on the Iowa side in the 1990s; competition from surrounding casinos has reduced the profitability of this venture. Other economic development ideas that have been considered or tried since the 1970s have included an ethanol plant, a classic car business, a cigarette manufacturing plant, a farm equipment manufacturing plant, a camping area, and a convenience store/gasoline station, but most have not succeeded.

Industrial Arts. Early reservation era ceremonial and utilitarian arts that were practiced before the early 1900s but have disappeared include woven rush mats, painted rawhide containers, wooden burl bowls, buffalo horn spoons, canvas or hide tepee covers, bows and arrows, beadwork techniques requiring the use of a heddle, finger-woven sashes, and bags. At the end of the twentieth century a significant proportion of the Omaha participated in ceremonial culture by attending hand games, war dances, gourd dances, Native American Church meetings, funerals, sweat lodges, and the recently adopted sun dance. Most participants rely on a very few community members to fabricate the dance regalia, ceremonial objects, and traditional giveaway objects needed for these activities. While many community members can produce common beadwork items (belts, hair barrettes, moccasins), fewer individuals create the more technically challenging beadwork items (applique breechcloths and blankets, net woven feather fan and gourd rattle handles, diagonal hair pendants), feather work (dance bustles, fans), ribbon work (dance skirt panels, shawls), cloth work (men's ribbon shirts, women's cloth dresses, cradle board straps), woodwork (feather boxes, mirror boards, pipe stems, flutes), hide work (barrel-sized powwow drums, leather clothing, rawhide containers), stone work (pipe bowls), and quill work (pipe stems, pendants). The Omaha continue to innovate and borrow from the surrounding cultures.

Trade. The Omaha provided fur-bearing animal hides, bison robes and other bison products, agricultural products (primarily corn), and horses to the fur trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. During the early reservation era the trade in bison products declined, but agricultural products such as corn, wheat, and potatoes were traded to whites and neighboring tribes. The Omaha were noted for their high-quality horses through the early 1900s. With the loss of land and changing wage labor practices, the tribe produced only small quantities of agricultural products from a tribal farm for the market in the 1990s. Occasionally the tribe has sold timber from tribal lands, primarily for utility-type lumber production. A tobacco finishing plant produced packaged cigarettes in the late 1990s. A few individuals maintain private gardens from which small, sporadic crops of dried corn and hominy are produced for sale, trade, or gift giving in an informal market. Dance regalia and other ceremonial paraphernalia are produced in limited quantities for sale, trade, or gift giving.

Division of Labor. Before the 1850s the Omaha divided much of their labor along gender and age lines. Females were responsible for all child and home care, including collecting firewood, hauling potable water, moving and maintaining tepees, and building and maintaining earth lodges. They developed and maintained gardens and gathered plant materials for home use. They shared these duties with their female kin and offspring. The result was that the tipi, the earth lodge, and the products of the garden were the property of women. The husband and other male kin would assist in some of the heavier duties related to earth lodge construction and gardening. Participation in the fur trade placed extra burdens on females to prepare furs and hides for the market. Males hunted, trapped, fished, and defended the community. Political organization and ceremonial duties were the responsibility of men, although the completion of such duties often relied on the labor and cooperation of wives and female kin. Young boys herded horses and hunted small game. Young girls provided childcare to younger siblings and assisted their female kin in other tasks. The assimilation pressures of the reservation have removed many hunting and defensive warfare duties from the men. Ceremonial and political positions are still filled principally by men. And primary female roles related to home and childcare have not changed. Since World War II women have entered the wage labor economy by taking jobs in all areas of the community. Some women have entered the political arena and served on the tribal council. Beyond gender and age, some ceremonial duties remain fixed according to clan membership.

Land Tenure. Garden plots and earth lodge sites were generally the property of the wife and her sisters and daughters. The tribe collectively laid claim to the lands upon which its members routinely hunted. Communally held reservation lands were allotted to individuals beginning in 1871 and continuing through the early 1900s. Surplus communal lands were sold to outsiders. Lacking funds to develop their newly acquired farmsteads, many Omaha resorted to leasing their lands to neighboring whites. Much of the land is in federal trust status, and so it cannot be used as collateral for development loans. The bulk of Omaha land has been sold or lost to outsiders. The economic options available for the remaining lands have often been diminished after the death of the original and succeeding owners. Without estate planning, many allotments pass into undivided ownership among increasing numbers of patrilineal and/or matrilineal heirs. As a result the land remains leased to outsiders, the original allotment house often stands empty, and the heirs reside in tribally owned housing in Macy. The tribal government is developing land management programs that include the protection of natural resources such as game, water, and soil.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. There are ten major clans, many of which are further divided into smaller discrete subclans. Collectively, the clans are visualized as a circular encampment called the *Húthuga,* which symbolizes the cosmos. The clans are equally divided along an east-west axis into a moiety system often described as consisting of northern, male sky clans and southern, female earth clans. Duties, rights, taboos, and personal names are governed by the clan. Membership is ideally patrilineal but increasingly includes matrilineal trends in order to incorporate children produced by non-Omaha fathers. The role of the clan has atrophied in some families but remains a strong symbol throughout the community.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship follows a bifurcate merging pattern. Cross cousins are referred to as "Aunt" and "Uncle." As generational distance increases, these terms are often modified to "Little Aunt" and "Little Uncle." Parallel cousins in the first generation are referred to as "Brother" and "Sister." The traditional Omaha kinship system is used as a model for one of the major kinship terminology classification systems for cousin terms. The imposition of the Euro-American descent model has created a mixture of surname options and kinship patterns, including the acceptance of the personal address "Cousin." The public and private use of correct kin terms, although increasingly rendered in the English language, remains a cultural ideal. Kin terms are used to account for blood, marriage, fictive (including Pan-Indian and nonnative), and potential relationships. Individual kin terms are linguistically marked by the gender of the speaker.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Clan exogamy is practiced, and moiety exogamy is the cultural ideal. Potential marriage partners are identified through the use of kin terms that reflect the possibility of future claims. Sororate and levirate marriage rules help hold the family together, especially in terms of supporting children after the death of a parent. In the early reservation era friends served as go-betweens. Since all girls were routinely escorted by chaperons when outdoors, young men had to wait surreptitiously at the water spring or another location for an opportune moment to talk to a girl. Love songs played on a flute from afar were one method of indicating an interest in a girl. Marriage was often by elopement so that the girl could escape from the claims of her potential marriage partners. After escaping to the home of one of the boy's relatives, the young couple would return a few days later to the girl's parents' home. The boy's relatives presented gifts to the girl's relatives. If they were accepted, it signaled recognition of the marriage. Postmarital residence depends on the resources available from the families of the bride and the groom and may shift between matrilocal and patrilocal before becoming neolocal. Polygamy existed into the early twentieth century, although it was not the rule. A man rarely had more than two wives, and they were generally sisters or aunt and niece. The practice was more common among prominent men who had political and ritual duties requiring extra labor and resources. Divorce was not uncommon. An abusive husband could be turned out, the children would remain with the mother, and the father's male kin were expected to continue to support the family. An immoral wife could be turned out and punished by her husband. Generally, 'the Omaha did not favor changing the marriage relationship on a whim. In the late twentieth century serial monogamy was the general practice. Long-term stable marriages are the honored ideal.

Domestic Unit. Since the early reservation days most households have been extended collateral households to varying degrees, consisting of a husband, wife, children, one or more grandparent, and occasionally the married or unmarried siblings of the parents or children and their families. That pattern continued through the twentieth century, although single-parent and female-headed households have become more common. The composition of the household changes as the needs of other kin change. Some households include one or more unrelated persons living with and assisting the family. Overall composition is linked to economic factors, availability of housing, and personal preferences. Figures on family size are not available. The father is recognized as having the highest authority, but the mother exercises equal authority regarding the welfare of the children. The grandparents are often the primary caregivers when the parents and other adults are working.

Inheritance. Inheritance of clan name, clan rights, land, and other tangible objects usually follows a patrilineal pattern. However, ritual knowledge and rights may pass from the wife's kin to her husband or children, depending on the receiver's having shown a marked interest in such knowledge. Most of a person's personal property is distributed to kin and nonkin mourners at the funeral. Without estate planning, most land passes into undivided ownership among increasing numbers of patrilineal and/or matrilineal heirs, sometimes including adopted kin and stepchildren.

Socialization. The first source of socialization for all children is the mother, who may be supported by other adults in the extended family. Physical punishment is not a norm. Good manners, including respect for oneself and others, are the ideal. Children are viewed as individuals and are understood to develop at an individual pace. The Turning of the Child and other prereservation rites of passage have given way to preschool, kindergarten, and high school graduation ceremonies. Children who show an interest in the dance arena or the religious ceremonies are introduced into those venues. Long-term relationships are often established with adults who serve as mentors and sponsors. Teasing as a socialization tool is widespread and is applied to both children and adults.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The community remains loosely organized around the ten clans and the moiety system, with membership being ideally patrilineal. The clans are symbiotic in that the performance of most social or religious rites requires the assistance of other clans. Social stratification is moderately flexible and very complex. It is based on a family's historical and contemporary practice of religious ceremonies, an individual's ownership of ceremonial materials, the family's relationship to traditional leaders and/or women bearing the Mark of Honor, clan membership, the proportion of Omaha blood, and attainment of educational or economic standing. Until the time of World War II several secret socie-

ties existed in which membership was attained by virtue of a dream or vision. Social groups and clubs focused on the maintenance of Omaha cultural practices continue to emerge and evolve.

Political Organization. Through the late nineteenth century the Omaha were governed by the Council of Seven, whose representatives came from seven specific clans. The council's authority originated from and was sanctioned by the existence and use of two sacred pipes that represented the moiety system. Keepers of the sacred pipes, the sacred tent of war, the sacred buffalo hide, and the sacred pole attended council meetings but had no voting authority. There was no tribal assembly or tribal council. The duties of the Council of Seven included maintaining internal peace and order, securing allies, setting the date of the annual buffalo hunt, and confirming the man who was to act as the leader on that hunt. Soldiers were appointed by the council to carry out its commands and mete out punishment for transgressions of tribal law. Aggressive warfare was sanctioned and controlled by the sacred packs of war. Clans did not have a chief or council, and a clan could not act by itself in a political sense. U.S. government officials appointed pliant men as "paper chiefs," and their presence and influence disrupted the traditional order. The Omaha voted to accept tribal reorganization in 1936, including the adoption of a tribal constitution and by-laws. The Omaha are governed by a popularly elected seven-member Tribal Council whose members serve a three-year term. Off-reservation Omaha are disenfranchised.

Social Control. The effects of generations of poverty, alcoholism, and conflicting control policies implemented by non-Omaha agencies have wreaked havoc on the system of social control. In prereservation days the authority of the chiefs and the social order were safeguarded by various punishments. A man who made light of the authority of the chiefs or the sacred packs of war could be struck with a staff tipped with rattlesnake poison and killed. That practice has been discontinued. In modern times, as in the past, most offenses are directed toward an individual and tend to be dealt with by the families involved, although taking the law into one's own hands is frowned upon. Perpetrators of assault can expect themselves or their relatives to be attacked by the victim's family. The husband or close relatives often administer punishment to a man who has committed adultery. A wife may assault a woman who shows undue attention to her husband. Mainstream U.S. and tribal law codes and institutions are in place, but questions about jurisdiction and enforcement create conflict. Within the family unit an adult talking to or admonishing a child is the primary form of social control. Corporal punishment is generally frowned on. Teasing is a common control tactic. Ostracism is used occasionally. The belief in a supernatural penalty for inappropriate actions and attempts to direct supernatural punishment toward a person are fragmentary. Tribal government leaders, Native American Church leaders, and respected elders occasionally are called on to arbitrate conflicts.

Conflict. Although the Omaha have maintained a legacy of "peace" with the federal government, armed conflicts with others were not uncommon before the 1900s. To maintain control of the fur and gun trade of the middle Missouri, the Omaha battled on one occasion with the Spanish. Causes for battles with surrounding tribes included raids by encroaching groups, retaliation, and the seeking of war trophies and battlefield prestige. Adversaries included various bands of Dakota and Lakota Sioux, Arikara, Cheyenne, Pawnee, Oto, and the Omaha's nearest kin, the Ponca. Alliances and peace were established and breached through time. The performance of the *Wawa^n* (Calumet ceremony) was one method of establishing peace. Peace with the Arikara probably facilitated the transferal of local strains of maize and earth lodge technology to the Omaha. Peace with the Pawnee permitted joint use of the prime buffalo hunting grounds of the central Great Plains. Struggles with outside groups in the twentieth century included fiercely fought legal battles to retain or reclaim sovereign Omaha rights and resources. The unarmed occupation of the Blackbird Bend area of Iowa, followed by lengthy court battles, resulted in the return of lands reserved under the 1854 treaty. Occasional legal actions against the neighboring Winnebago seem to reflect competition for limited resources rather than fundamental animosity.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Before the influences of Christianization and Americanization, the Omaha believed in a continuous and invisible life force called *Wakó^{n}da*. This force manifested itself in the duality of motion and the action of mind and body as well as in the permanency of structure and form in the physical environment. This duality was further developed in the conceptualization of the universe as containing male and female parts whose union perpetuated order in all living things, including people's lives. Religious rites and social organizations such as the huthuga moiety system and the presence of two principal chiefs symbolized this concept. Young males would maintain a solitary fast for four days on a hilltop while praying to Wakó^{n}da for help throughout life. Since the early 1900s traditional beliefs have melded with those of multiple denominations of mainstream American Christianity and the syncretic peyote religion as codified in the Native American Church to produce a complex and sometimes conflicting worldview. The conception of Wakó^{n}da has acquired many of the anthropomorphic characteristics associated with the Christian God, including becoming the father of Jesus Christ.

Religious Practitioners. Before the 1900s every clan and subclan had a particular family to which belonged the hereditary right to furnish the keeper of the sacred objects of the clan or tribe together with its rituals and rites. The keeper alone possessed the authority to perform the ceremony. His son would follow him in discharging that duty. Assimilation and Christianization efforts have led to the decline and disappearance of nearly all prereservation practices. The majority of the Omaha maintain a pluralistic religious system through participation in the Native American Church and attenuated traditional Omaha and mainstream Christian ceremonies. Leaders of the Native American Church acquire authority by demonstrating a belief in the church and its worldview, sponsoring prayer meetings, and receiving the ceremonial instruments with the blessing of church leaders through petition or inheritance. The use of personal medicine bundles, pipes, sweat bath ceremonies, and the newly acquired sun dance ceremony follow a similar pattern.

Ceremonies. All important changes in life are marked to varying degrees with a family-centered or public ceremony. All ceremonies involve the offering of prayers to Wakó^{n}da. Many include the sharing of food provided by the ceremony's sponsor and the redistribution of material goods through gift giving. Family or public feasting marks life events such as births and birthdays, recovery from illness, graduation or social promotion, marriages and anniversaries, homecomings, death, and memorials. Tribal and national holidays are observed. Joyous occasions also may be marked by a war dance, hand game, gourd dance, or Native American Church prayer service. One child may be singled out in a family to be the focus of four yearly birthday dances or church meetings. Memorial meetings or feasts often follow this four-year pattern. Since the middle of the twentieth century prayer service leaders in the Native American Church have primarily filled the role of being the person in charge at most ceremonial functions.

Arts. In the twentieth century artistic production and performance remained culturally centered on the big drum of the dance arena and the small drum of the Native American Church prayer service. The ability to accurately render old songs and create new songs is an honored skill. Singing and drumming are a male role, although women often harmonize during the chorus of the songs. A few males play the cedar flute. Types of dancing are identified by the style of movement and distinctive regalia, including the male traditional war dance (Hethúshka), fancy dance, straight dance, grass dance, female traditional buckskin, traditional cloth, fancy shawl, and jingle dress. The gourd dance was given to the Omaha by the Kiowa in the late 1960s. Before World War II tattooing was reserved for the highly honored women of the *Hó^{n}hewachi*, (Night Blessed Society). The practice has become generalized throughout the population with tattoos featuring Pan-Indian, mainstream, and countercultural themes. Literary production, mostly in the form of poetry and ethnohistorical sketches, is limited. A few individuals play Western musical instruments for their own enjoyment. A handful of community members work in oil, water colors, charcoal, and pen and ink for local use.

Medicine. Before allotment several secret societies had knowledge of medicine, roots, plants, and curative practices. Original knowledge was gained through visions or dreams and tended to be specialized within each society. For example, the *Téithaethe*, "those whom the buffalo have shown compassion," had knowledge about the curing of wounds. The Omaha utilized a vast pharmacopeia derived from plants, animals, and minerals. Other techniques included the use *of* prayer, song, massage, sucking, and hacking (controlled bloodletting). By the late twentieth century traditional knowledge and practice of medicine had nearly disappeared. Western medicine is used for most daily or chronic medical needs, and several Omaha have entered the health care field. Some community members rely on Native American Church prayer services and the ritual ingestion of peyote to treat a wide range of illnesses. Sweat lodge and other prayer ceremonies sometimes are used to treat physical and mental illness.

Death and Afterlife. Through the early 1900s the Milky Way was believed to be the path followed by the spirits of people as they passed to the realm of the dead. The body was prepared for burial by the family or the society in which the deceased was a member. Burial usually occurred within a day of death. The deceased was placed in a shallow hilltop grave in a seated position facing east. Poles were arranged over the opening, upon which earth was heaped into a mound. Personal belongings were left at the grave. Some mourners cut their hair or made blood offerings by slashing their forearms. A fire was kept burning at the grave for four days to cheer the deceased during his or her journey. Food was left at the grave as a token of remembrance. The spirit of a murderer never reached the afterworld but was forced to wander the earth. By the end of the twentieth century the Omaha funeral had undergone profound changes. The embalmed body lies in state, usually in the home of a kinsman, for four nights and is buried after a public funeral on the fifth day. Mourners visit the family, partake of regular meals and prayers for the deceased, and keep all-night vigils. The fourth night is marked by a wake service or Native American Church funeral service. A key component of the final all-night vigil is the opportunity for family members to speak to the deceased for the last time. This is consonant with the older belief that under certain conditions the realm of the dead is accessible to the living and that the dead can lend their assistance in the avocations with which they were familiar.

As in the past, the environment of the afterlife is believed to be similar to the physical world, although free of want and illness. It appears that the conception of supernatural punishment and reward after death is derived from Christianity. The modern funeral involves a communal feast, the distribution of gifts to mourners, and a graveside blessing. Males assist in digging and filling the grave. Interment is in a modern casket inserted into a rough board box. Stone markers are used. There is a central hilltop tribal cemetery at Macy and several smaller cemeteries near old allotment homes. Dancing, singing, and other social events are normally canceled while a body is above ground. Stories of ghostly visitors remain common, especially in old village sites, in abandoned or old allotment homes, and near certain geographical sites. The Omaha funeral is the single activity in which nearly all Omaha, whether traditionalist or assimilated, participate. It embodies the fundamentals of the Omaha worldview, including the value of kinship, food sharing, self-sacrifice, reciprocity, and the interrelation of the physical body and the spiritual soul.

For the original article on the Omaha, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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Oromo

ETHNONYMS: In the past, particularly during the colonial period, outsiders referred to the Oromo as "the Galla of Ethiopia." The Oromo dislike this name and see themselves as a trans-national ethnic and linguistic group.

Orientation

Identification and Location. Oromo-speaking communities live in the highlands of Ethiopia to the north, the Ogaden and Somalia to the east, near the Sudanese border to the west, and their homelands in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya up to the Tana River to the south. As a result of the politics of Abyssinian centralization during the twentieth century and political unrest after 1974, thousands of Oromo moved to Europe, North America, and Australia.

Demography. The Oromo constitute half the population of Ethiopia. A round population figure, including Oromo exiles, was estimated at 25 million at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Oromo language (Afaan Oromo) is a Cushitic language (Afar-Saho, Beja, Sidama, Somali), a branch of the Afro-Asiatic or Hamito-Semitic language family. There are minor variations in usage by Oromo within Ethiopia and Kenya, but it is possible for all Oromo speakers to understand each other.

History and Cultural Relations

The Oromo originated in southern Ethiopia, together with the Somalis, around the tenth century and remained within southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya till migrations took place around 1530. In 1537 they occupied lands in the southeastern Ethiopian province of Bali, 310 miles (500 kilometers) from their homelands, after successful military campaigns against the Ethiopian kings. However, Hassen (1990) has suggested that there may have been groups of agriculturalist Oromo in the Ethiopian region of Shawa, south of Addis Ababa, in the fourteenth century.

All Oromo consider themselves descendants of the Boorana and therefore trace their origins to the Boorana region in southern Ethiopia, particularly to the Boorana homelands of Dirre and Liban. The Boorana are pastoralists, and their patterns of migration and conquest are determined by ongoing searches for water and grazing for their cattle.

Further migrations into northern Kenya took place during the nineteenth century and were halted by the arrival of Europeans in Ethiopia and Kenya in the 1880s. Migrations became more localized and dependent on relations with the Somalis in the southeast and the Abyssinians in Ethiopia. In 1896 the Oromo became subjects of the Abyssinian king Menelik II after the defeat of the Italian forces at the battle of Adwa. By 1904 diplomatic treaties between Britain and Ethiopia had fixed the political boundaries, and the Oromo became residents of Ethiopia and Kenya.

Cultural relations of economic exchange and ethnic hostility between Oromo and Somalis remained the norm during the twentieth century in northern Kenya. However, in Ethiopia the Oromo were colonized by the Abyssinian imperial army, their language was banned, and their children were forced to learn Amharic. After the collapse of the Ethiopian monarchy in the 1970s the Oromo organized themselves into a nationalistic movement that included thousands of Oromo in North America, Europe, and Australia. At the beginning of the twenty-first century nationalistic Oromo groups such as the Oromo Liberation Front were continuing an armed struggle against the centralized Ethiopian government.

Settlements

Oromo settlements consist of several houses that are independent of each other and are articulated socially by a group of men, either leaders of different age sets or senior representatives of clans and lineages. A single settement is known as *manyatta,* and the houses within such a settlement also are referred to as manyatta.

The traditional Boorana house is built by women, particularly friends and affines of the bride, using clay and wooden sticks, shortly before the wedding ceremony. By the end of the colonial period, particularly in Kenya, other kinds of houses also were built. The materials used include timber, cement, rubber, and plastic. Regardless of their style or the materials used for their construction, all those houses are considered part of a single settlement: a manyatta. If European-style houses are built within a town, the Oromo settlement tends to be called "manyatta."

An Oromo settlement also includes enclosures for animals and sacred enclosures for prayer, divination, and meet-

ings *{chaffe, guumi)*. During times of pastoral movement and particularly when grazing and water are not available close to the settlements, women, children, the ill, and the old, together with a few men, remain in the settlement. They take care of a herd that includes pregnant, old, and young animals *(hawicha)*, while the healthy cattle are kept nearer the grazing areas in a separate herd *(fora)*.

Economy

Subsistence. The ideal type of economic subsistence involves cattle herding and pastoral activities that provide meat and milk. However, many Oromo-speaking groups live on agricultural products and cultivate the land, allowing them to sell products and generate a small amount of cash to buy items such as sugar, coffee beans, rice, and flour. Those who live in the wetter areas, such as Marsabit in northern Kenya and the southern Ethiopian highlands, cultivate and eat maize, millet, and wheat. Agricultural activities are complementary to their pastoral economy based on fresh or sour milk and their secondary products, butter and ghee. Long-term subsistence does not rely on annual crops but on the possession of as many animals as possible.

Commerical Activities. Most social, ritual, and economic activities involve the domestic exchange of cattle and other animals. Milk and vegetables also constitute part of a more localized trade conducted by women in local markets.

Industrial Arts. Some Oromo women sell artifacts such as bowls, wooden cups, and woven mats to tourists and foreign buyers. Other traditional arts include ceramics, hairstyling materials, necklaces, beads, cowry shells, collars, and head adornments.

Trade. Before the colonial period and the introduction of money, cowry shells and salt were used to buy, sell, and trade. Cattle and their products are still the most important means of trading and exchanging property, services, and wives.

Division of Labor. Traditionally, men looked after cattle and the public social sphere and women built houses, owned them, and directed home activities in the domestic sphere. Some of those roles have changed, and some men and women have become medical doctors, teachers, clerks, and civil servants.

Land Tenure. Land is shared and used communally, particularly grazing areas, which are used by all herds and shepherds. Settlements expand according to the amount of land available and the number of people who join a particular settlement. In very few cases individual or family ownership of land has been provided for Oromo. In those cases settlements have recognized the individual ownership of houses but not of land. However, the Oromo consider their places of grazing and burial "their land."

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Oromo kinship is patrilineal, and descent is reckoned through men. All Oromo belong to two moieties—Gohna and Sabbo—and must marry somebody from the opposite moiety because members of the same moiety are considered brothers and sisters. Within localized kin groups all males who are related by kinship, together with their wives and children, constitute a kin group.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Every Oromo is expected to marry, and marriage is indissoluble. After marriage wives become affines of all their husbands' affines. Men can marry after their circumcision, and girls can be betrothed at an early age to their future husbands without joining their families before the wedding ceremony. Marriage negotiations between clans and families can take a long time, and a payment in cattle from the groom's family is expected by the bride's family (bridewealth). A married couple initially lives close to the husband's family, and the bride's sisters and cousins build their new house close to the bridegroom's extended family.

Divorce was uncommon within Oromo society and could be requested only when a woman was infertile or a male child had not been born. In those cases children could be adopted, and therefore divorce was rare. Within Oromo groups that converted to Islam, up to four wives are permitted and divorce has become more common. That is the norm among Oromo in eastern Kenya and southeastern Ethiopia but does not constitute a norm for most of the Oromo.

Domestic Unit. An Oromo household is constituted by all those who are directly dependent on a single male who is considered the father of the family. His wife and children are central to the domestic unit, but other older women such as his mother and the younger children of other relatives who have died can be included in the unit. Those belonging to a domestic unit eat together, and the central role in unit is allocated to the father's wife because women own houses and their contents.

Inheritance. If the father of the house dies, his wife, children, and cattle are inherited by a brother. Children born from the union of his widow and his brother belong to his brother but bear the name of the deceased husband. As all children are allocated cattle at birth, circumcision, and marriage, all the descendants of the deceased father bring their own cattle into the new domestic unit.

Socialization. Boys join other boys of the same age as soon as they can walk. They spend the day playing or hunting lizards, mice, and insects. They receive a young cow from the father or maternal uncle after they catch the first mouse or butterfly. Girls do not hunt but build miniature huts and make human figures with clay or wood. As children grow older, boys look after cattle and girls help their female relatives with domestic chores. Before reaching their fifteenth year boys and girls are circumcised.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Oromo organize themselves in clusters of households attached to the father of the house that have constant interaction with other households and their leaders. Within a network of households older men play a central role in leading prayers and helping make consensus decisions formulated by all household leaders. The communal assembly is the larger social organization that can make communal decisions and implement them in case of a national emergency or social disputes and conflict. Men lead the assembly, and all decisions are made by communal consensus. Women and children can attend assemblies, but their decision-making sphere of influence is limited. All men enter the

Oromo age system *(Gada)* forty years after their fathers and serve as leaders for a period of eight years. Therefore, Oromo social organization, while strictly hierarchical and male-oriented, is informed by a democratic principle of community inclusion.

Political Organization. The Gada system traditionally provided different age sets constituted by males who fulfilled different social roles in the Oromo nation and its localized communities. One set was always in office for eight years and secured the political leadership needed for social welfare and the maintenance of peace. Some scholars have called this system "an Oromo democracy" because the succession of age sets every eight years provided the possibility of political and leadership service to all age sets in turn. Even when the Gada rituals are not celebrated as often as they were in the past, the names of officers are commonly used, such as Senior Chief *(Haiyu gudda),* Owner of the Sceptre (Abu *Bokuu),* and Chief of the War *(Haiyu A'Duulla).*

Social Control. Traditionally and in the Gada system, social control was exercised by a gerontocracy in which older age sets had enormous influence in the communal assembly. Contemporary political changes in Ethiopia and Kenya have allowed for localized communal assemblies in which the older generations *(gadamoji* in the Gada system) have the social wisdom of old age but also have the power to bless or curse their children and every member of the community. Within daily life blessings ordinarily are given by long greetings that are exchanged throughout the day. Somebody who does not comply with social rules and agreements eventually is considered a social outcast and has to leave his village, community, or extended family.

Conflict. Individual and social conflicts are solved through a public discussion with appointed leaders in every community that has the social power to express legal opinions and mediate between litigating parties, whether they are individuals or groups within the community or husbands and wives. More serious conflicts with other ethnic groups have included resistance to the Abbysinian conquest in western and central Ethiopia and the ongoing conflict for water rights between Oromo and Somalis in southeastern Ethiopia and eastern Kenya.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Oromo are monotheistic and believe that the world was created by God (Waqqa), who lives in the skies *(waqqa)* and sends rains to the earth so that grass can grow. Waqqa makes possible the growth of cattle by providing grass and water and in doing so looks after all the Oromo. God's gift is expressed through a peaceful relationship between the skies and the earth and among God, human beings, animals, and nature. Peace *(nagaa)* is the central philosophical paradigm of existence and is expressed in daily life as the Peace of the Boorana *(nagaa Boorana)* through ordinary greetings, blessings, and prayers. War and strife with other ethnic groups are necessary to preserve and sustain the nagaa Boorana and the blessings of God that are requested through daily greetings and prayers. Through interaction with other groups, significant numbers of Oromo have expressed public allegiance to Islam and Christianity while remaining loyal to their traditional beliefs.

Religious Practitioners. At a national level the two hereditary Boorana priests *(Kallu)* are considered sacred priests and leaders. The Kallu reside in a particular area, and the Oromo regularly bring their families and cattle for them to bless. In the past and before the Abyssinian conquest of the Oromo homelands the Kallu dominated Oromo national life. By the mid-twentieth century the Kallu had sent messengers to different locations in Ethiopia and Kenya to remind people of the need to observe the festivals *(jila).* In the case of localized festivals the members of the oldest age sets *(gadamoji)* organize the jila, and within the Oromo national ritual structure senior councillors and ritual officiants *(Wayyu)* lead specific communal festivals for different age sets.

Ceremonies. All national ritual celebrations are linked to the Gada system. Gada is an age system whose membership is solely male; thus, every male enters the system through an initiation ceremony forty years after the entry of his father into the system. All the males who are initiated in a particular year constitute an age set that moves up the age system when the national festivals are celebrated every eight years. As the age sets move up to another age grade every eight years, they assume a different social role and have different responsibilities within the community.

Arts. Mat weaving and pottery making are common among different groups of Oromo, but domestic artifacts constitute forms of art made by all men and women. Men use wood, leather, and metal to produce material objects, and women use leaves, roots, and the bark from stems.

Medicine. The knowledge of herbs is central to medicine and curing in Oromo communities. In the case of a long illness, the cause of the condition is presumed to be supernatural and possession rituals are performed to find the spirits that have caused the condition. Ritual specialists conduct these rituals, but prayers by older men also are used to heal the sick.

Death and Afterlife. The Oromo believe in an afterlife and suggest that at the moment of death all Oromo are reunited themselves with Waqqa. Funeral rites have been diversified to express conversions to Islam and Christianity and constitute an important communal event.

For other cultures in Ethiopia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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MARIO I. AGUILAR

Ovimbundu

ETHNONYMS: Umbundu, Umbundo, M'bundo, Quimbundo, Ovimbundu, South Mbundu, Nano, Mbali, Mbari, Mbundu Benguella

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Ovimbundu live in the Benguela Highlands (Bié Plateau) of Angola, a 6,562-foot (2,000-meter) high plateau of wooded Savannah 62 miles (100 kilometers) from the coast. Highlanders live in a perennial spring with average monthly temperatures ranging from 54° Fahrenheit (12° Celsius) in November to 77° Fahrenheit (25° Celsius) in August. The rainy season is from September to April with an average annual rainfall of 1400 mm.

Demography. The Ovimbundu are the largest ethnic group in Angola. In the eighteenth century, estimates of Ovimbundu population ranged from 1 to 1.3 million. A 1940 Angola census estimated 1,331,087 Ovimbundu. In 1995 there were 4,000,000 Umbundu-speaking people in Angola, or 38 percent of that country's population.

Linguistic Affiliation. Umbundu is the northernmost Southern Bantu language spoken in Africa and part of the larger Niger-Congo language family. The language has obtained a wide use and is spoken by other ethnic groups living near the Highlands, on the coast, and along the Benguela Railway.

History and Cultural Relations

The legends of various Ovimbundu royal lineages point to origins in the north and northeast. Portuguese records refer to a tribe of Central Bantu (possibly Lunda) warriors called Jagas (Imbangalas), who invaded the Congo in 1568, were driven out by the Portuguese in 1572, and later appeared in northwest Angola. There in alliance with the Portuguese, who established a garrison *(presidio)* in the coastal city of Benguela in 1617, the Jagas began to conquer the surrounding Southern Bantu Ovimbundu tribes. The new rulers took advantage of their position between the coast and central Africa, organizing caravans to trade throughout a vast region of central Africa bordered by the Congo River, the Great Lakes, and the Kalahari Desert. The principal commodities traded were ivory, beeswax, gum copal, and slaves. Chiefs, or *olosomas (sobas* in Portuguese) were major slave raiders and traders, supplying nearly 400,000 slaves for the Atlantic slave trade between 1740 and 1830.

A 1799 Benguela governor's report listed twenty-two Umbundu-speaking kingdoms in the Highlands. The larger states Viye (Bié) and Mbailundu (Bailundu) dominated smaller states such as Wambu (Huambo), Ngalangi, Sanbu, Ndulu, Ciyaka, and Civulu. Mbailundu covered an area of 32,820 square miles (85,000 square kilometers) and had an estimated population of 450,000 living in 200 sub-chiefdoms. Olosomas resided in fortified villages *(ombalas)* on mountainsides. Each state had a standing army and rulers had the rights to surplus production, corvée labor, and war booty. They also took tribute from passing caravans and organized caravans themselves.

The gradual decline of the slave trade following its abolition in 1838 and the rise of commodity trade peaking with the rubber boom (1874-1911) had a profound impact on Ovimbundu social structure by opening trade to non-ruling lineages. Village headmen *(sekulas)* became successful caravan organizers and traders. Even porters engaged in trade. By the end of the 1880s, an estimated 50,000 Ovimbundu were involved in trade. Some caravans had as many as one thousand porters. Newly rich traders purchased titles and challenged the power of traditional rulers. Traditionalist and protrade factions fought over the succession to political offices. To maintain their power, ruling lineages swore allegiance to the Portuguese. The Portuguese took advantage of this internal conflict and invaded the kingdom of Bié in 1890, the kingdom of Mbailundu in 1896, and crushed the last vestige of armed resistance in the Mbailunda War (1902-1904).

Between 1904 and 1918, the Ovimbundu assisted Portuguese forces in eleven military engagements against other tribes in central and southern Angola. The Portuguese consolidated their control of the region by establishing a system of direct rule using Portuguese District Officers *(chefe)* and building a railway from the coast, across the Highlands, and into the Central African interior. The waning power of the former ruling lineages and increasing intermarriage between rulers and commoners forged a common identity among the native Highlanders. The Salazar regime (1926-1968) promoted white settlement in the Highlands and broke the back of indigenous agricultural system through oppressive taxes, a draft labor system, and corrupt agricultural marketing boards.

The independence of bordering states, Zaire and Congo in 1960, and Zambia in 1964 gave impetus to Angola's own war of liberation (1961-1975). In 1966 Jonas Savimbi founded the Ovimbundu-dominated National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA *(Uniõ Nacional de Independência Total de* Angola). After Angolan Independence in 1975, Savimbi continued to fight against the newly formed socialist government, which was dominated by a coastal Afro-Portuguese urban elite that formed the core of

a rival liberation movement, Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, or MLPA *(Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola)*. In 1992, Russia, the United States, Portugal, and the United Nations brokered a peace accord and sponsored nationwide elections, but accusations of electoral fraud by UNITA undermined their efforts and it ultimately failed. Hostilities broke out again in 1994 and continue into the early twenty-first century.

Settlements

Houses are circular or rectangular in shape with wattle and daub walls and thatched roofs. Each house has its own garden, granary, chicken coop, and a pen for goats, sheep, and pigs. Villages are built either on the plains or hillsides. Plains villages are spread out and encircle a central dance floor *(ocila)* and men's house *(onjango)*. When the surrounding soil is exhausted villages will move to a new site. Originally built by rulers for defensive purposes, hillside villages are compact and linear in formation.

Economy

Subsistence. Although well supplied with water, the soil of the highlands is generally poor. Fields are left to fallow after three to six years of use. The main crops are maize and beans. Other cultivates are sorghum, wheat, manioc, peanuts, and potatoes. Fruit trees include papaya, banana, loquat, tangerine, lemon, peach, and apple. Non-food crops include tobacco, coffee, and sisal. Farmers, mostly women, stagger plantings in four kinds of plots: house gardens, low-lying fields along streams, river slopes, and forest clearings. Farmers also keep cattle, goats, pigs, and fowl. Cattle are largely a form of investment. Fishing, hunting, and trapping continue to be practiced in the dry season.

Commercial Activities. Towns' markets allow for exchange of domestic produce by barter or cash. In precolonial times, ruling lineages organized large periodic open-air markets called *fieras*.

Industrial Arts. Blacksmiths make hoe blades, ax heads, adzes, saw blades, brass bracelets, knives, and wood carving tools such as gougers and borers. Woodcarvers make human and animal figurines, musical instruments, domestic implements and utensils, pipes, and snuff boxes. Pottery is used for cooking vessels, water containers, and for brewing beer. Mats are made from bark, reeds, grass, and rushes. Different weaving patterns and dyes are used to create a variety of geometrical patterns. Basket makers use a coiling process to make baskets.

Trade. The Ovimbundu were major traders in central Africa. Large caravans operated throughout the region. Trade items included slaves, ivory, domesticated animals, axes, hoes, guns, salt, skins, and maize. The principal commodities changed from slaves to rubber and most recently maize. Coffee has become another major cash crop and kerosene, cloth, bicycles, sewing machines, and phonographs can be found in major markets.

Division of Labor. In the precolonial period, the division of labor was based on gender and civil status. Women and slaves were the mainstay of the subsistence economy. Although men cleared the fields, women and slaves planted and harvested the crops. Women also foraged, made pots, wove baskets, dyed textiles, brewed beer, and collected firewood and water. Major occupations for freeborn men were hunting, iron working, carpentry, locksmithing, tanning, matmaking, and weaving. Men were also involved in long-distance trade. In the colonial period, a large portion of men (four-fifths by the late 1950s), became migrant laborers in coffee, fishery, sugar, sisal, and palm oil industries.

Land Tenure. Because land was relatively abundant, it was not a contested domain. Land was owned by the patrilineal group, the *oluse*, and plots changed hands from father to son, or from brother to brother. The Portuguese forbade the private ownership of land by Africans.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Ovimbundu have a double descent kinship system. The patrilineal group *(oluse)* is the local residence group. There are no patrilineal ties across villages. The matrilineal group *(oluina)* is a dispersed group whose members recognize a common great-great grandmother. The closest ties are those between cross cousins. Families look to matrilineal kin for financial aid. In the precolonial period, matrilineal ties were used to raise money and recruit porters for trade caravans. The mother's elder brother had the power to pawn his sisters' sons, or sell them into slavery to meet debts.

Kinship Terminology. The Ovimbundu kinship terminology system is similar to the Iroquois system that distinguishes between parallel and cross cousins and merges the terms for parallel cousins together with those used within the uterine family. For example the same term *tate* is used for father and father's brother, and *mai* for mother and mother's sister. However, the Ovimbundu also make the distinction between siblings and parallel cousins older and younger than ego.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is kin endogamous. The preferred match is between cross cousins. A man may marry into the male side of his mother's kin or into the female side of his father's kin. The groom's family pays a bride-price. The most common form of postmarital residence is patrilocal. Polygamy is practiced. The first wife remains the chief wife.

Domestic Unit. The household *(onjo)* consists of man, his wife (or wives), children, and other related or unrelated dependents. The household is the unit of production and consumption. In polygamous families, each wife has her own house, granary, chickens, and fields. The oldest child has authority over other siblings.

Inheritance. Office and moveable property were inherited through the maternal line from mother's brother to sister's son. Land was inherited through the paternal line.

Socialization. Traditionally boys were educated in the men's house (onjango), where they learned clan history, values, proverbs, and etiquette. A wall-less structure, the onjango was the gathering place for village males ages eight and up. Men would share evening meals and conversation, entertain visitors, and adjudicate minor disputes. Women would

gather at one or more kitchens for conversation and to reciting folktales and riddles. Both girls and boys underwent initiation rites. In the colonial period, Catholic and Protestant missionaries set up their own schools. British, Canadian, and American Protestants managed 26 mission stations and 215 rural schools, the most famous being the 9,000-acre Dondi complex, which had a seminary, girl's boarding school, and boy's secondary school.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In precolonial times, Ovimbundu society was comprised of a ruling elite (olosomas), freeborn *(mukwendye),* clients *(hafuka),* and slaves *(pika).* The olosomos were the descendents of the original conquerors, or those who rose up and disposed of them establishing their own ruling lineages, as was the case for some kingdoms. The olosomos controlled the surrounding countryside from fortified villages, living with their retainers, titled officials, and dependents on whom they drew personnel to man caravans. They also "owned" slave villages. Slaves were usually non-Ovimbundu purchased or obtained through raids. Income came from litigation *(mucano),* war booty, reciprocal exchange system *(ocibanda),* corvée labor, and trade.

The freeborn lived in villages on the plains. In the past most villagers were agnates and the headman *(sekula,* or "grandfather") was the leader of the largest patrilineal group. Villages were also divided into wards, each with their own headmen usually the head of the largest family. The sekula shared authority with a religious personage, the *ocimbundu.*

The Portuguese divided its subjects into "civilized" *(assimilado)* and "native." Only the latter enjoyed the full rights of citizenship. One had to petition the government to obtain assimilado status, which required a rudimentary education in Portuguese and keeping a European lifestyle.

Political Organization. Candidates for kingship had to be related to the ruling lineage and were elected by a council comprised of chiefs. Although elected, the king was considered divine and the living incarnation of past kings. The king made trade agreements and declared war. Each reign was inaugurated with a war.

Underneath the king were the chiefs (olosomos) who ruled over polities of anywhere from three to three hundred villages. Chiefs included direct members of the royal family, heads of other dynastic families, or loyal court officials. Below the chiefs were the local village heads (sekula.) The Portuguese, replaced the chiefs with their own district officers (chefe).

Social Control. Mutual respect between kin groups was maintained by strict rules of avoidance. It was shameful *(osoi)* for a man to eat or chat with his eldest son or daughter, or for a woman to eat or chat with her sons. A man could not eat or joke with his sister, or sleep in the same room as his father. Brother-in-laws were forbidden to eat together. Spouses could not speak each other's name, or those of their parents-in-law. Sexual offenses against children, adultery between in-laws, murder, and deceit were considered bad, or *ekandu.*

Sorcery accusation was a common and powerful sanction against individual actions motivated entirely by self-interest. As opportunities increased in the 1870s and afterwards for individuals to accumulate wealth, sorcery accusations also increased. Funeral inquests involved sorcery accusations in which the corpse was used as a means of divination.

The sekula heard cases in his courtyard or in a public space, such as the dance floor or men's house. The sekula followed customary precedents, the *kesila* codes, which included procedures for litigation *(mucano).* Witnesses had to tell all they knew and if they lied they were fined or beaten. The judge could rule against both parties. Sentences involved a fine, beating, or enslavement. The king's court *(olusenje)* was the supreme court of the land and the king's word was final.

Conflict In precolonial times, standing armies from different kingdoms fought amongst themselves and against neighboring tribes for war booty and slaves. The Nano Wars were yearly occurrences in which armies carried out raids, including attacks on Portuguese garrisons. As commodity trade became more entrenched, the fighting subsided, and the region enjoyed a *pax Umbunduca.* In the colonial period, the Ovimbundu suffered under the harshness of the Portuguese "civilizing mission," in which they were forced to work for Europeans under a corvée labor system. Restrictions on work, property, and markets lead to general impoverishment. Ghana's independence in 1957 was a catalyst for anticolonial movements throughout Africa. The Congo's independence in 1960 and Zambia's in 1964 provided support and bases for anticolonial movements in Angola. The colonial government's preemptive crackdown on Ovimbundu Protestants and railway workers deemed in collusion with foreign agitators merely solidified resistance. Originally members of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola *(Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola,* or FNLA), Ovimbundu leaders left to form their own movement (UNITA) when they failed to convince the FNLA leadership to open a southern front. The split had dire consequences in the postcolonial period, further fomenting distrust between ethnic and regional groups that has fueled the civil war.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The body *(etimba)* has breath *(omuenyo)* and a soul *(ocililenba),* which wanders at night and communicates to the body through dreams. The soul becomes a ghost *(ocilulu)* after death and attaches itself to a house, causing sickness in the house. A diviner identifies the ghost and performs a ceremony to transform the ghost into an ancestor *(ahamba).* In precolonial times, the king's ancestors were national deities. The supreme deity was Suku. The king was high priest, the source of rain and fire, and guarantor of fertility. In the colonial period, five Protestant and six Roman Catholic missionary societies operated in the region. Protestant converts, totaling *365,000* by 1960, were from a cross section of Ovimbundu society, including former members of ruling elite and slaves. The colonial government sponsored Catholic missionaries, which claimed one million Ovimbundu converts by 1960. Converts continued to hold onto beliefs in witchcraft and divination.

Religious Practitioners. *Ocimbandas* were diviners and herbalists. Their responsibilities were to discover cause of illness, interpret omens and dreams, give personal advice, dispense medicine and charms, and bring or withhold rain.

Diviners use a diving basket filled with various objects and figures that represent poison, garrulousness, barrenness, sickness, misfortune at the hand of Europeans, death, laughter, theft, etc. Sorcerers or witches were called *olonganga.* Heads of the patrilineal and matrilineal groups acted as priests on ceremonial occasions. In 1956, there were 32 ordained Ovimbundu priests and around 65 pastors.

Ceremonies. In precolonial times, the king made sacrifices to national deities at the royal shrine. Diviners and village leaders performed various ceremonies for rainmaking and epidemics.

Arts. Dancing lies at the heart of a village's social, legal, and recreational life. At the center of each village is a dancing floor. The Ovimbundu have a rich folktale and song tradition. Musical instruments include drums, in a variety of shapes and sizes, flutes, and iron key instruments, called *ocisanji* or *sansas.* Wooden figurines are used in diviners baskets and as blacksmith effigies, and carved onto chiefs' staffs and road posts.

Medicine. Common sicknesses are intestinal worms, malaria, sleeping sickness, leprosy, whooping cough, and measles. Medicine men employ various remedies including sweat baths, cupping, and herbs either ingested or topically applied. Medicine women helped in childbirth. The Dondi Mission included the Sara Hurd Scott Memorial Hospital and Leprosarium.

Death and Afterlife· The corpse is tied together in a supine position and placed in a wooden coffin. The coffin is slung on a pole held by two bearers and is used for divination. People ask questions, including the reason for death. A forward direction is an affirmative answer, a backward movement is a negative one. A diviner also uses his divination basket to answer questions. The corpse is buried at the father's sister's family's village graveyard. The soul lingers on as a ghost and is eventually transformed into an ancestor through rituals.

For other cultures in Angola, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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IAN SKOGGARD

Polish Americans

ETHNONYMS: Polacy (plural), Polak (masculine singular)/ Polka (feminine singular), Polanders, Poles, Polonia

Orientation

Identification and Location. Polish Americans are ethnic Poles who or whose ancestors migrated to the United States. Of the 9,366,106 persons who reported Polish ancestry in the 1990 U.S. Census, 37 percent lived in the Northeast, an equal percentage lived in the Midwest; 15 percent lived in the South, and 11 percent lived in the West.

Demography. Preliminary estimates of the 2000 U.S. Census estimated 9,050,122 individuals of Polish ancestry in the United States, or 3.3 percent of the total population.

Official statistics for the period 1820-1880 reported 16,656 immigrants from Poland. Until the 1880s Polish immigrants were few and consisted largely of political exiles. There were some exceptions, such as the group of peasants that settled Panna Maria, Texas, in 1854. However, the migration from 1880 to 1914 was a massive economically motivated movement of almost two million persons. This wave culminated in 1912-1913, when 174,365 Poles immigrated, with men outnumbering women two to one. Because of the two world wars and restrictions on population movements by the U.S. and Polish governments, Polish immigration to the United States was numerically at a low level from 1914 to 1988.

Between 1885 and 1972 there were 669,392 nonimmigrant temporary visitors, another 297,590 individuals came to and later left the United States, and 1,780,151 immigrants stayed. Officially, from 1971 to 1997, there were 257,771 immigrants from Poland. In addition, there are those who overstay their visas (the *wakacjusze)* and become undocumented residents.

Linguistic Affiliation. Polish Americans speak English, a West Germanic language, and Polish, a West Slavic language. Both languages are part of the Indo-European language family, which is part of the Nostratic superfamily. Competency and usage range from bilingualism to monolingualism in one of the languages with knowledge of a few words in the other. In the 1990 U.S. Census 723,000 individuals reported that they spoke Polish at home.

History and Cultural Relations

Poles have been migrating to North America since 1608. Upon arrival, they participated in mainstream American life. Polish American officers and soldiers served in the Continental Army during the American Revolution, enlisted on both sides in the Civil War, and fought in both world wars, the Korean conflict, the Vietnam War, and the Gulf War.

The earliest arrivals were political exiles or adventurers. By the late 1800s and until World War I the majority of Polish immigrants were peasants with little or no formal education who were employed primarily as unskilled laborers. After World War II an increasing number of immigrants were relatively well educated and had urban rather than rural backgrounds. From 1974 to 1984 the typical immigrant was

married, twenty-nine to thirty-nine years old, and came from a large city. Ninety percent of these persons were high school or vocational school graduates, and almost a third had a college education.

As a result of its size and settlement patterns in contiguous neighborhoods in cities, Polish American society was oriented inwardly and relatively resistant to assimilation until the 1920s. However, as a significant and increasing proportion of the Polish American population was born in the United States, in the third, fourth, or a later generation some became assimilated into the general population while others maintained their ethnic identity. At the beginning of the twenty-first century Polish Americans participated fully in American society, and some, such as Gloria Swanson, Charles Bronson (Buchinski), and Loretta Swit, gained popularity and fame.

Settlements

According to estimates based on the 2000 U.S. Census, the states with the largest numbers of Polish Americans are New York, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Recently, California and Florida gained significant numbers of Polish Americans. The cities with the largest concentrations are Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Detroit, Cleveland, and Philadelphia.

Before World War II Polish American communities were centered on their churches. Poles lived in households that in addition to the owner's family often included one or more boarders. By the turn of the millennium these localized concentrations of Polish Americans were shrinking. At the beginning of the twenty-first century individuals whose ancestors immigrated several generations ago are increasingly assimilating into the larger society. They are dispersing by relocating to the suburbs and no longer settle in ethnic neighborhoods when they move from one city to another. New arrivals from Poland are not sufficiently numerous to maintain large ethnic neighborhoods and, because of their higher levels of education and greater socioeconomic opportunities, are not interested in doing so.

Economy

Subsistence. Most Polish Americans buy their everyday food in local supermarkets, restaurants, and fast-food outlets. In the ethnic neighborhoods some stores carry specialty foods and items that reflect Polish tastes and traditions. Restaurants featuring Polish American ethnic foods seem to be more successful in areas where the family's everyday fare no longer consists of Polish dishes. People sometimes indulge in nostalgia by ordering "the foods mother used to make."

What is considered Polish American cuisine was peasant fare in Poland, albeit dishes served on special occasions. As the economic status of Polish immigrants improved, people ate these foods with increasing frequency. Now that many Polish Americans have switched to the foods common in American society, dishes such as *czarnina* (duck's blood soup), *kiełbasa* (Polish sausage), *kiszka* (buckwheat sausage), *kluski* (noodles), *gołçbki* (stuffed cabbage rolls), and *pierogi* (Polish ravioli) are again served only on special occasions.

Commercial Activities. Initially, Polish American commercial activities centered on serving the immigrant community. Grocery stores carried the day-to-day items to which people were accustomed, drugstores stocked herbs used in folk remedies, and neighborhood bars served as centers for socialization with other Poles. Some establishments sold tickets for relatives to come to the United States, and others facilitated the sending of money "back home."

Some businesses still target the needs and preferences of the ethnic community, but the majority of Polish American enterprises are part of the general economy. They range from small businesses such as janitorial and home cleaning services to large enterprises such as Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia.

Industrial Arts. The first record of Polish American industrial activities dates back to 1608, when a glass furnace was constructed and workshops were established for the manufacture of pitch, soap ash, and tar. More recently Polish Americans have made contributions to technology through the work of individuals such as Zbyslaw M. Roehr, inventor of the disposable hypodermic needle, and Tadeusz Sendzimir, holder of more than fifty patents on processes pertaining to the annealing, galvanizing, and continuous rolling of steel that are used by more than a hundred steel works worldwide.

Division of Labor. By 1990, 34 percent of Polish Americans were engaged in administrative support, sales, and technical occupations; 30 percent worked in managerial and professional occupations; 12 percent were fabricators, laborers, and operators; 11 percent worked in services; 11 percent worked in crafts, precision production, and repairs; and 1 percent engaged in farming, fishing, and forestry.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent is traced bilaterally with a patrilineal bias. The basic kin unit is the nuclear family consisting of a married couple and its unmarried children. Ties beyond this unit are recognized but have become increasingly inactive as members have dispersed spatially by moving to new locations. Kindreds assemble for formal occasions, especially weddings and funerals.

Kinship Terminology. Polish Americans use Eskimo kinship terminology. They recognize kinship through both genders and use the same kin terms for both the father's and the mother's relatives but differentiate between genders and generations.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Most Polish American marriages are similar to those in the general American society. Ethnic endogamy is decreasing, but there is pressure to marry other Roman Catholics. More traditional individuals expect to get married, for the marriage to last for life, and that there will be children.

Domestic Unit. Newlyweds establish an independent household or may reside with the bride's parents. As a result of this pattern, Polish American wives have more power in their homes than was and is common in Poland.

The typical household consists of a married couple and their unmarried children. If the spouses' parents are still alive, they usually maintain their own households or, with increasing frequency, move into a retirement facility rather than into the children's home.

Inheritance. The pattern of inheritance is similar to that of the larger society and follows its laws. If the deceased was a first-generation immigrant with no survivors in the United States, his or her property may be deeded to relatives in Poland.

Socialization. The mother is seen as the nurturing supportive parent, and the father is thought of as a stern disciplinarian who may use physical punishment. Polish Americans operate 553 elementary schools, 71 high schools, 8 colleges, and 4 seminaries to further their education and socialize the next generation. However, a 1971 survey of Polish American parochial schools found that only 20 percent taught Polish history or culture. Polish Saturday schools and catechism classes have increased in popularity because they serve the needs of newer immigrants.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Approximately ten thousand Polish American organizations unite people with different interests. Memberships may be based on athletic, fraternal, religious, social, or other criteria. Many of these groups are affiliated with national associations that have a total membership of more than 800,000. Polish Americans are served by a number of periodicals that include two major Polish-language daily newspapers, twenty weekly and biweekly publications, and about thirty-five quarterlies with differing levels of scholarship and artistic orientation.

Political Organization. In 1619, after being denied the right to vote for the first legislative assembly in the Jamestown colony, Polish Americans organized the first strike for civil liberties on American soil. Given their numbers and length of residence, Polish Americans have not been especially successful in achieving high political office. Politicians have included Senator Edmund S. Muskie, the Democratic Party's nominee for vice president in 1968 and a contender for the presidency four years later; Doctor John Gronouski, a U. S. postmaster general and U. S. ambassador to Poland; and Mary Ann Krupsak, the first woman to be elected lieutenant governor of New York.

When Poland was not a free and united country (between 1795 and 1918 and from 1939 to 1989), Polish émigrés saw themselves as freedom fighters who were continuing the struggle from abroad. Among other activities, Polish Americans have attempted to influence the U.S. government's policies toward Poland. They also actively interact with Polish society. In 1995 there were more Polish citizens in Chicago than in Warsaw and many feel that these voters abroad were decisive in electing Aleksander Kwasniewski president.

Social Control. There is internal competition and division in Polish American society. One conflict—though it has been less prevalent since 1989—is between the Polish American left and people with other political orientations, especially those who have experienced communism firsthand. A second cleavage is between recent immigrants and those whose ancestors arrived before World War II, who have different perspectives on ethnic identity and Polish culture. To a degree these conflicts are based on the differences in education and employment of the different cohorts of immigrants. Another division is based on the religious schism between adherents of the Polish National Catholic Church and those who have remained Roman Catholic.

These conflicts are manifested in the formation of parallel organizations and in competition for offices in the existing organizations. Often conflict situations result in avoidance and refusal to acknowledge the existence of those who have different opinions.

Conflict. Conflict with non-Poles is specific to the locality and is a function of the ages of those involved. In the past there were fights between young boys of different ethnic groups. Perhaps the most common and visible interethnic conflicts among adults have involved ethnic succession in residential neighborhoods and the resulting tensions. Occasionally these conflicts involve demonstrations covered by the news media.

Some conflicts are continuations of relationships in Europe. One example is the relationship between Catholic Poles and Polish Jews. This conflict is visible primarily in publications in which Polish Americans are accused of anti-Semitism and attempt to refute the charge. And when Poland was fighting for its independence after World War I, 24,000 to 30,000 men were recruited in the United States to help Poland fight. During World War II there were 722 volunteers for a similar unit.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Partly because of the atheistic propaganda of the Polish government between 1945 and 1989, recent immigrants are more agnostic than were pre-World War I immigrants. Two belief systems coexist: the formal Roman Catholic cosmology and doctrine and modified folk beliefs.

Among the most common practices are the lighting of a candle blessed by priests that is used to ward off sickness and general misfortune (the *gromnica)* and the blessing of the Easter basket. The way the table is set, the way people are seated, and the kinds of foods and dishes served at Christmas and Easter have religious significance.

Religious Practitioners. The overwhelming majority of Polish Americans have always been Roman Catholic. When Poles started arriving in large numbers, the Catholic Church in the United States was dominated by German and Irish cardinals and bishops. The Polish immigrants wanted to practice the kind of Catholicism they were used to in their country of origin, and this created conflict. Ultimately, some Polish priests were appointed to higher office, and the nine hundred Polish American congregations gained a measure of control over their property and practices.

An offshoot of the conflict with the Catholic Church in the United Sates was the creation of the Polish National Catholic Church in 1904. By the end of the twentieth century it had over a hundred parishes with three hundred thousand members. This church gained members in Poland, where the communist government tried to use it to reduce the effectiveness and power of the Roman Catholic Church.

Polish American social and organizational life remains strongly influenced by the church. There are religious fraternal organizations, insurance companies, and women's organizations. Polish American nuns have direct control of large organizations and raise capital for projects those groups initi-

ate and control. This practice increased the power of Polish American women before and after World War I.

Ceremonies. Polish American culture incorporates elements of the Polish culture of Poland and the "Anglo" culture of the United States. The Dyngus Day party traditionally held on the Monday after Easter evokes the Polish custom of entertaining neighbors on that day, while in Buffalo, New York it is an event to which people buy tickets to enjoy the food and festivities. Two other examples are Koledy Night and Dozynki. Koledy Night is based on the custom in Poland of caroling from door to door during the Christmas season. In Buffalo, Polish and American carols are sung in both languages and there is polka music and other activities whose juxtaposition is unique to the United States. Even though in many communities few of the participants are farmers, the harvest festival, Dozynki, is still observed. These events are occasions for Polish Americans to bond and express ethnicity and for other people to experience their culture vicariously. The same ends are served by Polish Days and other festivities, such as Pulaski Day, named after famous Polish Americans.

There are numerous events sponsored by organizations and intended for their members. Usually these celebrations commemorate events and anniversaries significant to a specific organization. Some events are organized by a group and are open to all Polish Americans living in the vicinity. Usually these events have religious significance, such as Christmas, Easter, and New Year's celebrations, or they may be holidays observed in Poland. Regardless of the organization under whose auspices an event is held, its overt significance, or the activities associated with it, such events provide in-group bonding and serve to distinguish members of the Polish American community from the general population.

Arts. The polka is the best known type of Polish American music, and there have been popular musical entertainers such as Bobby Vinton. Others, such as Edward Sobolewski, the founder of the Minneapolis Symphony orchestra, and Stanislaw Skrowaczewski, who became its conductor a century later, have contributed to classical music in the United States.

Polish Americans have had a number of important literary figures, including Czeslaw Milosz, winner of the 1980 Nobel Prize for literature, and Jerzy Kosinski, who won the National Book Award in 1969 and was the first foreign-born and -educated person elected president of the American Center of PEN.

Important figures in the visual arts include Richard Anuszkiewitcz, op-art painter; Yan Khur, founder of Ero-Art; and Janusz Korczak-Ziolkowski, sculptor of the monument to Chief Crazy Horse in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Medicine. Until World War II many immigrants and members of the first generation born in the United States continued to rely on the folk medicine of the "old country." They used herbs applied externally as poultices and salves or ingested in foods and as teas. There often was a magico-religious element in these treatments. For example, plants collected before sunset on Saint John's Eve (June 23) were believed to have special potency. Educated immigrants and most Polish Americans who were born in the United States rely primarily on Western scientific medicine. Occasionally people may drink a tea made from chamomile or wormwood as a home remedy. In the 1990s there was a revival of interest in herbs as a result of the popularity of alternative medicine among the general public.

Death and Afterlife. Catholic peasants considered death in old age part of the normal life cycle and a transition to a better situation. When a member is dying, the family summons a priest to hear confession or administer the sacrament of Anointing of the Sick. Relatives gather at the bedside to bid farewell and place the gromnica (a candle blessed on February 2) in the dying person's hand to ease the agony of dying and protect the person from Satan. An all-night wake is observed. Sometimes relatives scatter Polish soil over graves so that the immigrants would not be buried in foreign ground. As a sign of respect for the dead, the *stypa* (the ritual funeral meal) is observed. The mourning period usually is a year.

For other cultures in The United States of America, *see* List of Cultures in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 1, North America.

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ANDRIS SKREIJA

Portuguese Americans

ETHNONYMS: Luso Americans, Portages, Greenhorns

Orientation

Identification and Location. Portuguese Americans are a diverse group whose social identity is emotionally tied to Portugal's colonial and postcolonial history. Most families can trace their family trees and migration routes back to the Azores, Madeira, or the European continent. During Portugal's colonial era Cape Verdean immigrants of Luso-African descent were included among the Portuguese. Their archipelago was granted political independence in 1975 after the Portuguese Revolution of the Carnations. Cape Verde ans have mobilized themselves as a distinct ethnic group in the United States since that time.

The terms *Portuguese American* and Luso *American* are commonly used as labels for self-identification. These terms also can be used to identify entire Portuguese communities that may include Azoreans, Madeirans, Continentals, and their descendants.

Strong regional and local identification distinguish and separate Azoreans, Madeirans, and Continentals. Some scholars consider this extreme regionalism and these traditional rivalries as residues of *bairrismo.* This social process shaped the residential settlement patterns of Portuguese American communities. Immigrants from the same islands and continental districts and villages tended to cluster and live together in the United States.

The epithet *Portage* is a bastardization of the formal *Portuguese.* Outsiders use this expression to insult and stigmatize immigrants and their descendants. *Greenhorn* is another derogatory label used by outsiders and insiders alike to stigmatize, antagonize, and insult the most recent immigrants and their children. Luso American descendants of the first wave of immigration use this label more commonly and vindictively than do outsiders.

Demography. The U.S. Bureau of the Census recorded 900,060 persons of Portuguese ancestry in 1998. The median age of this population of 453,120 women and 446,940 men was thirty-three years old.

The majority of Portuguese Americans reside in California and Massachusetts. In 1990, 275,492 (31 percent) lived in California and 241,173 (27) percent lived in Massachusetts. Sizable communities also exist in Rhode Island: 75,773 (9 percent); New Jersey: 56,928 (6 percent); Hawaii: 39,748 (4 percent); Connecticut: 35,523 (4 percent); New York: 34,455 (4 percent); and Florida: 23,975 (2 percent). The remaining 115,993 (12 percent) are scattered throughout the other states with the exception of the Dakotas.

Linguistic Affiliation. Portuguese is a Romance language derived from Latin and is part of the larger family of Indo-European languages. The earliest form, which was spoken between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, was called Galician Portuguese and resembled the language spoken in northwestern Spain. The language variety from Coimbra and Lisbon emerged as the standard form in the sixteenth century-

Modern Portuguese still has northern and southern dialects. The northern dialect retains its ancient Galician roots, and the southern dialect has some Arabic influence. The forms of Portuguese spoken in the Azores and Madeira are distinctive regional dialects.

Most immigrants from the Azores, Madeira, and the Continent arrived speaking Portuguese and continued to speak their native language to their children at home. While immigrants in the work force struggled to learn English by immersion, older people relied exclusively on Portuguese. Many acquired some English comprehension from radio and television but depended on bilingual relatives, especially children and grandchildren, for English translations.

Few traces of Portuguese speech survived past the second generation of the first wave of immigrants. The major exceptions were family names, kin terms, food names, names of folkloric objects, and swear words. The Portuguese of most first-generation immigrants incorporated English influences, mostly in vocabulary rather than pronunciation or grammar. There was also a great deal of code switching back and forth between English and Portuguese at home, at the workplace, and in public.

History and Cultural Relations

Scholars identify four historical periods of Portuguese immigration to the United States. The earliest immigrants sailed between 1500 and 1870. The first mass migration crossed the Atlantic from 1870 to 1921. Portuguese immigration declined during the dormancy period from 1922 to 1958. The latest wave of mass migration began in 1958, expanded in 1965, and peaked after the Portuguese Revolution that began on April 25, 1974. Immigration declined during the final decade of the twentieth century.

The Portuguese explorer João Roderigues Cabrillo anchored in San Diego Bay on September 9, 1542, and was the first European to explore California. Sephardic Jews emigrated to America in the eighteenth century to avoid religious persecution. Abraham de Lyon introduced grape cultivation to Georgia, and Aaron Lopez promoted the sperm whale oil and candle industry in Newport, Rhode Island.

The Portuguese Atlantic islands of the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verde became ports of call for Yankee merchants and New Bedford whalers in the nineteenth century. Portuguese islanders signed on as crewmembers when whalers, schooners, and clipper ships took on provisions. Most young sailors preferred the risks at sea to boredom, poverty, and military conscription at home. Many disembarked and settled near the waterfronts of established whaling seaports in New England, California, and Hawaii.

The annual reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service documented 35 Portuguese immigrants in 1820 and an incremental growth up to 5,272 over the next fifty years. The earliest immigrants were Azorean men and boys from Pico, Fayal, Saint George, and Flores who sailed on New Bedford and Nantucket whalers. Many landed and settled in the whaling ports of New Bedford and Edgartown, Massachusetts; Sag Harbor and Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York; Stonington, Connecticut; and San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, California. Those who abandoned whaling for commercial fishing moved to Prov-

incetown and Gloucester, Massachusetts, where their descendants still form the backbone of the local fishing fleets.

The first wave of mass migration by Azore an families began in 1870. Those families relied on the direct steamship passage established between Boston and Horta, Fayal. Most sought employment in the emerging textile industries in New England and were hired as unskilled laborers. Azore an immigration from Saint Michael, the most densely populated island on the archipelago, surpassed that from Fayal in the 1890s after the construction of a sea wall and deep harbor for transatlantic steamers. Migration from Saint Michael rose dramatically when the U.S. consulate moved to Ponta Delgada.

Madeirans and Continentals arrived between 1900 and 1920. Many were political refugees who feared the republican forces that overthrew the monarchy on October 5, 1910. This wave of 189,941 immigrants established ethnic enclaves in New Bedford, Fall River, Lowell, and Lawrence, Massachusetts, and the Blackstone River Valley from Cumberland to Providence, Rhode Island.

Azoreans implemented a chain migration in which the earliest migrants facilitated the immigration of the remaining family members. Islanders from Pico, Fayal, Saint George, Flores, and Terceira continued westward to California. Portuguese Americans in Hawaii experienced a fate different from that of their mainland cousins. The Hawaii Sugar Plantation Association recruited Madeiran labor to work the plantations, as did the American Hemp Company from Illinois in the 1840s. Nearly twenty thousand Portuguese had settled in Hawaii by the turn of the twentieth century.

U.S. immigration policies and legislation dramatically reduced Portuguese immigration during the 1920s. The Johnson Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924 established a quota of 440 visas a year for Portugal. Only 46,746 immigrants entered during that period.

Portuguese mass migration resumed in 1958 after the passage of the Azorean Refugee Acts. This legislation assisted 4,800 immigrants displaced by volcanic eruptions and earthquakes in Fayal. The U.S. Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the quota system, and Azorean chain migration resumed. Migration peaked at 101,710 during the decade of the Portuguese Revolution. Although migration has slowed substantially, more than a quarter million immigrants had come to the United States by the end of the twentieth century.

The *recém-chegados* (recent arrivals) expanded and revitalized the earlier settlements in New England and California and established new communities in Connecticut and New Jersey. Many recent arrivals were largely unaware of the history and traditions of the earlier group. The newer group was also better educated than its predecessors. They exhibited an ethnic pride that stood in sharp contrast to the attitude of a generation that grew up ashamed of its heritage.

The ease of modern travel and Internet communications have sustained contact with the old country. Ethnic heritage and bilingual education programs have cushioned the assimilation of the second wave and stimulated fresh interest in Portuguese language and culture.

Settlements

Most close-knit family groups settled in small cities and suburbs where they could own a mortgage-free home. In New England the typical Portuguese immigrant home assumed two distinct forms: *casa velina* and *casa nova* (the old house and the new house). The casa velha was located in the old tenement neighborhoods. These pastel-colored vinyl-sided tenements with verdant grape arbors and vegetable gardens added color and life to drab mill towns. Casas novas were built by upwardly mobile immigrants in the suburbs. These classic Mediterranean stucco houses with red tile roofs are accented with traditional masonry, tiles, and black wrought-iron fencing. Lawn shrines to Our Lady of Fatima and tiled icons of patron saints decorated the doors of both types of homes.

Economy

Subsistence. The domestic economy of Portuguese immigrant households is based on the mutual support of an extended family of parents, working-age children, and other family members living under the same roof. Their family organization originally developed on village farms in the Continent and the Atlantic islands. The majority of Azorean whalers and Portuguese fishermen acquired their new skills in the United States. Some of these people continued to work the soil in small truck gardens and dairy farms in the suburbs beyond the seaports. Itinerant farm workers picked cranberries, blueberries, and apples in New England and grapes, lettuce, and fruit in California.

Commercial Activities. Merchants set up small shops in the neighborhood business district to meet the workers' needs. In California the Portuguese became miners, farmers, and ranchers. They established large-scale dairy farms in the San Joaquín Valley and pioneered tuna fishing in San Diego. The Hawaiian Portuguese abandoned the sugarcane fields for service jobs in the city early in the twentieth century.

Industrial Arts. Skilled and experienced carpenters and masons entered the construction trades. Unskilled laborers worked on highway and landscape crews. In New England women joined men in the textile mills and garment industries.

Division of Labor. Half the Portuguese American population is gainfully employed. Nearly 20 percent of this work force holds managerial and professional positions. Another 30 percent holds technical, sales, and administrative jobs. The service sector and the production, crafts, and repair trades each employ 14 percent. Another 19 percent work as operators, fabricators, and laborers. The remaining 3 percent are employed in farming, forestry, and fishing.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Portuguese maintained their traditional extended family structure in the United States. The earliest immigrants were young single males and married men hoping to sponsor their families' passage when their finances permitted. Entire families arrived during the first wave of mass migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The 1965 U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act reinforced this trend by granting priority to close relatives who settled with their families in established communities. The households of second- and third-generation descendants usually are occupied by nuclear families with strong emotional ties to distant kin and members of the extended family.

Kinship Terminology. Portuguese Americans still reckon kinship descent bilaterally, and most use Portuguese kin terms. Those kinship terms have Latin roots: *mãe e pãe* (mother and father), *filho e filha* (son and daughter), *irmão e irmá* (brother and sister), *avo e avo* (grandmother and grandfather), bi*savó e bisavô* (great-grandparents), *madrinha e padrinho* (godmother and godfather), *primos e primas* (cousins) , and *compadres* (fictive kin). The Greek terms *tia* and *tio* (aunt and uncle) are the sole exception.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Portuguese Americans tend to be endogamous in terms of class and ethnicity. Immigrant parents prefer that their children marry someone from their natal village, but island endogamy is acceptable. Island exogamy is common but is considered problematic. Most ethnic exogamy occurs with other working-class Catholics from the Irish, French Canadian, Polish, and Hispanic communities. Nearly 60 percent of the 722,513 persons over fifteen years of age are married. Another 6 percent are widowed. Less than 2 percent are separated, and only 8 percent of Portuguese marriages end in divorce.

Domestic Unit. Many Portuguese Americans tend to remain in the communities in which they were born. Even upwardly mobile descendants build new single-family homes in suburbs close to the old immigrant centers. The concept of a dominant male head of household still prevails among Portuguese men. The entrance of Portuguese women into the American labor market challenged and diminished traditional male authority. Older women maintained traditional gender roles. They resigned themselves to their factory routines and domestic obligations to their husbands and children. Many of their daughters, however, resented this double standard and rebelled against the suppression of women.

Inheritance. Portuguese American families generally maintain the tradition of partible inheritance. Firstborn adult children frequently are designated as the executors of the parents' final will and testament. Portuguese American women have the right to receive and bestow property.

Socialization. Maternal grandmothers are important child care providers in bilingual and bicultural Portuguese American households. They often introduce children to Portuguese language, cuisine, and religious beliefs and practices. Grandfathers, godfathers, aunts, and uncles also provide emotional guidance and fiscal support to young parents.

The children of working-class families were not always encouraged to stay in school beyond the required age. Many were urged to seek gainful employment and contribute to the income of the extended family. While immigrant parents clung to familiar customs, their children encountered an American way of life that produced a dramatic generation gap. English-language proficiency, American schools, and peer influences alienated many Portuguese American descendants from their immigrant parents.

The earlier immigrants and their descendants endured the Depression and Americanization programs that stigmatized Portuguese language, customs, and identity. Many members of that generation abandoned their native language and denied their ethnic identity out of shame. The children of Portuguese immigrants who arrived in the 1960s received advocacy and support from the bilingual and bicultural staff of immigrant assistance centers. Their children enrolled in bilingual education programs at school.

The traditional emphasis on family welfare still inhibits Portuguese students. Only a minority seek higher education beyond the local community. Most enroll in local community colleges and state universities.

In recent years successful Luso Americans from both waves of immigration have reaffirmed their Portuguese identity and heritage. Despite their historical and cultural differences, recent immigrants and Luso American descendants are bridging the gaps that originally separated them. Together they have reconstructed their immigrant history and legendary past to preserve and promote their communities across the country.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Portuguese immigrants settled in ethnic neighborhoods and organized themselves for economic protection, recreational activities, and preservation of their language and culture. They established five types of voluntary associations to ease their entry into the mainstream of American life: protective associations, social clubs, religious confraternities, band clubs, and educational associations. Membership usually was determined by one's regional identity.

Protective associations provided insurance benefits in case of unemployment, illness, or death. Social clubs resembled village taverns in the old country, and several fielded soccer teams. Religious confraternities celebrated patron saint feasts in their Catholic parishes. Brass band clubs led processions and performed at the local church feast. Educational associations ensured that the language, literature, and cultural history would not be mistaken for Spanish. More than fifty American universities offer Portuguese studies programs.

Political Organization. Ethnic newspapers, radio, and television provide a communications network and forum for Portuguese American merchants, educators, and community leaders to serve their constituents in their native language. Until recently the Portuguese media focused primarily on immigrant issues rather than the Portuguese American community as a whole. Air mail, transatlantic telephones, jet travel, and personal computers have provided reliable channels to sustain ties with relatives in the old country. RTP (Radio Television of Portugal) beams instantaneous satellite dispatches from Lisbon and the entire Portuguese-speaking world directly into immigrant households.

Recent immigrants and their descendants are more involved with their homeland than the earlier arrivals could be. Portuguese American folklore groups, brass bands, and soccer teams engage in an active cultural exchange with their counterparts in the islands and on the Continent. The development of modern travel and communications technology has sustained and strengthened Portuguese American social identity.

Conflict. The two waves of Portuguese immigration encountered different political climates over the course of their histories. The earlier immigrants were viciously assailed by

American nativists and Know-Nothings, and restrictive quotas and Americanization programs were imposed on their families. All things Portuguese were stigmatized. The Great Depression, World War II, and the 1950s further Americanized their children. Many people married into other ethnic groups and lost their linguistic and cultural identity.

Portuguese immigrant families in the 1960s arrived seeking new economic opportunities and encountered the social and political turmoil of the civil rights and antiwar movements and a recession. Portugal had its counterpart in the African colonial wars. The Portuguese Revolution of April 25, 1974, heightened the political consciousness of Portuguese Americans.

American schools and social service agencies mobilized Portuguese Americans to confront discrimination and stigmatization. They offered citizenship programs and voter registration drives to naturalize citizens and introduce them to the political process. Portuguese immigrants and their descendants currently hold local and state political offices in New England, California, and Hawaii.

The circumstances and experiences of the recém-chegados were dramatically different from those of the immigrants and descendants of the first wave. These two groups live in close juxtaposition but not in harmony. The Portuguese American community is quietly and slowly resolving the conflict of loyalties between the third- and fourth-generation descendants of the original immigrants and the latest wave of recent arrivals.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Portuguese are Roman Catholics with a legacy of anticlericalism. Their ethnic parishes became focal points of community life at the turn of the twentieth century. The historical emergence of Portuguese American neighborhoods is dated by the times when their churches were built. The first Portuguese American parish, Saint John the Baptist, was established in New Bedford in 1869. Five more Portuguese churches were built in Boston, Fall River, and Gloucester, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; and Oakland, California, before 1900. These national parishes offered spiritual solace and comfort by ministering to Portuguese families in their native language. The churches incorporated familiar religious icons and sponsored traditional celebrations.

Portuguese immigrants retained ancient, pre-Christian folk beliefs in the supernatural. They attributed most of their ills and the bad weather affecting crops and livestock to witchcraft practiced by *bruxas* and *feiticeiras.* Many people were believed to have the power of *mau olhado* (the evil eye). These witches could cast an evil spell on others with a simple gaze. Villagers warded off psychic attack with a *figa,* a clenched fist with the thumb stuck between the first and second fingers. Gold charms and religious talismans were worn around the neck and wrists for spiritual protection.

The Portuguese regard the Devil as a real and menacing force. The taboo word *diabo* is avoided for fear of invoking his sinister and evil presence. Portuguese Americans still protect themselves from evil with holy water and the sign of the Cross.

Religious Practitioners. Portuguese Americans recognize an important distinction between the clerical hierarchy and the congregation during *festas* (feasts). Priests are responsible for coordinating liturgical rituals and interpreting religious dogma. Religious brotherhoods *(irmandades)* sponsor *festas* at the congregational level. The Holy Ghost Brotherhood, the Holy Rosary Sodality, and countless feast committees have perpetuated the Portuguese ritual calendar.

Ceremonies. Portuguese immigrants and their American-born descendants express their regional collective identity through celebrations of folk religious festivals. Azore ans observe Holy Ghost festivals from Easter to July in New England and California. The most notable celebrations are held in Fall River, Massachusetts, and Gustine, California. Azore - ans also celebrate other patron saint feasts, including Santo Cristo in Fall River and Senhor da Pedra in New Bedford, Massachusetts. Azoreans often schedule vacations so that they can attend the feasts in the islands. They sanctify and transform their homecoming into a religious pilgrimage.

Madeirans have celebrated the Feast of Our Lady of the Mount in the mountains behind Honolulu since 1901. They also established the Feast of the Blessed Sacrament in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1915. The Madeiran feast committee promotes this event as "the largest Portuguese feast in the world." Their public extravaganza held on the first weekend of August draws more than 250,000 visitors to New Bedford.

The postcolonial Portuguese government has recruited bilingual Americans to serve as cultural brokers between Portugal and the United States. Immigrant community leaders collaborate with their Portuguese consulates to celebrate the Day of Portugal, Camoes, and the Portuguese communities. The Day of Portugal, held on 10 June, honors Luis de Camoes. His epic poem of Portugal's Age of Discovery, the *Lusiadas,* has become the embodiment of the national culture.

Arts. Portuguese Americans mark ritual space and time with colorful displays of ephemeral art. The festival grounds and streets leading to the church often are decorated with arches of greens festooned with colored lights, flags, and flowers. The procession routes are outlined with *pasadeiras das flores* (flowered carpets), and the statues of the saints are adorned in their finest raiment. Household shrines for the Holy Ghost crown are often more elaborate than creche displays at Christmas.

Religious rituals are always accompanied by a secular festivity called an *arraial.* Ceremonial eating, drinking, singing, and dancing occur on the church grounds after the religious services. The Portuguese prepare traditional food for their feasts. The menu invariably includes *linguiça* (pork sausage), *chouriço* (spicy pork sausage), *favas* (beans), *cacoila* (marinated pork), *massa sovada* (sweet bread), and *sopa de couves* (kale soup). Brass bands, folk musicians, and folkloric dancers in regional costumes provide entertainment. Portuguese *fado* can be heard at ethnic restaurants on weekends.

Medicine. Portuguese Americans make use of modern medical and mental health services. In New England many Azoreans still rely on folk healers called *curandeiros.* who use a mixture of traditional herbs, prayer, and spiritual rituals during their healing sessions. These remedies are considered

as important as a medicine cabinet full of drugs and pills prescribed by a physician.

Public health and medical professionals have designed outreach programs to treat Portuguese Americans for hypertension, diabetes, heart disease, cancer, alcoholism, drug abuse, and depression. Portuguese immigrant women refer to their symptoms of anxiety, depression, and mental health disorders as "nerves."

Death and Afterlife. Death marks the ritual end of an individual life and the reconfiguration of the surviving family. Portuguese Americans call on ethnic morticians and funeral directors to deal with their grief. Bodies customarily are placed in an open casket for a single day at the funeral parlor. Floral rosary beads, a broken heart, and a clock marking the time of death adorn the casket. Immediate family members openly express their grief with continuous sobbing and wailing. The seating arrangement by the casket indicates family rank and relationships. Everyone wears black outfits. Visitors customarily embrace and kiss the entire extended family in the grieving line. Family members and close friends of the deceased often are selected as pallbearers. They carry the coffin into the church where the person was baptized for their final Mass of the Dead. The ritual concludes with burial in the family plot and a ceremonial meal. Portuguese Americans meticulously maintain their family grave sites every Memorial Day rather than on All Saints Day.

Widows customarily wear black for the rest of their lives. Other relatives wear black for variable lengths of time, depending on their relationship to the deceased. Devout women create little altars on their bedroom bureaus. Photographs of the deceased are added to this sacred space decorated with crucifixes, images of saints, and burning candles. Relatives perpetuate this cult of the dead by offering masses and prayers for the soul of the deceased on the anniversary of his passing.

For the original article on Portuguese Americans, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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STEPHEN L. CABRAL

Premi

ETHNONYMS: Pumi, Xifan, Prmi, Chruame, Bo, Paimuyi

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Premi live in southwestern China in an area stretching from the southwestern corner of Sichuan Province into the northwestern portion of the neighboring Yunnan Province. The Premi in Yunnan have been officially classified as a separate "national minority." The Premi in the adjacent areas of Sichuan Province have been labeled as Tibetans, or Zangzu, one of the fifty-five recognized national minorities in China. Historically, the Premi were called Xifan by the Han Chinese. After official recognition in 1960, the Premi in Yunnan were designated as Pumi. Pumi is an approximate in Chinese of the self-appellation of Premi, which means "white people." These people live mainly in Ninglang County, the Lanping Bai and Pumi Autonomous County, and parts of Lijiang Naxi Autonomous County. In Sichuan the Premi population is concentrated in the Muli Tibetan Autonomous County, but there are Premi villages in the surrounding counties of Yanyuan and Jiulong.

Demography. In Yunnan 29,657 Premi were counted in the fourth population census of 1990. In Sichuan, where the Premi do not constitute a separate official category, their numbers do not appear separately in population counts. Estimates based on linguistic studies put their number at approximately the same as in Yunnan, for a total number of approximately *60,000.*

Linguistic Affiliation. According to most Chinese linguists, the Premi language, Premihli, belongs to the Qiang branch of the Tibeto-Burman language group within the Sino-Tibetan language family. There are two distinct dialect groupings: a southern one and a northern one. The northern dialects are spoken in Sichuan and in Ninglang County in Yunnan, and the southern dialects in Lijiang and Lanping counties. Many Premi men are bi- or trilingual; in addition to being able to speak the local dialect of Chinese, they often speak the languages of the surrounding peoples: Tibetan, Naxi, Moso, Bai, or Yi. Premi does not have a written form, although Tibetan script sometimes is used for religious purposes and for writing family genealogies.

History and Cultural Relations

The Premi are considered one of the seminomadic peoples descended from the old Qiang people who began migrating

southward from the northeastern part of the Tibetan plateau around the seventh century B.C.E. They are one of the several groups of Xifan, an ethnonym that surfaces in Chinese sources from Song times (960-1279 C.E.) and was used to designate different peoples living in a north-south corridor in what is now western Sichuan, wedged in between the Tibetans and the Han Chinese.

These peoples combined pastoralism and agriculture. Culturally, they were strongly influenced by their Tibetan neighbors. During the campaign of Kublai Khan against the Dali Kingdom in Yunnan in the thirteenth century many Xifan were enlisted in the Mongolian army and ended up settling in northwestern Yunnan. As relatively late arrivals they settled higher in the mountains in small clusters of villages, interspersed with other ethnic groups, such as the Naxi, Bai, and Moso. Most lived in areas ruled by *tusi* (native chieftains) appointed by the Chinese imperial court. In some areas the tusi were Xifan. In Muli in Sichuan a small semiautonomous "lama kingdom" appeared in the seventeenth century, ruled by a tusi who was also the head lama of a monastery of the reformed Gelugpa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The majority of the population in Muli, as well as the elite, were Xifan.

The term *Xifan* was used until the communists took power in 1949. In the large ethnic classification project of the 1950s in China the Xifan of Yunnan, who were all Premi speakers, were recognized as a single national minority. In Sichuan the situation was more complicated, since the Premi were only one of several groups referred to as Xifan. Because they were in many places highly influenced by Tibetan cultural practice, all Xifan in this province were classified as Tibetans, and Muli became a Tibetan Autonomous County.

Settlements

The majority of the Premi live in rural mountainous areas. In Yunnan the Premi are spread over a relatively large region in the northwestern part of the province, concentrated in village clusters among other ethnic groups. Many of these clusters contain no more than three or four villages varying in size from a few to twenty or thirty households. Housing styles are similar to those of the surrounding ethnic groups. In Sichuan and the adjacent area of Yongning in Yunnan the Premi live in log houses with roofs covered by wooden planks held in place by large stones. A small percentage of the male population resides in Buddhist monasteries. Very few Premi live in urban centers.

Economy

Subsistence. As a result *of* geographical differences, there is considerable variation in the crops cultivated by the Premi. Most Premi still combine subsistence farming with pastoralism. Since the Premi seldom live in the warmer valleys, instead residing higher in the mountains, very little rice is cultivated. The main crops are corn, wheat, barley, vegetables, fruit trees, and in higher mountain regions potatoes, highland barley, and turnips. Most families have domestic animals such as pigs, a few cows, and chickens. Many also have goats, which are herded by the youngest and the oldest members of the family. In Sichuan, in the higher mountain regions, a considerable number of Premi live and work on large state-owned pastures for the raising of yak. These places provide the lower-lying villages with staple products such as yak butter. Each family also owns mules or horses, and traditionally transportation of goods by mule has been one of the few nonagricultural economic activities. This activity has continued into modern times since many of the Premi regions have few motor roads that can be used throughout the year.

Commercial Activities. Commercial activities are not well developed because of the difficulty of transportation. In areas suitable for planting apple trees some cash is generated, and there is some small-scale selling of forest products such as medicinal plants used in traditional Chinese medicine. Depending on the nearness of market towns, a portion of crop production is sold, and the income is used to purchase rice and household necessities. In some regions apples have become a cash crop. Before the general ban on logging in 1999, a number of men provided their families with extra cash by working in state logging companies or transporting timber with privately owned trucks.

Industrial Arts. The Premi are known for home weaving of cloth with beautiful patterns. Women use the fabric as a belt around the waist, and men wind another type around the lower part of the legs. Every house has a loom, and many young girls weave on improvised looms.

Division of Labor. Except for plowing, which is done by men, in most Premi areas both sexes participate equally in agricultural production. Activities farther from the village, such as hunting, leading mule caravans, and driving trucks are generally the domain of men. Only men can become religious experts, *hangui* or *anji,* or become monks in a Tibetan Buddhist monastery. Women mainly do household chores, but men participate in many of those tasks. Weaving on the house loom is women's work, but both men and women do basket weaving.

Land Tenure. When the communists took over the Premi areas and incorporated them into the new People's Republic of China, they encountered two different forms of land tenure. In areas ruled by the tusi, all the land was owned by this appointed native chieftain and the local people were his tenant farmers. The land was allocated to them for cultivation, and they paid the tusi with a percentage of the harvest. In areas where the tusi had been replaced by a Chinese official, land was privately owned and most of the people worked their own plots. Land ownership in these areas was made transferable, and the communist regime categorized the Premi in these regions into classes of landless farm workers, poor and rich farmers, and a few landlords. At the end of the 1950s all land was collectivized. In the beginning of the 1980s families could sign contracts for state-owned land, which was divided according to the number of people in each family. Much of the land farmed by the Premi is marginal land on mountain slopes with limited yields. Tight government control of land use limits possibilities for opening up more land, and many expanding families have problems providing a livelihood for all their members.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Premi descent is mostly patrilineal, with the exception of some families in the Yongning area of Ninglang County in Yunnan, which follow the matrilineal

pattern of the surrounding Moso. In Muli clan relationship is still a very important identity marker, and many aspects of social life are organized around these patrilineal clans.

Kinship Terminology. Premi kinship terminology is of the Omaha type characteristic of patrilineal societies.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Premi patrilineal clans are strictly exogamous. The preferred marriage form has traditionally been cross-cousin marriage. In Lanping maternal cousins could marry each other. In several areas there is still a high frequency of sororal polyandry and fraternal polygyny. Premi often intermarry with Moso, and several Premi and Moso villages have established relationships in which women are exchanged. The Premi in the Yongning area of Yunnan participate in the local *tisese*, or "walking marriage," of the Moso. This is a nonfixed sexual relationship in which both partners remain in their respective matrilineal households and their children stay in the family of the mother.

Domestic Unit. Most households include three generations. When the house becomes too crowded, one of the sons (usually the oldest one) will leave the household with his family and establish a new house, and the youngest son will take over the ancestral home. Traditionally, the Premi have no family names, but they have house names. Persons are identified first by the name of the house and then by first name. After the communist takeover many Premi adopted Chinese family names, which usually follow clan names.

Inheritance. Inheritance is patrilineal, with the youngest son often taking over the ancestral house. The older sons leave the parental house with their wives and children if the house becomes too crowded. At that time the land is divided. In Lanping, when there are no sons in the family, property is inherited by paternal cousins. This may be done by adopting one of the sons of the father's brother. In the Ninglang and Muli areas married daughters without brothers can inherit parental property.

Socialization. Traditionally, Premi are considered to reach adulthood at the age of thirteen; this is still celebrated in many areas with a special ceremony in which girls start wearing the typical pleated skirt of the Premi and the boys start wearing trousers.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Premi society was largely classless. In the Yongning area, where the Premi lived together with the stratified Moso people under the rule of the tusi and his administration, the Premi as a nonstratified group had a special privileged status vis-à-vis the other ethnic groups. In post-Mao China one of the most notable features of several Premi communities is the persistence of the clan as basis for many aspects of social life. The larger clans have regular meetings for which members travel from faraway places.

Political Organization. Before 1949 a substantial proportion of Premi communities lived under the tusi system, in which they were ruled by hereditary local rulers mandated by the Chinese court. Since many Premi settlements were spread thinly over a large area inhabited mainly by other ethnic groups, these tusi families were not necessarily of Premi origin. The tusi in Muli, who also was the highest lama, came from a Premi family. Except for the special position of this family, Premi society was generally not stratified. The fact that the worldly leader in Muli was also a religious leader made his authority absolute and unquestionable. In the Yongning area, the tusi was the political leader and his younger brother was the highest lama.

After 1949 the political organization in some Premi areas followed the system of nominal local autonomy practiced in other ethnic minority areas of China. Special administrative regions were established on the county, prefectural, or provincial level where one or more officially recognized minority nationalities were given limited power of local decision making, such as the possibility of educating children in a minority language. Technically, the Premi have been provided with only one such region: the Lanping Bai and Pumi Autonomous County in Yunnan. However, in Sichuan there is Muli Tibetan Autonomous County, where the Premi are classified as Tibetans. About two-thirds of these Tibetans are Premi. Premi children in Muli are taught Tibetan in addition to Chinese at school but are not taught Premi.

Social Control. The tusi system provided a detailed criminal code enforced by the tusi's administration. Minor conflicts often were dealt with by the religious specialists, the hangui or anji, or by the house or clan elders.

Conflict. When Premi people engaged in larger conflicts before 1949, they were drafted into the armies of the local tusi, who often fought limited wars against each other for territory or control of economic resources. In areas adjoining Yi territory Premi people were sometimes victims of slave raids by Yi lords.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Tibetan Buddhism, mainly in the form of monasteries of the Gelugpa sect, has a firm foothold in many Premi areas. Before the communist takeover religious and political power often were united, and in Muli among every two Premi brothers one had to enter a monastery and become a monk. After the abolishment of this system and religious repression under the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), Buddhism lost much of its power.

Besides Buddhism, the Premi have traditional beliefs and related religious practices that continue to play an important role in people's lives. Since most Premi do not believe in reincarnation or in central Buddhist concepts such as karma, there is reason to assume that Buddhism was much more a political factor and a religion for the elite than a deeply felt belief in the villages. Nevertheless, on the formal level Tibetan Buddhism has provided the traditional religion with Buddhist texts, bells, and prayer flags. According to traditional Premi beliefs, spirits and an array of divinities inhabit the invisible dimension of the natural world. The two main categories are water divinities and mountain divinities. Malignant spirits can make people or domestic animals ill and cause disasters for individuals or families. The souls of deceased family members can turn into malignant spirits if they are not taken care of properly by their surviving kin. The Premi therefore emphasized rituals honoring their ancestors. The central place for these rituals is the hearth or fireplace

in each house, where offers are made on a sacred stone. Other sacred places where divinities are invoked are springs, lakes, and mountaintops.

Religious Practitioners. The traditional religious specialists are called hangui or anji. Hangui are always men who have learned religious rites mostly from their fathers. The hangui use orally transmitted ritual texts or Tibetan Buddhist scriptures of diverse origin when performing rituals. They play a central role at funerary ceremonies and in rituals for pacifying malignant spirits by invoking the protective spirit of their hangui line, which often involves the sacrifice of a chicken or a larger domestic animal. Other functions include fortune-telling, calculating auspicious dates for important events such as funerals, and consecrating the sacred fireplace in a house.

Many Premi villagers also utilize the ritual services of former Buddhist lamas who returned to their villages when the monasteries were closed in the late 1950s and 1960s. Many of these lamas could not return to the monasteries in the more liberal post-Mao times because they had broken their vows and married. They perform many of the same rituals as the hangui. Whereas the hangui deal with malignant spirits in violent ways, for example, with blood offers, the former lamas utilize persuasion and other nonviolent methods to convince spirits to leave their victims alone. Other religious specialists are mediums who can communicate directly with the spirit world. They can be either male or female and have no specific ritual competence. The Cultural Revolution almost wiped out this traditional religious practice, but since the introduction of more relaxed policies in the 1980s, the few old surviving hangui have been able to find many young students who are willing to learn the trade from their grandfathers.

Ceremonies. There are several annual ceremonies for worshiping different divinities. Some ceremonies are held only when necessity arises, such as drought or sickness. The major festival is the New Year festival, which is celebrated from the seventh to the last day of the twelfth month of the lunar cal-

Arts. The major traditional artistic expressions of the Premi are religious in character and practiced at Buddhist monasteries. They include sculpture, wood carving, and thanka painting, which is traditional Tibetan religious painting.

Medicine. If somebody is sick in the village, people may consult a government-trained doctor if one is available or a hangui or a lama. Since it is believed that many diseases are caused by malignant spirits, the religious specialist will perform a ritual to chase away or appease those spirits. This often involves the sacrifice of a chicken. Specific divinities can be invoked for specific ailments; for example, water divinities are believed to cure eye diseases. Divinities may diagnose diseases through the help of a medium.

Death and Afterlife. In the Lanping and Lijiang areas *of* Yunnan most Premi have adopted burial, while in the Yongning area of Yunnan and in Sichuan the Premi still practice cremation. In areas where the clan system is still predominant the village has different cremation grounds for each clan. Each clan also has a separate mountain cave where the ashes of the deceased members are placed after cremation. The cremation ceremony, which can last several days, is led by hanguis and/or former lamas, the more the better. A major ritual is the "opening of the road," in which a hangui or lama guides the soul of the deceased back to the place from which the ancestors of the clan originated according to tradition. This ritual has to be conducted properly since any soul can become a wandering, malignant spirit if it is not guided to join its ancestors. To avoid this unlucky development, each family takes care of the souls of its deceased ancestors by making regular offerings. Before each meal some food is placed on the sacred stone near the fireplace in the house, and larger ceremonies are held for the ancestors at the New Year's celebration.

For other cultures in China, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 6, Russia and Eurasia/China.

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KOEN WELLENS

Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States

ETHNONYMS: Puerto Ricans, Hispanics, Latinos, Puertorriqueños, Boricuas, Nuyoricans

Orientation

Identification and Location. Puerto Ricans are descendants of native peoples from the island *of* Puerto Rico in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. Their homeland was acquired by the United States in 1898 after the Spanish-American War. American citizenship was conferred on the Puerto Rican people in 1917 by the Jones Act. The U.S. Bureau of the Census defines Puerto Ricans as part of a larger population of ethnic minorities designated as Hispanic. The term "Hispanic" is used to define anyone in the United States who has a Spanish surname or a Spanish-speaking background. Many people of Latin American and Caribbean descent, in-

cluding Puerto Ricans, do not readily identify with that term and refer to themselves as Latinos or as part of the ethnic subgroup that reflects their historical experiences. Thus, Puerto Ricans often interchangeably use terms that reflect their relationship to the island, its history, and its traditions as well as the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. Many Puerto Ricans identify themselves by using the Spanish term *Puertorriqueños.* This is a literal translation of "Puerto Rican," and serves as a marker of linguistic and cultural affiliation. Similarly, the Spanish term *Boricua* refers to the descendants of *Boriquén,* the name given to the island of Puerto Rico by the Amerindians who once lived there. By defining themselves as Boricuas, Puerto Ricans make the historical past an integral part of the present. Puerto Ricans who migrated from the island and settled in New York often define themselves and are defined by others as *Nuyoricans.* They constitute several generations that are bilingual and bicultural.

Demography. Puerto Rican people began to migrate in large numbers after 1898, when Spain ceded Puerto Rico and other territories to the United States at the end of the Spanish-American War. Thousands of Puerto Rican workers migrated to Hawaii to work in the sugar industry between 1899 and 1901. Those migrants were contract laborers who had worked in the coffee industry in Puerto Rico and became unemployed because of an economic crisis that resulted in the decline of coffee production. Others traveled in smaller numbers to Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and the American Southwest.

Migration to the continental United States increased during World War I. In 1910 there were approximately 1,500 Puerto Ricans in the United States; by 1930 that number had increased to 52,774. The majority of the migrants settled initially in New York City and formed communities where they shared their daily life experiences with the Latin Americans and African Americans who also resided there.

The migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. mainland after World War II has been referred to as the "first great airborne migration." In 1940 there were 70,000 Puerto Ricans living in the continental United States. Throughout the 1950s the number of migrants increased as nearly 45,000 Puerto Ricans migrated to the mainland annually. This was the largest exodus in Puerto Rican history. By 1970 Puerto Rican-born residents and their descendants on the mainland totaled almost 1.5 million people. Throughout the 1970s there was a decline in the number of people leaving the island, with only 16,500 people migrating annually. This decline was due in part to the growth in employment opportunities there. In addition, approximately 333,000 Puerto Ricans returned to the island. This trend was short-lived. By 1980 there were over two million Puerto Ricans living in the continental United States. The U.S. Bureau of the Census reported that in 1990 over 2.7 million Puerto Ricans resided in the U.S. mainland. By 2000 the Puerto Rican population in the continental United States had increased to 3.4 million, approaching the 3.6 million population figure for the island.

History and Cultural Relations

Although many political and socioeconomic factors contributed to the exodus of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. mainland, economic reasons were predominant. Throughout the initial stages of migration Puerto Rican laborers left their homeland in search of employment opportunities. Among those early migrants there were also tailors, cigar makers, carpenters, and skilled artisans. Early migrants also worked as contract laborers to produce goods, such as ships and ammunition, needed during World War I.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s Puerto Ricans were aggressively encouraged to migrate by the U.S. and Puerto Rican governments. The view of development and modernization experts was that a manageable population size would enhance future prospects for modernizing Puerto Rico, and World War II constituted one of the first modernizing experiences in Puerto Rican history. Approximately 76,000 Puerto Ricans served in the U.S. military during World War II. Many of those young veterans acquired skills that permitted them to enter the labor force and settle in the United States.

For some Puerto Ricans the process of assimilation and transculturation is difficult, and many suffer social dislocation as they struggle with discrimination, racism, and sexism. Others are able to make transitions that permit them to negotiate their identities as bicultural and bilingual members of American society. Another sector opts to become totally assimilated and identifies as Hispanic or American. Family linkages, interpersonal relationships, and the celebration of cultural values and traditions influence the processes of assimilation and transculturation.

Settlements

Historically, Puerto Ricans who migrated in search of employment opportunities settled in major cities in the Northeast and Midwest. The largest proportion of Puerto Ricans settled in New York, particularly in neighborhoods where their kin or former residents of their hometowns already were living. Family and friends provided important linkages that helped newly arrived migrants find work, gain access to social services, and become integral members of their new communities. In 1980, 73.3 percent of the Puerto Rican population resided in the Northeast. The states with the largest concentration of Puerto Ricans in 1980 were New York, New Jersey, and Illinois. Florida, Massachusetts, Texas, and Connecticut experienced the greatest growth in the Puerto Rican population in the 1990s.

A number of factors influenced the settlement and dispersion of Puerto Ricans in the 1980s and 1990s. Many Puerto Ricans moved to smaller cities because of deteriorating socioeconomic conditions in the urban enclaves, including crime and a lack of employment opportunities. Puerto Ricans who migrate from the island continue to settle in New York City and the surrounding area, but many are now moving to small cities as well. An extensive network of family members and friends has informed prospective emigrants that opportunities in traditional areas of settlement are limited. In the 1990s cities such as Hartford, Connecticut, and Springfield, Massachusetts, in the Northeast experienced rapid growth in the Puerto Rican population. Another important shift has been the movement of Puerto Ricans to cities in the southern part of United States, particularly Florida, Texas, and California. An older population of Puerto Ricans that previously resided in the Northeast and Midwest is resettling in the South. A highly educated population of Puerto Ricans both

from the U.S. mainland and from the island is settling in these states, where employment opportunities are more available.

Economy

Subsistence. Social and economic changes in major cities in the Northeast and Midwest have had an effect on patterns of migration, settlement, and resettlement among Puerto Ricans. These changes have also affected the well-being of the members of these communities. Puerto Ricans who are unable to find sustainable employment in the island or on the mainland often have to use social services to meet their basic socioeconomic needs. As impoverished, unemployed, and underemployed individuals, they must contend with limited housing, health care, and other social services that limit opportunities for educational, social, and economic advancement. The young and the old are at highest risk. According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, the poverty rate of Puerto Ricans in the mainland in 1990 was 30.3 percent. Puerto Ricans have one of the highest poverty rates among all American ethnic and racial groups. Poverty rates among Puerto Rican women are even higher. The rate of poverty among Puerto Rican female heads of households in 1990 was 31.9 percent compared to 30.0 percent in 1980. The adverse effects on children living in these economically impoverished households and neighborhoods with inadequate social services have been severe. Many of the elderly who migrated in the 1940s and 1950s and worked in manufacturing industries now rely solely on social security income. They often find themselves trapped in an urban milieu in a society that has failed to ensure their well-being.

Puerto Ricans constitute a very diverse group of people. Although there are highly educated professionals who are members of the American middle class, most Puerto Ricans are among the working class who struggle to ensure that the basic needs of their families are met. Others are the working poor and the very poor. These individuals and families must rely on diminishing social welfare programs to meet their needs for housing, health, and education.

In 1990 the Hispanic population had the lowest average level of education in the United States. Among Puerto Ricans twenty-five years of age or older 46.5 percent had less than a high school education. Only 9.2 percent of the population in that age group had obtained a college education. Policy makers, educators, and community activists are trying to revitalize many of the segregated schools Puerto Rican children attend. These schools often are unable to provide the basic skills needed to compete in the American workplace.

Commercial Activities. As employment became available in the industrial Northeast and Midwest, Puerto Rican men and women joined the U.S. agricultural, manufacturing, and service industries as unskilled and semiskilled laborers. Women took low-paying semiskilled jobs in New York's garment district. However, as manufacturing industries left the Northeast and Midwest in search of cheaper sources of labor abroad, many of those women became unemployed. Younger women with limited skills became an integral part of the U.S. service industry as clerical workers and receptionists.

The period between 1960 and 1980 is referred to as "the revolving door migration" because of the constant flow of Puerto Ricans traveling to and from the island and the mainland to improve their socioeconomic status.

Land Tenure. Many Puerto Rican families are unable to secure the funds needed to purchase a home. Puerto Ricans have the lowest rate of home ownership in the United States.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Kin groups are composed of consanguineal and affinal relations. However, Puerto Ricans also incorporate other individuals who are not related to them by blood or marriage into their kin networks. Children who are adopted are accorded privileges and responsibilities as close kin, as are fictive kin such as *compadres* (coparents). Descent is bilateral and is based on consanguineal kinship.

Kinship Terminology. Distinctions are made between generations of kin, with some exceptions. For example, children who are reared by their grandmother *(abuela)* may refer to her as their mother by using the Spanish term *mamá* and the English term *mother* interchangeably. They refer to their biological mother in the same manner.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Legal marriage is considered the ideal, but consensual unions also occur. Puerto Ricans validate the participants in consensual unions by according them rights and responsibilities as legally married persons. Individuals are allowed to seek their own mates. However, family members often intercede to ensure that the match is an appropriate one based on factors such as family lineage, class, and status.

Domestic Unit. The predominant domestic unit is the nuclear family. Other domestic arrangements include female-headed family units and extended family units. Male-female relations are part of a patriarchal complex in which men are respected as providers for their families. Women are valued as wives and mothers who secure the well-being of the family. These ideals are reflected in the practice of both men and women seeking employment opportunities and resources for their kin. However, many of the social and economic constraints Puerto Ricans encounter create tensions that negatively affect interpersonal relationships.

Puerto Ricans greatly value the family, and extended kin networks are particularly important. Value is placed on the interaction between extended family members. As a result of high rates of marital separation and divorce, Puerto Rican families, particularly female-headed ones, must often rely on the support and assistance of extended family members. The elderly also form part of these extended family networks because they rely on their adult children for assistance and support. As grandparents they are relied on to assist in child rearing. As a result of these factors, several generations of Puerto Ricans may reside in one household.

Socialization. Mothers, grandmothers, and other female kin are responsible for child rearing. Fathers and grandfathers are increasingly assuming these responsibilities as more women work for wages outside the home. Babies and preschool-age children are given a great deal of affection and leeway as they develop appropriate modes of behavior. Young children are expected to be respectful of their siblings and

older kin and adult members of society. Appropriate modes of behavior are expressed and regulated within the framework of gender-based networks. Girls are expected to learn appropriate female roles and responsibilities that encompass childcare and other domestic duties; as a result they are generally restricted to participation in social activities with other females and close kin. Boys have more opportunities to socialize with other male kin and a broader network of friends beyond the confines of the home and the immediate neighborhood. These gender-based networks affect language socialization. The ability to converse in Spanish is highly valued, and girls are more likely to be exposed to Spanish-dominant networks. Boys have greater exposure to English-dominant networks because of their broader social contacts. However, birthplace, length of residence in Puerto Rico, the frequency of trips to the island, the ethnic makeup of the neighborhood, and the day-to-day experiences of children affect their fluency in Spanish and English.

Greater restrictions on the mobility of girls beyond the home are generally linked to the onset of menarche. The age of fifteen marks an important cultural transition from childhood to young adulthood. Parties *(quinceañeras)* are often held among family and friends to mark this transition. Young girls are adept in the exercise of strategies to expand their social network. As young women become involved with school-based activities, they have opportunities to expand their social networks.

Children and young adults are expected to pursue a formal education. From the perspective of adults, children and young adults must acquire the skills needed to defend themselves *(saber defenderse)*. They are expected to take responsibility for their socioeconomic well-being and that of their kin as educated and productive members of society.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. There is variation in behavior among members of different social classes. Among Puerto Ricans in general extended kin and other relationships are based on mutual respect. The elderly are accorded respect and honored. Interpersonal relations are strengthened as individuals travel to and from the island. Important cultural ideas, traditions, and practices are also reinforced. Puerto Ricans on the mainland often ask their kin to visit their relatives on the island. Throughout these visits information about births, marriages, illnesses, and deaths is exchanged. Social, political, and economic events that affect the well-being of Puerto Ricans are also discussed. Within this context, prospective migrants on the island learn about employment opportunities and new areas of settlement. Many are prompted by their kin to migrate.

Puerto Ricans living on the mainland often return to Puerto Rico for the holidays or to participate in family rituals and community festivals, often bearing gifts for their kin. These gifts are often goods needed or desired by family members and are markers of an elevated social status because they reinforce the idea that the migrant has achieved success in the continental United States. Gifts are also given out of respect and appreciation for the families that serve as hostesses during the return migrants' visits. This practice is not participated in by return migrants who have not experienced socioeconomic success on the mainland.

Political Organization. A host of national, state, and local organizations and nonprofit agencies have been created by Puerto Ricans to serve the needs of their compatriots. Some of these are advocacy groups that address public policy issues that affect Puerto Ricans on the island and the mainland. Other organizations not only address ways in which public policies and practices affect Puerto Ricans but also try to implement solutions by seeking the support of the community at the local level. They are public policy and advocacy groups that attempt to inform and empower Puerto Ricans. Some of the national organizations include the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, the National Puerto Rican Coalition, the National Puerto Rican Forum, and the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy. Institutions committed to education and the development of the leadership potential in Puerto Rican and other Latino youths have played a critical role. The Young Lords Party, established in 1969, was instrumental in the development of breakfast programs and physical examinations for young schoolchildren in urban areas. The ASPIRA Association, established in 1961, encourages Puerto Rican youth to complete their education and develop their intellectual potential. *The Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños* (the Center for Puerto Rican Studies), established in 1973 at Hunter College in New York, encourages analysis of the Puerto Rican experience. Scholars and community advocates associated with the center and other programs are particularly interested in the development of new theories and practices that are indicative of the rapidly changing reality for Puerto Ricans. Other national organizations have established links with community groups and individuals at the local level. The Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund works to protect the civil rights of Puerto Ricans and other Latinos by ensuring their equal protection under the law in education, employment, housing, health, and welfare.

Social Control. Informal mechanisms of social control affect the extent to which children and young adults socialize with others beyond a network of close kin. Girls and boys are expected to adhere to gender, sexual, and class norms. Behavior that is not consistent with these norms can be perceived as disrespectful in an ethnic community that emphasizes respectability. To behave in an undignified or disrespectful manner brings shame not only to the individual but to the family unit.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Under the Spanish conquest the people of Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean were forced to convert to Roman Catholicism. The majority of people of Puerto Rican descent are Catholic and generally adhere to the teachings and practices of the Catholic Church. In recent decades other religions have come to play a prominent role. Evangelical Protestantism has increased its membership, particularly among the working poor and socioeconomically disadvantaged. For generations Puerto Ricans have also engaged in religious practices that incorporate *Santería* and *Espiritismo.*

Religious Practitioners. Practitioners of Santería integrate aspects of Catholicism and West African religions. This syncretic religion is rooted in the beliefs and practices of Africans brought to the Americas to work as slaves. Espiritismo

is rooted in Catholicism and the religious teachings of Alan Kardec. Its practitioners believe that spirits are able to intervene in the world of the living and do good and evil with the assistance of mediums. These religious practitioners engage in rituals in which they call upon the spirit world to help them cure illnesses and secure the well-being of an individual through the use of herbs and physical remedies. They can cause harm by engaging in similar rituals.

Ceremonies. Puerto Ricans participate in varied ceremonial events to mark salient events in the life cycle, such as birth, marriage, and death. Among those who practice Catholicism the sacraments of baptism, communion, confirmation, and marriage are not only rituals but also occasions when family members and friends gather to share a meal and celebrate an individual's participation in these rites of passage. Puerto Ricans also place a high premium on educational attainment and have family gatherings to mark these accomplishments.

Puerto Rican communities throughout the United States celebrate their ethnic heritage by holding Puerto Rican Day parades and community festivals.

Arts. Puerto Rican artists, artisans, dramatists, and writers have struggled against the injustices they have experienced as an ethnic group. They have also sought avenues to celebrate their cultural heritage and experiences in the continental United States. Puerto Ricans in New York established the Puerto Rican Traveling Theater and the Museo *del Barrio,* where many Puerto Ricans have honed their skills. These community-based artistic centers also inform and educate the Puerto Rican community and the larger American society about Puerto Rican culture. Poets, short-story writers, and novelists who are the sons and daughters of post-World War II emigrants have expressed the feelings and sentiments of many Puerto Ricans who experienced abject poverty in a society that discriminated against them and defined them as second-class citizens. Subsequent generations of authors have written about the contemporary experiences of Puerto Ricans in an urban setting. Others write about the migration, settlement, and return migration of their kin by weaving together life histories and stories that elucidate the wide range of experiences among Puerto Ricans. Internationally known musicians have infused the musical landscape with Afro-Latin rhythms, Latin jazz, *Salsa,* and Latin rap. Younger artists appropriate empty spaces in an urban milieu to create graffiti and other forms of public art. Others appropriate the geographical landscape and transform it by creating little houses *(casitas)* in the form of traditional Puerto Rican wooden structures. In New York these houses are markers of the cultural resilience and tenuous position of Puerto Ricans in the continental United States.

Medicine. Access to health care and information is problematic among working poor and poor Puerto Ricans. The lack of health care practitioners in Puerto Rican neighborhoods negatively affects the well-being of the population. The Hispanic Health and Nutrition Examination Survey has reported that Puerto Ricans are more likely than any other Hispanic group to suffer from diabetes, heart problems, and chronic bronchitis. The AIDS epidemic has disproportionately affected the Puerto Rican population.

Death and Afterlife. Death is marked by the gathering of family and friends at a wake, a religious ceremony, that depends on the religious affiliation of the deceased, and a burial. Deceased relatives often are transported to Puerto Rico for burial. Family members who have sufficient economic means often make arrangements to bury the dead with their ancestors on the island.

For other cultures in Puerto Rico, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 8, Middle America and the Caribbean.

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ARLENE TORRES

Quinault

ETHNONYMS: Quinaielt, Queniult

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Quinault are named after their largest settlement, kwi'nail (present-day Taholah), at the mouth of the Quinault River. Their original territory

extended up the river to Lake Quinault and along the Pacific coast from the mouth of the Raft River to Joe Creek, near Pacific Beach. Historically, the Quinault were one of several societies on or near the coast in Washington state's Olympic Peninsula. These societies included, from north to south, the Makah (on Cape Flattery), Ozette, Quilleute, Hoh, Queets (almost identical to the Quinault in language and customs), Quinault, Copalis-Oyhut, Chehalis, Shoalwater Salish, Willapah, and Chinook on the Columbia estuary. All those societies engaged in an interregional system of trade, marriage, feasting, and raiding and spoke a Chinook lingua franca.

Since their relocation to the Quinault Indian Reservation, the name "Quinault" has been associated with all the Indians who live on the 208,150-acre reservation regardless of their original cultural affiliations. The contemporary Quinault have forged a common identity based on shared residency and the collective struggle for control over their natural resources. In 1975 the Quinault reorganized their government and ratified the Constitution of the Quinault Indian Nation (QIN). The nation includes the descendants of the Quinault, Queets, Hoh, Quileute, Chehalis, Chinook, and Cowlitz.

Demography. The Quinault were a small society; their population was never greater than the thousand people Lewis and Clark estimated in 1805, based on their count of sixty lodges. In the 1840s and 1850s a series of epidemics decimated that population. In 1870 there were only 130 Quinault, and in 1888 an Indian agent counted just 95. By 1902 the population had climbed back to 136. The Quinault began to adopt members of other groups as a strategy to secure more land under the General Allotment Act. By 1911 there were 748 allottees. In the 1920s the population was estimated to be not more than 800. The 1990 census counted 1,216 people on the reservation. QIN membership was 2,000 in 1990 and 2,453 in 1999.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Quinault speak a Salish dialect. In the past they spoke the languages of neighboring peoples as well as Chinook and Nootka.

History and Cultural Relations

The first account of the Quinault was recorded in 1775, when the Spaniard Bruno de Hezeta anchored off Point Grenville, a few miles south of the Quinault River. The British Charles W. Barcley followed in 1787, and the American Robert Gray a year later. Although friendly at first, those encounters turned violent. The Quinault massacred landing parties of both Spaniards and British, who retaliated in an equally violent way. According to some historians, the Spaniards violated a sacred burial ground when they planted their cross on the beach. Other historians speculate that the Quinault were wary of "black-bearded" strangers because of reports they had heard of the brutality of Russian fur traders in the Aleutians and Alaska.

Lucrative fur sales to China spurred an increase of trade in the region. Unfortunately, the traders brought infectious diseases. The first incidence of measles occurred in 1779. In the 1850s a series of smallpox and influenza epidemics decimated the coastal population. Too weak to resist the advance of white settlers and eager to preserve control of the Quinault River, the Quinault, along with the Queets, Quileutes, and Hohs, signed the Quinault River Treaty in 1855, which established the Quinault Indian Reservation.

The 1850s saw the arrival of the first white settlers and the beginning of the lumber industry, which would dominate the local economy. The successful marketing of lumber milled from timber that homesteaders cleared from their land quickly changed the way settlers saw the forest. Lumber companies sprung up and soon turned Grays Harbor into the most productive logging area in the world.

The General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887 had opened the way for private ownership of reservation land, although forestland initially was excluded. Within forty-five years the Quinault lost control of 32 percent of their land. Following a 1924 provision of the Dawes Act, lumber companies obtained the right to log on reservation land. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) brokered land-use deals with lumber companies without consulting tribal officials. It also underestimated yields and charged below-market stumpage rates, favoring the logging companies. In 1936 the Quinault Tribal Council unsuccessfully challenged clear-cutting logging practices, which it argued made the remaining stands vulnerable to wind and fire and made natural reseeding impossible.

In the 1960s a new generation of young college-educated activists successfully confronted the authorities and won favorable legal judgements. In 1969 activists closed down a traditional clamming beach to tourists and had it rezoned as a protected wildlife habitat. In 1971, after a dispute with the BIA over stumpage rates and clear-cutting practices, young leaders barricaded roads and bridges, shutting down logging operations and forcing lumber companies to acquiesce to their demands. In 1974 the Quinault initiated a reforestation project with the BIA.

QIN leaders view natural resources as a single entity. Clear-cutting logging practices choked and poisoned the vital salmon rivers. A long, hard-fought campaign on the fisheries issue finally led to the Washington State Timber/Fish/Wildlife Agreement of 1987. The QIN set up a Resource Development Project (QRDP) that implemented a scientific fish hatchery and management program. Starting in 1978 with a federal loan, the QIN began to buy back land and resolve long-standing boundary disputes. By 1989 tribal ownership of reservation land increased from 2.2 percent to 17 percent. This vigorous defense of their rights against state government, federal agencies, and private corporations forged a new identity among the Quinault.

Settlements

Villages are found up and down the Quinault River. Thirty-eight sites were documented in the 1920s, although only twenty might have been occupied at any one time. Villages were located by favorable fishing spots and averaged from one to ten multifamily houses. Houses were built side by side facing the river. A post and beam construction with red cedar plank siding and gabled roofs was used. Houses varied in size from 30 to 60 feet (9 to 18 meters) in length and 20 to 40 feet (6 to 12 meters) in width.

Economy

Subsistence. The main staple is salmon, which can be caught year-round in the creeks, rivers, and ocean. The black

(chinook) salmon run in June and August, and the silver (coho) and dog (chum) salmon from September to mid-November. The blueback salmon are a species unique to the Quinault River and are the most plentiful. They run from late March to early July, with the peak in April. In the past villagers built common weirs and camps along the river a month before the run. Salmon was boiled or roasted for immediate consumption or dried and salted for the winter. After the blueback salmon run people hunted elk, bear, and deer in the mountains or gathered clams on the beach. They also gathered bark, grass, and berries and edible roots. At the end of the summer they returned to the river to catch the black, silver, and dog salmon. May to August was also whale season for a few intrepid hunters under the guidance of leaders who were thought to have special whale-hunting powers. Fishing and hunting are still important subsistence and economic activities.

Commercial Activities. The Quinault have been fishing commercially for a hundred years. Catches today are higher than at any time in the past, largely as a result of a comprehensive fish hatchery and stocking program. The QIN operates its own cannery and sells fish and other products under the brand name Quinault Pride Seafood Products. In 1978 nearly a third of the reservation's income came from fishing. Other income comes from work in the logging industry and the reservation services, which include roads, sanitation, education, recreation, health, police, and fire protection.

Industrial Arts. The Quinault fabricated a rich material culture from forest products. They used cedar bark, pine roots, hemp rushes, and grass to make clothes, nets, and baskets. They built houses, canoes, and storage trunks from wood. They made carvings of great beauty and decorated their work with designs using red and yellow dyes made from the Oregon grape, hemlock bark, salmon eggs, and the ash of red cedar. They used the fur of marmots and otters to make shoulder robes and bed blankets.

Trade. In the past people traded sea otter skins, dried salmon, and dried elk meat for whale oil, dentalium shells, and dried razor clams. They traded skins to white traders for iron tools, cloth, guns, and rum.

Division of Labor. Men built the weirs and fished for salmon; women dried and smoked the fish. Men and women both clammed. Women wove baskets, picked berries, and dug camas bulbs, the main vegetable staple. Camas bulbs were pounded, dried, and made into cakes for the winter. Men hunted elk, bear, and deer and trapped marmot, beaver, and otters.

Land Tenure. Land on the reservation is a mixture of trust, fee, tribal, and mixed ownership landholdings, reflecting a history of government land acts, private sales, logging claims, and land reclamation. The traditional concept of ownership was one of stewardship; however, the General Allotment Act of 1887 imposed a system of individual property rights. The act granted each adult male *80* acres of land for agricultural purposes and 160 acres for grazing. A 1924 revision of the act allowed for other kinds of land use, including logging. Within a few years logging companies controlled a third *of* the reservation land. In recent years the Quinault have struggled to reclaim control of their land as a way to protect their vital salmon fishery.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. There was no strong corporate organization such as a clan; instead, there were nested identities that included the family, household, village, and tribe. All Quinault considered themselves kin no matter how distant the genealogical connection was.

Kinship Terminology. People address each other by kinship terms rather than personal names. Some terms vary according to whether the speaker is male or female. There were no separate terms for parallel cousins and cross-cousins.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. One could not marry a blood relative. As all Quinault are considered related, this meant that they had to marry outside the group. One researcher counted fifty-eight out of eighty marriages that were exogamous, with partners from sixteen different cultural groups. A man would consider marriage only after acquiring a supernatural power from a spirit in a vision quest. Women could marry after the five-month period of seclusion that followed their first menses. Parents arranged the marriage. Once an agreement was made, the groom's parents and kin would visit the bride's village, bringing gifts and staying for a feast. The marriage ceremony would take place the next day at the groom's village. Residence was patrilocal. Wealthy men practiced polygamy.

Domestic Unit. A household consisted of a man and his sons, brothers, uncles and nephews, or cousins and their respective wives, children, parents-in-law, slaves, and hangers-on. The head of the family with the most seniority, prestige, or wealth was considered the "owner" of the house and occupied the rear of the house. Each family had its own hearth and cooked for itself.

Inheritance. Most of a deceased person's personal items were destroyed. Large items such as canoes were distributed among the family, with the oldest son receiving the major share. The "ownership" of a house passed to the oldest son, or to a brother, cousin, or nephew.

Socialization. According to local beliefs, children under age five have no common sense and therefore can not be held accountable for their actions. Between the ages of five and twenty, fathers and grandfathers would tell evening stories to their children to inculcate in them "the mind of their fathers."

As part of an assimilation policy in the Pacific Northwest, President Ulysses S. Grant assigned the Methodist Episcopal Church the area that included the Quinault Indian Reservation. The church established the Taholah Elementary School, which enforced strict behavioral codes and forbade the speaking of the Quinault language. The Quinault took control *of* the school in 1920 and began to stress the study of their own culture and history in order to recognize, preserve, and promote their culture and community.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditionally, the village was the fundamental social unit outside the family and household. The primary task of village members was to build and maintain the fishing weir, which was a collective effort.

There were three social classes—noble, commoner, and slave—that were distinguished according to a metaphor of blood. Nobles had "good blood," commoners had "poor blood" and there was "slave blood." One could have "half-slave blood" or "partly slave blood." Slaves were war captives and belonged to the leader of the war party. Only the wealthy owned slaves. Slaves could marry, but their offspring inherited their status. A slave could buy his or her freedom. Slaves were freed between 1850 and 1900, but several slaves were observed in the 1920s.

Political Organization. Traditionally, the man in the village with the largest house and the most wives, slaves, and property such as canoes, furs, blankets, and strings of dentalium had the greatest authority and was considered the chief. The word *Ali's* meant "chief," "noble," and "rich man." The chiefs of the largest villages had the most power, but no chief had absolute authority. A chief had a spokesman who "spoke the chiefs mind" and represented the chief in negotiations with other villages and tribes. Chiefs affirmed their status and privileges by holding potlatches, which would include members of other tribes. Chiefs were also the heads of secret societies.

In 1922 the Quinault enacted by-laws to establish a Tribal Council, and in 1975 they adopted a constitution. A General Council meets annually to hold elections, accept new members, allocate fishing grounds, and discuss other matters. Throughout the rest of the year business and legislative affairs are entrusted to four executive officers and seven councilmen who sit on the Quinault Business Committee. The reservation administration consists of departments of finance, human resources, natural resources, community development, social and health services, facilities management, information services, public safety, judiciary, and education. In 1990 the BIA implemented the Self-Governance Act, which established QIN as a sovereign entity with the right to govern itself and deal with other tribes and nations on a government-to-government basis.

Social Control. Chiefs would mediate in some disputes, although they had limited authority. People avenged the murder of a kinsman by killing the murderer (not his or her kin) or demanding a blood price from his or her kin. Today the QIN has a court system and police department.

Conflict. Traditionally, every grown man was a potential warrior. Individual families from different tribes feuded at times, but there was never all-out war between societies. Warriors fought with bows and arrows, spears, and rocks. Captives were killed, usually burned alive in their homes, or enslaved. All the coastal people took heads as trophies.

The Quinault had hostile encounters with European explorers and traders from the very beginning of contact. Decimated by disease in the second half of the eighteenth century, they were powerless to stop the influx of white settlers and sought refuge on a reservation, where they believed they would have some protection. However, various land acts opened the reservation to private ownership by outsiders. Since the 1960s the Quinault have waged a successful political and judicial campaign to regain control of their land and resources.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Traditional religion involved the acquisition and control of power *(tamanois)* to enhance one's fortunes with respect to health, food, fame, or love. The ways to acquire power were to obtain a guardian spirit through a vision quest or to resort to the ritual and dancing practiced in the secret societies. The vision quest occurred for men shortly after puberty. More than one guardian spirit could be obtained. The shaman Bob Pope controlled over thirty different spirits. Some spirits were contained in sacred objects such as sticks, carved dolls, rattles, walking staffs, and "power-boards."

In the 1890s many Quinault converted to the Shaker cult, a syncretic revitalization and reformist movement brought to the Puget Sound area by John Slokum. Shaker ceremonies involved all-night dancing and self-induced tremors, a sign of the spirit entering the body. Followers abstained from smoking, drinking, and gambling.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was one of the first European institutions on the reservation. Today most reservation residents are Christian.

Religious Practitioners. Shamans were considered ordinary persons, although with exceptional gifts. They were called on in times of crisis, for example, if the salmon were not running, the weather turned bad, or someone fell sick. Shamans engaged in contests with other shamans and have been accused of killing people through sorcery.

Ceremonies. In the past a naming ceremony was held a year after birth. A feast was held after the five-month period of seclusion that followed a girl's first menses. Chiefs held potlatches, which were usually three-day affairs involving feasting, dancing, and the giving away of gifts.

Arts. The Quinault have a rich folklore that they share with other tribes. Dancing, face painting, and mask making were part of the secret society regalia and performance. A rich system of visual expression is found in the intricate patterns and designs of baskets and woodwork.

Medicine. In the past shamans cured the sick by removing intrusive objects or, with aid of guardian spirits, recovering the lost soul. Herbal remedies included ferns and moss for heart ailments, tea of crab apple leaves for spitting blood, licorice fern for coughs, and deer fern for colic.

In the 1960s a comprehensive ambulatory medical and dental care system was established in Taholah. The Roger Saux Health Center employs professional physicians, nurses, dentists, and pharmacists and provides courses in health care, including dentistry, pharmacy, sanitation, maternal and child health care, community health, emergency medical service, and nutrition. The reservation also operates an outpatient alcohol and substance abuse program. The leading causes of death are heart disease, cancer, strokes, accidents, and homicide.

Death and Afterlife. In the past the dead were buried in a canoe or box raised on stilts. The corpse was removed from a hole in the wall or roof of the house. A shaman then exorcised the ghost and sickness from the house. Personal property such as blankets, utensils, and bows and arrows were broken and placed alongside the grave. Adult relatives cut their hair in mourning and avoided using the deceased per-

son's name for a year. If the owner of a house died, the house was torn down and rebuilt. A short while after the funeral kinsmen held a minor potlatch. Reburial was an option for wealthy families. The dead existed in the afterworld much like the living: hunting, fishing, having children, and fighting.

For the original article on the Quinault, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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IAN SKOGGARD

Rungus Dusun

ETHNONYMS: Rungus, Rungus Momogun

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Rungus are a people of northern Borneo who live in the Kudat Division of Sabah, Malaysia. The Rungus identify themselves, their customs, and their dialect group (isoglot) by the autonym *Rungus. A* number of other self-ascribed Dusunic-speaking ethnic groups live in the Kudat Division, including the Nulu' and the Gonsomon, both of which sometimes are mistakenly identified as Rungus.

Demography. In 1960, the population was estimated to be ten thousand. The population was estimated to be twenty-five thousand in 1990.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Rungus dialect is a member of the Dusunic language family.

History and Cultural Relations

The peoples of Borneo were influenced by the Chinese either directly or by trade through intermediaries. Antique Chinese ceramics are common. Contact with southern Indians is manifested in some linguistic cognates with Sanskrit, the most important being *divato',* the spirit familiar of the Rungus priestesses. In the sixteenth century Muslim traders spread Islam along the coast of Borneo. Before the arrival of the British in 1881 the Rungus were under the economic influence of the Sultanate of Brunei and the leaders of various coastal Muslim groups, including the Brunei Malay residing along the Kudat coast. These groups occasionally gave honorific titles to Rungus leaders, validating their position in the political hierarchy, and adjudicated disputes that could not be resolved at the local level. Slave raids and plundering by southern Philippine peoples were feared, but headhunting by Dusunic groups in the Kudat area ceased before to the arrival of the British, probably as a result of the influence of the coastal Muslims.

The Chinese were brought in by the British to work on tobacco plantations near the Rungus area. After the demise of those plantations in the early 1900s, the Chinese assumed a variety of agricultural pursuits, including the planting of rice, rubber, and coconuts. Chinese and Sino-Dusun established shops at key points on the edges of Rungus territory. As a result of Chinese plantation interests, sections of traditional Rungus lands became Chinese-controlled. European missionaries entered Sabah after the British; and by the mid-1950s a Basel Mission began to focus on the Dusunic peoples of the Kudat Peninsula. The British administration and the missionaries affected the socioeconomic base of the Dusunic peoples by introducing cash crops. They encouraged the Dusunic peoples to abandon their indigenous settlement pattern of longhouses and establish a pattern of dispersed residence of individual households on newly acquired plots of land. The government ignored the traditional system of land tenure, forcing individuals to obtain government title to those lands.

Settlements

Villages consist of one or more longhouses scattered in hamlets along rivers and streams. A village controlled an area that encompassed a drainage system of one of the small streams and rivers that flow east or west from the spine of the Kudat Peninsula.

Economy

Subsistence. Traditional subsistence was based on the cultivation by domestic families of dry rice, maize, cassava, vegetables, melons, pineapples, taro, and sweet potato. Bananas, papaya, *langsat, nangka,* mango, and citrus fruits were obtained from planted and cultivated fruit tree groves. Domestic families raised pigs, chickens, and occasionally a water buffalo *(kerabau).* Pigs and chickens were used for sacrifices and then eaten. Additional protein and fat were obtained by fishing, hunting, and some forest collecting. Fishing was done with throw nets, fish traps, fish scoops, poles, and poisoning. The hunting of wild pigs *(tembadau),* barking deer, and sambar deer was done with spears and dogs. Spear traps and spring pole traps also were used to capture larger animals. Smaller traps were used to catch monkeys, tree shrews, and squirrels. With the exception of tree shrews, these mammals were eaten, along with mice, snakes, and occasionally gibbons. Forest collecting included nuts, fern tips, the roots of wild yam, the pith of the palms, berries, and birds, which were captured by liming. Fish was obtained by trading swidden

produce and fruits in exchange for the catch of the coastal Muslims at weekly markets.

Industrial Arts. Basketry containers traditionally were made by Rungus men. One or two men in each village knew how to use the Malayan forge and made knives and other cutting implements. Women raised cotton, dyed it, and, using a belt loom, wove skirts with several different designs and a variety of clothing with ritually significant patterns, including male jackets, female blouses, and male trousers. Women who were skilled in this weaving achieved a higher ritual status, and weaving skills were closely associated with the role of the priestess and the spirit medium.

Trade. Weekly markets were held at the high point of navigation along the rivers. In those markets the coastal Muslims exchanged fish and items of local manufacture such as head cloths for the agricultural products of the Rungus. Iron for the manufacture of tools was purchased from Chinese shops. Surplus rice was exchanged for gongs, brassware, and jars. Sailing trips to Brunei on coastal Muslim boats to trade rice for gongs and brassware are still recounted.

Division of Labor. Although sex roles are not identical, they are equivalent and behaviorally and ideologically are of equal importance for societal functioning. Male and female roles are thus interlinked and form a whole. It is difficult for an adult man or woman to operate a household without a spouse. Conflict between the sexes is minimal. Husband and wife are expected to *mitimbang* ("balance each other"). The symmetry and balance of roles also are symbolized in the fact that only one term is used to refer to both husband and wife, *savo'.*

Men clear and burn the swiddens, and women help clear debris before planting. Both men and women plant, weed, and harvest the swiddens. Men care for and raise dogs and water buffalo; women care for pigs and chickens. In hunting and gathering, men hunt large game with spears, catch fish with traps and nets, and gather honey and orchard fruits. Women gather snails and shellfish, fish with scoops for small fish and prawns, and collect wild roots, nuts, berries, and vegetables.

The domestic activities of men include collecting firewood and making knives, rope, fish traps, and carrying baskets. Women husk the family's rice supplies, carry water, and do weaving, dying, and sewing; they also make rice winnowing baskets and a variety of baskets for general household use. Men market agricultural surpluses and bargain for brassware and gongs. Women sell the valuable ceremonial clothes they weave; a woman who is a spirit medium receives payments for curing illness and righting ritual imbalance. Women are in charge of the ritual aspects of birth and play the primary role in child rearing and nurturing. Men act as midwives and play a secondary role in child rearing and nurturing.

In the ritual sphere ceremonies for the swiddens and for property are the domain of men, while women communicate with the spirit world through their spirit familiars and perform ceremonies for health, to relieve illness in the family, and for the fertility of the village. The political activities of men include participation in the village moot, in which women give advice to their husbands. Headmen are always male.

Land Tenure. Each village traditionally held rights as a corporate jural entity over its territory, the "village reserve." Only members of the village could cut their swiddens in this reserve each year. Individual families held temporary rights over the area of forest they cut for a swidden until the last crops were removed. This system has been termed "circulating usufruct." Rights to fruit trees, however, if not previously divided among the planter's children, could be claimed from both parents. Those rights were not held by a social group, and the descendants never interacted, as the rites were held in severalty.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Rungus society traditionally was cognatic of the bilateral type, as there were no cognatic descent groups. The kindred was not present. The establishment of a kin tie was not necessary for longhouse or village membership.

Kinship Terminology. Cousin kinship terminology is of the Eskimo type, although in certain situations the Hawaiian type may be used to indicate social solidarity. The terminology for the parents' siblings is lineal.

Marriage and the Family

Marriage. Traditionally, when a son wished to marry, a substantial bride-price was provided for him from the accumulated assets of his domestic family. The bride-price items were held corporately by the bride's family and were used to provide bride-prices for its sons. The bride-price, as well as the other institutions that lead to marriage and the foundation of a new family, is justified by the major value premise that all sexual relations are potentially deleterious for the participants, the rest of society, the domestic animals, the crops, and the countryside unless they occur within a marriage. The amount of the bride-price was determined through extended negotiations and was based on the wealth of the groom's family, the wealth of the bride's family, the beauty and skills of the bride, the desire of the groom's family to consummate the marriage, and how eager the bride's family was for the marriage. Marriage is generally monogamous. Residence after marriage is uxorilocal, with the couple living in the wife's family's longhouse and village. Polygamous marriages involving two wives or, rarely, three occur in cases of wealthy men and when there is an adulterous relationship with the wife's unmarried sister. In cases of polygamous marriages separate longhouse apartments for each wife are preferred.

Domestic Unit. Until the next agricultural season, the newly married pair lives with the bride's family. They then found a new domestic family by building a separate family apartment, ideally attached to the longhouse where the bride's family resides. The family most frequently consists of a husband and his wife—the two founders—and their children. The parents or a widowed parent of one of the founders may join the family once the youngest child is married. The family was the only producing, consuming, and asset-accumulating social unit in Rungus society. It was thus the most important corporate entity in the economic, jural, and ritual realms. Surpluses from the domestic family's swiddens

and its livestock production were converted into brassware, gongs, ceramic ware, and female ornaments, including ritual clothing, old beads, earrings, and brass wire coiled around the legs, arms, waist, and sometimes necks of young girls and women. The corporate nature of the family was symbolized in the religious system. A number of sacrifices were made to cure illness in the family or to create an enhanced ritual state between the family and members of the spirit world who are responsible for protecting the family from illness and harm and promoting fertility in the swiddens and fecundity among the family's domestic animals.

Inheritance. Men and women traditionally inherited from both sides of the family, although some items were passed down from mother to daughter and from father to son.

Socialization. Children are highly valued, and socialization is permissive and supportive. Men traditionally were closely involved in the process. Learning was by imitation. There were no formal procedures for socialization.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Historically, the major social units were the family, the longhouse, and the village. The longhouse came into existence through the lateral accretion of individual family apartments. No section of the longhouse was jointly made and collectively owned by the constituent members.

This was in essence a condominium. The members of a longhouse were not involved in any joint economic activities. They did take collective, but not corporate, action to protect themselves against pathogenic spirits *(rogon)*. The longhouse was not considered a structural isolate (a ritual entity) in most activities in the ritual realm. It also was not considered a jural isolate in seeking restitution after a ritual delict was committed against its members. The village was the fundamental political unit of Rungus society, but it was not jurally a kin grouping. The village was considered to be both jurally and ritually corporate. However, unlike the family, the village was not an operating social entity. It did not have the capacity to enter into economic relations or accumulate assets, with the exception of the goodwill of the gods. Through jointly organized sacrifices by its members the village could increase the state of ritual goodwill between it, as a corporate entity, and the gods to improve the fertility of its reserve, plants, animals, and inhabitants.

The number of inhabitants of a village varied from forty to four hundred people.

Political Organization. The largest political unit historically was the village, and the village headman was the highest political leader. From time to time an important leader arose and served as a focus for intervillage relations and the resolution of disputes. This role was not inherited. Unresolved disputes were taken to leaders in coastal Muslim villages for resolution. Important coastal Muslim leaders were offered gifts *of* rice and produce by Rungus individuals to ensure their interest and obtain good luck from them.

Social Control. Disputes were resolved at the village moot, consisting of the male elders. Fines were levied in the form of property, which was paid to the injured party. The amity of kin was another source *of* social control. One *of* the most important sources was the role that supernatural beings played in controlling behavior. Gods, spirits, and demigods of the social and physical environment were potentially dangerous. If their rules and social order were transgressed, they became angry and caused illness and death. In the past the guilty party sometimes was determined though trial by ordeal.

Conflict. Conflicts arose over petty theft, intrusion into a family's fields, harvest theft, inappropriate behavior toward women, and especially inappropriate behavior toward another person's spouse. Incest was rare and was punished by the death of the perpetrator.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Celestial gods *(osunduw)* provided help to humankind through the work of the spirit medium/priestess, the *bobolizan.* These gods stood in contrast to rogon, who were the embodiment of the social and physical environment and could be harmful to humans. Rogon were found in aspects of the landscape that had distinctive features: a landslide, a large group of boulders, a grove of trees with a spring or wet place, or a banyan tree. They were the most salient osunduw in everyday discourse because they were the most dangerous to human beings. They were capricious and irascible and caused afflictions if they were not properly treated or if their living space was intruded upon. Rogon had families and engaged in the same activities as human beings. Invading the living space of a rogon, for example, by cutting a grove of trees in which a spirit dwelled, could anger the spirit, who would cause illness in the family of the perpetrator. Other rogon also could cause misfortune and infertility. These afflictions could be removed only through a sacrifice of pigs and chickens to reestablish the state of goodwill. In the past a human sacrifice to remove the afflictions of a whole village occurred occasionally.

Wandering rogon brought epidemic diseases. In addition to these spirits and the rogon who personified the natural world, there were rogon called *rusod* who mirrored the social organization of the household. After the birth of a child, the child's rusod came into being. These spirits lived in the longhouse apartment along with the family. The rusod were the guardians of the proper cultural order in the household and the protectors of the household members. The rusod could be offended by violating any of the rules that governed the household order. The rusod thus not only would cease to protect members of the family, allowing other rogon to make a household member ill, but also would cause a member to become ill until they were propitiated by ceremonies and sacrifices. Rice spirits *(odu-odu)* mirrored the social order *of* the family, reflected its social and jural substantiation, and provided good harvests if they were treated well and sacrificed to. There were celestial counterparts *of* the individual spirits that lived in the lower level of the upper world who provided protection when an individual was in danger. An individual had three to seven souls. There is one main soul of the body and other souls that reside in the joints. Souls are prone to wondering during a dream and can be captured by rogon, causing illness.

Religious Practitioners. Female spirit mediums/priestesses traditionally provided explanations for illness and determined which spirits needed propitiation. The full explana-

tion of the nature of the rusod counterpart could be obtained only from the bobolizan in whose hands lay the placation of the rusod and their care and feeding. In the trance performances of the bobolizan and the ritual texts she sang over sacrifices, the rusod was defined and described. The celestial counterparts of living or deceased individuals could become spirit familiars of a practicing bobolizan, especially in the case of efficacious bobolizan or individuals of renown.

The term *luma'ag* refers to any spirit familiar, god, rogon, or celestial counterpart that communicates with a spirit medium. This term also was used frequently to refer to the celestial counterpart of a living individual, male or female. However, only bobolizan obtained replies from their celestial counterpart when they were called upon in a trance. It was through the help of luma'ag that a bobolizan in a trance diagnosed illnesses and obtained information on the proper sacrifice to achieve cures, which involved the performance of hymns to the gods and spirits over sacrifices of pigs and chickens. The primary luma'ag of a bobolizan was usually her own celestial counterpart, although sometimes it could be that of her mother or teacher. Males performed the agricultural ceremonies that ensured a good harvest, and these rituals involved the sacrifice of chickens to the rice spirits and the rogon who represented agricultural pests.

Ceremonies. Traditional ceremonies involved sacrifices of pigs and chickens at marriage to dispel any ritual heat of the union. Ceremonies involving sacrifices were held to cure illness and to renew the fecundity of the household and the village. These ceremonies were managed by the bobolizan, who indicated the recipient of the sacrifices and the number of pigs and/or chickens to be given. These bobolizan recited and sung ritual texts consisting of couplets.

Arts. The primary art form was in the use of the language and texts accompanying ceremonies.

Medicine. Skilled males traditionally assisted in births. Knowledge of medicines made from forest plants was used by both males and females.

Death and Afterlife. Traditionally a corpse was buried with no secondary treatment. The souls of the dead tended to remain near the household and village longing for their kin until the final ceremony. A series of ceremonies involving pig sacrifice were held to dispel the malevolence of the souls of recently dead, who try to get the souls of loved ones to follow them, and to remove the restrictions on the behavior of the surviving spouse. When enough supplies had been accumulated, a final ceremony was held a year or two after death to send the main soul of the body to Mount Kinabalu, where it dwelled with other souls in a mirror image of the Rungus world, but with fewer cares and troubles. The souls of the joints visited the living world but dwelled near Mount Kinabalu.

For other cultures in Malaysia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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GEORGE N. APPELL

Russian Americans

ETHNONYMS: Russians, Russkie, Rossiyane, Velikorusy (Great Russians)

Orientation

Identification and Location. The term *Russians* can be used to refer to the members of any ethnic group that lived in the former Soviet Union (including Ukrainians, Belarusans, Jews, and peoples of the Caucasus region) for whom the

Russian language is the main vehicle of communication in the home environment. Russians have been living in the United States since the sale of Alaska in 1867. The first of four massive waves of immigration occurred at the end of the Russian Revolution (1917), the second took place at the end of World War II, a third wave (1950s-1960s) consisted of those who left the Soviet Union on Israeli visas, and a post-Cold War fourth wave was economically motivated.

Demography. According to the annual reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration and Census Data, 95,137 Russians lived in the United States in 1910 and 171,075 in 1920. About 40,000 Russians came in the 1920s, and 14,000 arrived in the 1930s. Around 20,000 former World War II prisoners and slave laborers in Germany refused to return to Russia and arrived in the United States between 1947 and 1952. According to the 1990 census, 2,114,506 Russian Americans lived in the United States, of whom 1,919,722 were native-born and 194,784 were foreign-born. Among the foreign-born, 128,249 entered the country before 1980 and 66,535 entered between 1980 and 1990; 123,415 were naturalized citizens, and 71,369 were not citizens. Preliminary data from the 2000 census estimate 2,987,143 people of Russian ancestry in the United States.

Linguistic Affiliation. Russian belongs to the Eastern Slavic group of the Indo-European language family and has more than 270 million speakers. According to the 1990 census, the total number of people above age four years speaking Russian at home in the United States was 241,798. The Russian language is maintained primarily by the Russian Orthodox Church, which offers instruction in that language in parish schools on weekends. There are also full-time church-run schools in cities such as New York and San Francisco. Small groups of Russian-speaking Doukhobors, an Old Believer sect, settled in the Canadian province of British Columbia at the turn of the twentieth century. They have preserved their language and culture because of their isolation from English-speaking Canadian communities and militant resistance to assimilation.

History and Cultural Relations

During the development of the West and the California gold rush many Russian laborers came to Hawaii and the mainland United States and Canada to work on sugar plantations and build railroads. Later immigration quotas were introduced that favored immigrants from Western Europe and discriminated against immigrants from Asia and Africa. After the Russo-Japanese war (1905-1907) about five thousand Russian Molokans left Russia for Los Angeles.

Whereas pre-World War I emigration from Russia consisted largely of peasants, the Russian refugees of the 1920s included a high proportion of middle- and upper-class people with good educations and professional qualifications. The biggest problem for the refugees was poverty. The largest and best-organized community in the United States was in New York City. After World War II many so-called displaced persons from Europe (especially Germany) and Asia (especially China) found new homes in the United States.

Among the more famous Russian immigrants to the United States were the inventors Igor Sikorsky (1889-1972) and Vladmir Zworykin (1889-1982), the writer Vladimir Nabokov (1899-1977), the actor Yul Brynner (1915-1985), and the actress Natalie Wood (1938-1981). In 1923 Sikorsky formed a corporation to produce one of the first twin-engine airplanes in the United States. The contribution of Russian scholars has been great: in history Valentin Karpovitch at Harvard, Valentin Riasanovsky at the University of Oregon, and Michael Rostovtzev and George Vernadsky at Yale; in linguistics and literary theory Roman Jakobson at MIT; and in sociology P. Sorokin at Harvard. The founder of modern ballet, Michel Fokine (1880-1942), came to New York City in 1923. The composer and musician Dimitri Tiomkin (1899-1979) settled in Los Angeles and became one of the most prolific composers for Hollywood films. Boris Bakhmeteff, a professor of mechanics and hydraulics, joined Columbia University in 1936. A former Soviet ambassador, he created a $1,400,000 fund at that university to expand the Russian studies program and foster the advancement of Russian culture in the United States. The Russian Classroom at the University of Pittsburgh was officially opened in July 1938 and featured furniture, embroidery, and ornamental hardware in the Russian tradition. The Tolstoy Foundation was established in 1939 to assist refugees. The Russian American Youth Theater was founded in 1968 in New York City by Tamara Levitskaia. In 1970 there were thirty-one Russian American publications—twenty-five in Russian and six in English—with a total circulation of 65,128. In New York City there is a Russian high school *(gymnasium)* run by the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad.

Illegal immigration has increased because of the economic downturn in Russia, which causes people to look for better economic opportunities elsewhere. Some Russians come as "tourists" and then try to arrange a fictitious marriage with an American citizen and apply for a "green card," which allows a person to stay in the United States as an immigrant and work legally. Others ask for political asylum, knowing in advance that the request will be denied by the immigration authorities. However, several years may pass before an immigration judge becomes available to hear the case, and in the meantime the petitioners are allowed to stay and work in the United States.

One legal way to immigrate to the United States is to invest in an American business; this allows a person to enter the United States and stay as long as he or she stays in business there. Eventually such a person may petition to stay in the country permanently. These petitions are usually granted if the petitioner shows that he or she has paid all taxes due, has not engaged in criminal activities, and is otherwise a "solid citizen."

The existence of Russia Abroad was a unique phenomenon of the twentieth century. The question of what constituted the essence of traditional Russian culture was one that affected the emigrants. Even among those for whom religion was not a central concern, Russia's ecclesiastical past could not be forgotten. The émigrés maintained the traditions of their ancestors from the late 1800s and early 1900s. They have embodied the creative spirit of the Silver Age and the early innovative years of the Soviet regime. In the West the émigrés were free to create whatever they wanted. For the first time writers and artists enjoyed freedom from censorship. Russian émigrés had an impact on the countries that

took them in, and their cultural achievements are becoming known in the former Soviet Union.

Settlements

The largest communities of Russian Americans are in California, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. Their housing is of the normal American and European type, with the exception that Russian Orthodox icons are placed in the *krasnyi ugol* (red corner) of the living room.

Economy

Subsistence. The economic life of Russian émigrés is based on small businesses and wage labor. Russian families try to give their children at least a secondary education, after which the children enter the work force. In the United States, Russians are employed in many industries as unskilled laborers, social service workers, and factory workers. To find employment in professional fields such as law and medicine, Russians have had to pass professional qualification examinations that are very difficult for those with a limited knowledge of English.

Commercial Activities. For the most part commercial activities are limited to operating small family-run businesses such as restaurants and retail stores. Today a number of Russians in the United States are involved in joint ventures funded with Russian and American capital. These businesses usually involve the trading operations of products such as fish, timber, and computers.

Industrial Arts. The first Association of Russian Painters and Artists included seventy painters, sculptors, and decorators. The honorary president was Nicholas Roerich. In New York the societies and unions tended to not break apart into right and left factions but maintained two branches under one roof.

Trade. Trade activities are focused on the former Soviet Union and on serving the needs of the Russian-speaking community. The most popular trading items are books, videos, and souvenirs.

Division of Labor. Most Russians in the first wave of immigrants worked in coal mining and the iron and steel industries. Immigration Commission reports from 1909 indicate that Russians also were involved in meatpacking, sugar refining, iron and ore mining, oil refining, construction work, and the manufacturing of clothing, wool and worsted goods, cotton goods, agricultural implements, cigars and tobacco products, leather, glass, footwear, silk goods, and furniture. Russian American workers were members of the United Mine Workers and Steel Workers' Union and other labor unions associated with garment workers, stonemasons, window washers, and house demolition workers. Earlier immigrants had established Russian branches of some unions, including the Russian Branch of Clockmakers, Russian Branch of Garment Workers, Society of Russian Boot Makers, Society of Russian Mechanics, and New York Union of Russian Longshoremen.

Immigration quotas were very low during the Depression, and aliens were encouraged to become Americans in order to be eligible for jobs. It was reported in 1923 that 40 percent of White Russian émigrés wished to become auto mechanics. Others became taxi drivers, restaurant workers, milliners, house painters, janitors, and construction workers. Women became language teachers, nurses, and social workers. Some men and women found jobs in universities. Quite a few immigrants were engineers. The current émigrés tend to be more educated.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The father is usually the head of the family and is helped by his wife, who keeps house and looks after the children and who also may have an outside job. Kinship links are very strong, and the concept of the extended family is still prevalent, with several generations of family members living in the same residence or close by. Elderly parents used to live with their children until death, and it is common for a son-in-law or daughter-in-law to live with the spouse's family. More recent immigrant families have tended to borrow some practices from Americans, and young people more often live independently of their parents. The concept of kinship is extended to include close friends of the family such as godparents.

Kinship Terminology. The husband's mother is called *svekrov',* and his father is called *svekr.* The wife's mother is called *tioshcha,* and her father is referred to as *test* Both sets of parents call each other *svoiaki.* A husband's sister is *zolovka* and his brother is called *dever',* whereas his wife's sister is called *svoiachnitsa* and her brother is *shurin.* Kinship relations and terminology are a source of many jokes and anecdotes.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Many of the earlier emigrants were men, and most were single. The poor and unstable finances of the majority of the refugees discouraged marriage. Single émigrés lived in great social isolation, often in barracks. They were reluctant to assimilate and always hoped to go back "home." A consequence of this situation in regard to marriage was the very low proportion of children among Russians abroad.

Until 1917 marriage partners were chosen almost exclusively within the Russian community since it was assumed that the family would return to Russia after accumulating sufficient resources. This was also true of Russians who came to the United States after the Russian Revolution, who hoped that the communist regime would not survive and that they would be able to return home. Today Russian parents do not oppose marriage with members of other nationalities since this is considered a way to facilitate assimilation into the American mainstream. Russians who think about emigration and those who have already entered the United States often look for Americans to date and then marry.

Domestic Unit. The Russian family in the United States is patriarchical as it was in Russia, where the husband traditionally was considered the head of the family. Today, especially among the younger generation, the holder of that position can be of either sex, depending on who is the main source of support for the family.

Inheritance. In prerevolutionary Russia inheritance took place along the male line. During that time the family received land according to the number of men, and it was al-

ways the son who inherited the father's possessions. Daughters could expect a trousseau before marriage. In Russia the process of making a will is not common, but Russian immigrants have adopted the American custom of writing a will.

Socialization. The first émigrés were not eager to accept American values because they expected to return to Russia, but those in the second and third waves willingly assimilated into American society. Since the 1990s the scale of immigration from Russia has increased dramatically, and some groups of immigrants live in Russian communities such as Brighton Beach, New York, and do not want to assimilate. They work in Russian stores, cafés, and restaurants; speak Russian with Russian shop personnel, waitresses, and neighbors; and feel no need to learn English. This attitude is more common among older people. Their children do not differ much from Americans in their lifestyle.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Nauka, the largest Russian cultural and educational society, was organized in New York City in 1905. The Russian Orthodox Catholic Women's Mutual Aid Society was founded in Pittsburgh in 1907 as an insurance society and philanthropic organization. Societies such as these were organized in other cities as well. The Russian Collegiate Institute in New York City and the Chicago Fund for the Relief of Russian Writers and Scientists sponsored lectures and concerts and obtained donations. In the 1930s Russian émigrés created a large number of associations for mutual aid and support. The Russian Independent Mutual Aid Society was founded in Chicago in 1931 and had about 1,500 members. These societies were concerned with every sphere of life: social, cultural, political, and economic. Refugees also received help from a number of private and public philanthropic organizations, such as the International Red Cross and the Young Men's Christian Association. The Russian Center in San Francisco was founded as a social group in the 1950s.

Political Organization. Although in the 1930s to the 1950s most of the Russian American community was anticommunist, negative publicity associated with raids by the U.S. Department of Justice on the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party and the arrests of party members led to the tainting of the entire community as disloyal radicals. Two anticommunist organizations were organized in New York City: the American Society for Russian Naval History and the All-Union Monarchist Front. The Russian Armed Services Union was very active. In New York, Russian Americans formed the Society of the Russian Imperial Guard, the Russian Naval Officers Group, and the Society for Aid to Invalids.

Conflict. Before perestroïka and the breakup of the Soviet Union conflicts took place between immigrants who had been forced to leave for political reasons and those who continued to recognize Soviet authority.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The first Russian Orthodox parishes were organized in Alaska in 1794 and in New York City in 1870. The Russian Orthodox bishop was moved from Sitka to San Francisco in 1872. At that time the Orthodox religion in America was known as the American Ecclesiastical Province of the Moscow Patriarchate. Before World War I it was estimated that there were 169 Russian Orthodox churches with about 50,000 members in the United States. The 1916 census recorded 169 Russian Orthodox churches with 99,681 parishioners. In 1936, the Commerce Department of statistics counted 229 churches with 89,510 parishioners. The Russian Orthodox Church was an anchor for exiles, providing spiritual and social sustenance. It was also the preserver of the Russian language and culture. Often there were libraries, schools, theaters, and clubs attached to the churches.

The American Ecclesiastical Province was granted autocephalous status and began to be called the Orthodox Church of America. The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, which was formed in Europe in 1920, also plays a significant role in the religious life of Russian Americans. It was founded by bishops and priests who left Russia with the White armies, and for the most part its adherents were monarchists. It moved to the United States after World War II and has many parishes as well as a monastery, the Holy Trinity Monastery of Jordanville, New York, which publishes *Orthodox Life* and *Pravoslavnaia zhizn'.* In California the Orthodox press of Berkeley issues *Po stopam Khrista (In Christ's Footsteps),* and in Los Angeles *Soglasie (Concord),* an anticommunist monthly, appears. The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad has remained hostile to the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church and demands its repentance for collaborating with the Soviet government and the Communist Party.

Significant numbers of Russian immigrants, especially among the intellectual leadership, experienced a revival of interest in and a commitment to religion and the church. Religious institutions were looked to for both material and spiritual assistance. Many exiles returned to the Russian Orthodox Church for worship and for the preservation of their cultural traditions. They began to regard the church with greater respect and were willing to assist in expanding its social, material, and cultural (particularly educational) roles.

The Orthodox confession includes a number of small groups and sects, such as the Starovery (Old Believers), Baptists, Piatidesiatniki, Molokane, and Seventh-Day Adventists. Some Russian Americans are members of other religious sects and faiths, including Catholicism, Judaism, and Islam.

Religious Practitioners. The highest rank in the Orthodox Church is the *Arkhierei* (archbishop or bishop). The Arkhierei rules the *eparchy* (the administrative district), appoints priests, conducts services, and passes judgments on religious questions. A priest in a parish is called a I*erei*, the chief priest is the *Protoierei,* and a monk is a I*eromonakh.*

Ceremonies. Most émigrés—even those who do not go to church—are likely to follow old traditions and celebrate religious holidays and church ceremonies. On the baptizing holiday (January 19) there is a ceremony of water crossing, and many people come to church to take "saint water." On Easter morning there is *zautrenia,* a service that takes place before dawn. Both Russians and Americans are attracted by the pag-

eantry, the priests' clothing, the icons and implements, and the singing. Many family ceremonies take place in church, including weddings, baptisms, and funerals.

Arts. Icon painting is a well-developed art. The first icons for Russian churches in the United States were brought from Russia, but the first wave of émigrés organized their own icon-painting shops. Church architecture was developed by émigrés, who built churches in New York, Seattle, San Francisco. There are small embroidery and metal craft shops in the women's monastery in San Francisco and the men's monastery in Jordanville, New York.

Death and Afterlife. Death rituals in the Orthodox Church are similar to those in other Christian confessions. The deceased is buried in a coffin.

For the original article on Russian Americans, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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AMIR KHISAMUTDINOV

Rwandans

ETHNONYMS: Banyarwanda, Banyamulenge, Bafumbira

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Rwandan culture has its roots in the precolonial kingdom of Rwanda and encompasses both the population of the modern state of Rwanda and speakers of the Kinyarwanda language in the neighboring Congo and Uganda. The Burundi culture is closely related to the Rwandan culture and shares many elements with it. Rwanda is a small landlocked country in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa that has a mountainous terrain and a temperate climate.

Demography. The population of Rwanda was 7.7 million in the 1991 census. Despite social upheaval since that census, including the death of approximately 800,000 people from war and genocide and the temporary exile of over two million people, the population is estimated to have returned to prewar levels, in part because of the return of thousands of long-term refugees from earlier violence and in part because of a high birth rate. The 1991 census reported the division of the population into the three major ethnic groups as 90 percent Hutu, 9 percent Tutsi, and 1 percent Twa, although the percentage of Tutsi is thought to have been underestimated because of bias in the reporting. Because records on ethnic identity are no longer kept, current statistics are difficult to obtain, but they are estimated to be comparable with those from before the war. The population of Kinyarwanda speakers in the neighboring Congo is between one half million and one million, while the Bafumbira population in southern Uganda is about 200,000.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Kinyarwanda language is spoken almost universally in Rwanda, serving as a unifying factor for the population. Kinyarwanda is a Central Bantu language that is part of the Bantu branch of the Niger-Congo language family and is closely related to Kirundi (spoken in Burundi), Mashi (spoken in the Congolese region of South Kivu), and Kiha (spoken in northern Tanzania). Variations in pronunciation distinguish the Kinyarwanda spoken in the northern part of Rwanda from that spoken elsewhere. Also, Twa speak Kinyarwanda using only two tones, in contrast to the Tutsi and Hutu, who speak with three. Outside Rwanda, Kinyarwanda serves as a major cultural identifier for Banyarwanda communities.

History and Cultural Relations

Rwandan culture emerged in the isolated mountainous terrain bordering Lake Kivu and Lake Muhazi in west-central Africa. The kingdom of Rwanda was founded in the sixteenth century in what is eastern Rwanda at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and then moved west to modern central Rwanda. Benefiting from military and administrative innovations, the Rwandan monarchy began to extend control over neighboring kingdoms and chieftaincies through conquest and incorporation. The resulting political system was complex, based more on political and economic ties than on a shared cultural identity.

In the central areas of the kingdom, power was centralized and a division of status between the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa emerged. A system of cattle vassalage bound local communities together and tied them to the monarchy. Chiefs for land, cattle, and military force in a system of overlapping chieftaincies served as local representatives of the court. Areas outside the central kingdom, however, retained their distinct political and social organization to varying degrees, with some chieftaincies retaining practical autonomy and merely paying tribute to the Rwandan king. During this period some people who resented the increasing political control

emigrated from the kingdom, resettling in Congo, where they formed a distinct Rwandan community later known as the Banyamulenge.

Colonial rule was the primary force that led to the emergence of the Rwandan national cultural identity. German colonial authorities, who claimed Rwanda in 1895, and the Belgians, who replaced them in 1916, regarded the Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa as three distinct national or racial groups. Nevertheless, colonial policies led to a greater identification with the Rwandan national state for all groups even as they created greater ethnic identification and polarization. The colonial overlords helped the Rwandan monarchy centralize its control and extend its social system throughout the territory that is today Rwanda, eliminating the local social and political variations that had existed in the precolonial period. Political centralization helped encourage greater cultural continuity. By establishing modern state institutions in Rwanda, the colonial administrators also imported the ideas of nationality associated with the modern nation-state. Subsequent social and political conflicts have revolved around how Rwandan nationality should be defined (which ethnic groups should be included as "true" Rwandans) rather than the validity of Rwandan as a national cultural identity.

Settlements

Traditional Rwandan settlements were highly dispersed. Each family lived in a homestead surrounded by its banana plantation and fields. The basic social unit was the "hill," the collection of families that lived together on a single hill. The three ethnic groups lived interspersed throughout the country, though individual hills sometimes had a concentration of one ethnic group. Houses were built along the slopes of the hills, where fields for crops were concentrated. The tops of hills generally were reserved for grazing, and the marshy valleys were left uncultivated. Traditional households consisted of a walled compound with several round homes with mud walls and thatched roofs. Each wife had her own home within the compound, and the compound contained buildings for cooking and grain storage and space to shelter livestock.

The arrival of Europeans at the turn of the twentieth century led to several changes in settlement patterns. The introduction of tile making generated a shift to rectangular houses, which were easier to roof with clay tiles. Villages also emerged around churches, administrative offices, and markets, though most of those villages were quite small. The vast majority of the people continued to live in dispersed homesteads. In the 1991 census the rate of urbanization was only 5 percent, among the lowest in the world. The violence that swept the country in the early 1990s, however, instigated rapid shifts in settlement. At the beginning of the twenty-first century Kigali is estimated to have up to eight hundred thousand people, almost three times its prewar size, while many rural areas have seen their populations shrink. Patterns of ethnic settlement have also shifted, as Tutsi have increasingly concentrated in urban areas and in the pasturelands in eastern Rwanda whereas rural areas in most of the country have become increasingly Hutu.

Economy

Subsistence. Most Rwandans produce the majority of the food they consume. Rwanda remains nearly 90 percent rural, with farmers producing beans, sorghum, bananas, sweet potatoes, manioc, and potatoes primarily for private consumption. Cattle are raised for milk, and goats and chickens are raised for meat. Excess food products are sold or bartered at local markets where traders purchase goods to transport to the cities.

Commercial Activities. Rural Rwandans participate in the monetary economy for only a limited number of items that they cannot grow or produce at home, such as clothing, soap, and medicine. The primary sources of income for rural residents are sales of their excess agricultural production and work as day laborers in the fields of wealthier farmers, in construction, or in other occasional occupations. Urban dwellers, in contrast, are dependent on commercial activities. The government is the largest employer, providing a wide range of salaried positions. Since the 1990s economic liberalization programs have forced the government to sell off parastatal industries and expand the private sector, but much of the capital remains in the hands of government officials and their families. Wealthy urban dwellers often keep cattle in the countryside as well as land that they rent out to augment their income and provide financial security.

Industrial Arts. Basketry and mat making were important traditional industrial arts that continue to be practiced to a limited extent, primarily for sale as souvenirs. The production of pottery traditionally was reserved for the Twa, whose pots were important for cooking and making sorghum beer. Rwanda has no carving tradition, though in recent years some workshops have been developed for the tourist market.

Rwanda has very few modern industries. A few items, such as soap and beer, are produced for local consumption, but the country exports very few industrial products.

Trade. The major exports are coffee and tea. Coffee is grown on small farms throughout the country, and tea is grown on plantations in areas of high elevation. A small amount of pyrethrum, a natural insecticide, is grown in the northern region. Flowers have been grown for export in recent years. Rwanda produces only trace amounts of minerals but has become a major transit point for diamonds, gold, and coltan, a mineral used in microchips and cellular phones, from the neighboring Congo.

Division of Labor. According to tradition, precolonial Rwandan society had a strict division of labor along ethnic lines, with Tutsi raising livestock, Hutu farming, and Twa hunting, gathering, and making pottery. Evidence indicates that the division of labor was much more complex, as most Tutsi engaged in at least some agriculture and many Hutu raised livestock. Cattle ownership was nevertheless an important element defining social status, and the social and political elite commonly used the exchange of cattle as a means of linking themselves to people of lower status. The elite continue to demonstrate their status through the accumulation of cattle and generally eschew participation in manual labor, usually hiring others to farm their fields and watch their livestock.

Agricultural work generally is divided by sex, with men clearing land and preparing the fields and women planting,

weeding, and harvesting, though women also commonly participate in preparing the fields and men participate in the daily maintenance of the fields as needed. Household work such as cooking, cleaning, and raising children is the domain of women, while men are more likely to engage in salaried labor and are responsible for heavy household work such as construction. There is limited division of labor by age, with most watching of livestock done by youths, but children are involved from an early age in adult activities such as watching younger children and working in the fields.

Land Tenure. All land in precolonial times was theoretically owned by the king and allocated by him and the chiefs to individual families for their use. In practice, however, families that worked a particular plot of land gained rights to that land that were difficult to remove and could sell or pass those rights to others at will. New arrivals to a community could seek rights to unclaimed or unused land from the local chief, but otherwise the chiefs had little practical control over land allocation. In the early twenty-first century, most farmers continue to own the land that they farm and where they build their homes. However, in the closing decades of the twentieth century increasing poverty and overpopulation encouraged poor families to sell their fields, creating land accumulation and a growing class of landless poor.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Competition between clans for political power was once the primary source of political conflict, but since the demise of the monarchy, clans have lost most of their social significance. Clan identities are passed down through the patrilineal line. Clans cut across ethnic lines, with each clan including Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, but there is variation in the clans present from one region to the next. Rwandan communities in Congo and Uganda share some of the clan names found in Rwanda but also have clans not found in Rwanda. Parts of Rwanda incorporated into the kingdom late have different clans than do areas of central Rwanda.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is the most important social institution, and there is intense pressure on all individuals to marry and produce children. Marriages traditionally were arranged by parents, but today most people find their own mates, in consultation with their families. Cattle continue to be required as a dowry. Polygyny was historically common but has become increasingly rare. Instead, divorce and remarriage have become common. Marriage occurs outside of clans. Marriage between Hutu and Tutsi is relatively common.

Domestic Unit. Families typically live in single-family compounds consisting of several buildings surrounded by a hedge or fence. Each wife (if there is more than one) typically has her own house in the compound, as do elderly parents. The husband's extended family typically lives in close proximity on the same hill or on a nearby hill. The wife's family also may live nearby or may be from farther away, but both the husband's and the wife's kin have important socially defined relations with the family. Nevertheless, women are considered members of the husband's family after marriage. Rwandans consider children a sign of wealth, and bearing children is an important social duty. As a result, Rwanda has the highest rate of fecundity in the world, and families are generally very large.

Inheritance. After the death of a family head, family possessions, including land, are divided among the surviving sons. In practice, sons often receive an allocation of land at the time of marriage. Daughters are considered members of the husband's family and do not generally have rights of inheritance. Unmarried daughters and widows are the responsibility of the oldest son. With the massive numbers of widows created by the 1994 war and genocide, these inheritance practices proved untenable. The government subsequently revised inheritance laws to increase the right of women to inherit.

Socialization. Mothers have the primary responsibility for child rearing, assisted by other females in the household. Women carry children on their backs as they go about their daily tasks. The mother's oldest brother also is responsible for supervising the moral development and socialization of children. Before the end of the monarchy, young Tutsi men were sent to the court for formation as *Intore* warriors, a process that included not only military training but education in arts and history and socialization into court culture.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Ethnicity has been the most important aspect of social identity since at least the beginning of the colonial period. The meaning of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa in precolonial Rwanda remains a matter of debate. Whereas some scholars see the terms as primarily occupational categories, most agree that they also represented a status difference. The royal court encouraged the differentiation between Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa as a means of helping organize its rule, but it was under colonial rule that the identities gained exaggerated importance. Regional divisions also have been historically important. Northern regions, which were incorporated late into the kingdom, retain a distinct identity. The Juvénal Habyarimana regime, which was in office from 1973 to 1994, was the first government dominated by northerners. Clan, once an important element of social organization, has lost most of its social significance.

Rwandan society has traditionally been highly hierarchical. The complex social and political system included many symbols and rituals that reinforced social positions. Deference to those of higher status continues to be an important cultural value. In practice, however, the culture also has strong traditions of rumor and satire used to challenge those of higher social status who abuse their power and of factionalism and rebellion by which status positions sometimes have been reversed.

Political Organization. Rwanda has few traditions of popular political participation, but the power of political officials has never been absolute. Under the monarchy the queen mother, who came from a clan different from that of the king, served as an important check on his power, as did court advisers and ritual specialists. In independent Rwanda the parliament, though limited in power, provides some balance to the power of the president, whereas periodic elections have

been used to give the impression of popular participation, although these elections have rarely been free and fair.

The political system has an elaborate structure that helps maintain power at the center. The complex system of chiefs of land, cattle, and military force was eliminated during the colonial period in favor of a more simplified system of centralized rule. The Habyarimana regime implemented a system of political divisions that linked every local community closely to the central state. The country's eleven prefectures were divided into communes, communes into sectors, and sectors into cells, each with appointed political officials who could monitor the population and carry out the will of the regime. In 2001 the system was again reorganized, with prefectures changed to provinces and communes consolidated into a smaller number of districts. Ostensibly this reform was intended to decentralize power, but in practice power remains highly centralized and the basic principle of organizing down to the most local level has been retained.

Political parties have been an important element in politics since the first elections just before independence. The country's first president, Gregoire Kayibanda, was the leader of a party that became a de facto single party. His successor, President Habyarimana, created a new single national political party in the 1970s in which all Rwandans were by law members. Under internal and external pressure, Habyarimana allowed other political parties to emerge in the early 1990s. In 2002, despite considerable restrictions on political activity, a number of political parties are represented in the government.

Social Control. Ethnicity has been the primary source of conflict since colonial times. Under colonial rule the Tutsi monopolized political, economic, and social power, leading in 1959 to a popular revolution that brought the Hutu to power. For the next several decades the Hutu dominated the political system, and political elites used resentment of the Tutsi as a means of rallying popular support. This policy ultimately culminated in genocide of the Tutsi in 1994 organized by Hutu leaders afraid of losing power under growing democratic pressures. The genocide was so destructive that the Rwandan Patriotic Front, an army of Tutsi refugees, was able to drive the regime from office and take power. Both Hutu and Tutsi regimes have relied heavily on coercion to maintain their power, and well-developed systems of surveillance have helped expose potential resistance.

Conflict. In part because the culture is not confined to Rwandan national territory, ethnic conflict has been a major factor in regional conflicts between Rwanda and its neighbors. After the 1959 revolution brought the Hutu to power in Rwanda, the Tutsi continued to dominate the political system in Burundi. When massacres of Hutu occurred in Burundi in 1972, they inspired massacres of Tutsi in Rwanda in 1973. The assassination of Burundi's first Hutu president in 1993 was an important precursor to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. When the Hutu who carried out the genocide in Rwanda fled to Congo in 1994, they began to attack Congolese Tutsi, and this inspired a reaction by the new Tutsi regime in Rwanda and became the impetus for a major regional war in Congo.

In precolonial Rwanda many conflicts were solved at the community level by councils of elders known as *gacaca*. In the aftermath of the genocide the government has drawn on this tradition to create gacaca courts, popularly elected judicial bodies composed of community members chosen for their integrity who sit in judgment over those accused of participation in the genocide. The king traditionally played the key role in adjudicating larger disputes, and the president still plays an important role in negotiating social conflicts.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The traditional Rwandan cosmology included belief in a high god, Imana, who was linked to the living through lower deities, ancestors, and the monarch. The royal court engaged in various religious practices to guarantee peace and prosperity, while veneration of ancestors was an essential element of religious life in the general community. Two secret societies worshiped ancestral heroes known as *Kubandwa.* The Lyangombe sect was important in central and southern Rwanda and in parts of Congo and Burundi, while the Nyabingi sect was dominant in northern Rwanda and southern Uganda.

Christianity is widely practiced in the early twenty-first century, though many Rwandan Christians continue to practice some elements of the traditional religions, particularly veneration of ancestors and traditional medicine. Over 60 percent of the population is Catholic, and another 30 percent is Protestant, with Seventh-Day Adventist, Anglican, Pentecostal, and Presbyterian churches being the largest Protestant groups.

Religious Practitioners. The royal court included religious specialists, but with the demise of the monarchy, court religious traditions and practitioners disappeared. The Kubandwa sects include priests, and although these sects have become less common, there are Kubandwa priests in many communities. More common are traditional healers who draw on spiritual forces to cure illness. The most important religious practitioners are bishops, pastors, priests, and other Christian clergy. Christian leaders have considerable social, political, and economic influence.

Ceremonies. Many traditional ceremonies were eliminated along with the monarchy. The postindependence Hutu-dominated regimes created new rituals to celebrate the 1959 revolution that brought them to power. After a Tutsi-dominated regime came to power in 1994, it eliminated the ceremonies of the previous governments and created new ceremonies commemorating the 1994 genocide. Rwanda also celebrates the major Christian holidays. Traditional ceremonies are practiced only in families, where traditional funeral rites remain common.

Arts. Dance and music are the most important elements of Rwandan artistic culture. Intore dance, a form of martial dancing and drumming that involves both group performance and individual demonstrations of skill and prowess, was included in the education of young warriors in the Rwandan court. A national dance troupe has preserved that tradition. The general population participated in dances for marriages, fertility festivals, and other occasions. Ballads and lullabies were common forms of music, often performed by troubadours who traveled through the countryside. The most common instruments included a one-stringed harp and a

form of zither. Literature includes court histories passed down from generation to generation by court specialists and popular folktales and aphorisms passed within families and communities. There are few traditional visual arts. Baskets and mats woven from reeds and grasses traditionally were decorated with geometric designs. Twa potters specialized in producing decorated ceramics, especially pots for beer.

Medicine. Rwandans practice both Western and indigenous medicine. Hospitals and health centers are present throughout the country, many of them run by Christian churches, but many people continue to consult indigenous healers. Indigenous medicine emphasizes the flow of bodily fluids and the maintenance of social and personal equilibrium. Illness is attributed to a rupture in the flow of life or the equilibrium of a family or community that often is caused by intentional malevolence on the part of living individuals or neglected dead family members. Since no distinction exists in the Kinyarwanda language between poisoning and enchantment, healers use a combination of herbal and spiritual remedies.

Death and Afterlife. Rwandans believe that the spirit continues to exist after death and see their families as including not only the living but those who have come before and those who will come in the future. Showing respect to dead family members is considered extremely important. Failing to appease the spirits of dead ancestors through appropriate rituals and offerings can lead the ancestors to neglect their families and allow evil spirits to inflict harm. The burial of the body on family land is an important symbol of the continuity between the living and the dead. The mass death during the 1994 genocide and war has created serious spiritual problems for families that are unable to provide a proper burial for their deceased members.

For other cultures in Rwanda, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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TIMOTHY LONGMAN

Saniyo

ETHNONYMS: Sanio, Saniyo-Hiyowe, Saniyo-Hiyewe, Heve

Orientation

Identification and Location. Speakers of the Saniyo-Hiyowe language live in the Ambunti District of East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea. Saniyo-Hiyowe is the name given by linguists to the language spoken by the people who live in the watershed of the Wogamus River, a tributary of the April River that joins the April just above its confluence with the Sepik. This area lies between 4° 22" S. and 4° 35" S. and 142° 9" E. and 142° 28" E. Most of the land is frequently-inundated swamp forest 130 feet (40 meters) above sea level, with low hills up to 1,150 feet (350 meters) rising out of the floodplain.

Demography. The number of speakers of Saniyo-Hiyowe was estimated at 644 in 1981. As a result of a high rate of infant mortality, the population is barely maintaining itself. Nearly half the children born die in infancy or early childhood from malaria, pneumonia, and other infectious diseases. This was the case in the early contact period of the 1960s, and this situation has continued because of the inability to provide health services consistently to low-density areas distant from district headquarters. The postcontact movement of people to larger settlements and riverside settlements has increased exposure to infectious diseases. There was recruitment of contract labor from this area in the 1960s and early 1970s, from which a few men failed to return. Otherwise, little or no out-migration has occurred.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Saniyo-Hiyowe language is the westernmost language of the Sepik Hill stock (formerly called the Sepik Hill family), a group of languages spoken in the foothills at the southern edge of the Sepik River basin, from the Karawari River west to the Leonard Schultze River. The Sepik Hill stock belongs to the Sepik-Ramu phylum. Saniyo-Hiowe is closely related to the Paka and Hewa languages spoken by taro-growing people living at higher altitudes in the Central Range.

History and Cultural Relations

Legends detail the local origin of clans rather than migration into the area. Australian colonial patrols made the first contact in 1961. They encouraged people to move from the foothills to riverside locations, and people wanting more contact built settlements at riverside sites on the Wogamus, the April River (Bukabuki), and the Leonard Schultze (Nikiai). The airstrip at Mapisi was opened for mission air traffic in 1981 and attracted increased settlement there. Saniyo have close interactions to the south and west with speakers of Yabio and Pai, small language groups that are not part of the Sepik Hill stock.

Settlements

Some settlements consist of a single large rectangular house; others, especially in postcontact times, have a dozen or more

smaller houses. The typical settlement size increased from thirty in precontact times to seventy five in the 1970s, though people frequently leave larger settlements to spend time in bush houses to hunt and gather. Houses were described as "bird-cages" by an early visitor because of their construction from many small timbers rather than a few main supporting posts and beams. The largest investment of labor goes into the thatched roof, which is covered with large shingles, each made by folding rows of sago leaves over a stick and stitching them in place with rattan. The palm bark flooring is raised above ground level anywhere from two to six feet or, very rarely, is placed high in a tree.

A typical house has four hearths, one in each quarter of the main room, for individual families or visitors. The house may have one or more additional attached apartments, each with its own hearth, for a widow living in isolation. The floor level fireplaces are clay-covered areas set into the wood and palm-slat raised floor. The small fires in them are kept going for warmth at night, lighting cigarettes, and cooking. Each main settlement had a men's house for rituals that were not supposed to be seen by women or uninitiated males.

Economy

Subsistence. The staple food is a starch produced from the pith of the sago palm. The sago palms harvested are mostly seedless varieties that must have been planted at one time from cuttings, but it is rarely necessary to plant more sago. The sago palms replace themselves by sending up suckers from the base making the Saniyo essentially foragers rather than farmers.

Sago starch is extracted by felling and splitting open the mature palm and then scraping and pounding the pith with a stone tool. The loosened pith is placed in a washing trough built on a large sago leaf base. Water is poured over the pith and kneaded in the trough. The water containing the leached starch runs through a filter into a lower settling trough. The starch may be mixed with boiling water to make a stiff pudding, but normally it is baked in the coals in a leaf-wrapped packet.

Sago contributes 85 percent of the diet, and the remaining 15 percent is diverse. Domesticated pigs are raised in small numbers, and occasionally a cassowary chick is captured from the wild. Gardening is not significant, but some men grow small plots of bananas and occasionally taro. Tree crops include pandanus, breadfruit, and coconuts. Several crops introduced in the 1960s have taken hold, including squash, papaya, and cucumber. Wild greens are gathered, especially edible ferns. Hunting and fishing make equal contributions to the diet. The game taken includes wild pigs, marsupials, and cassowaries. The main fishing methods are the placement of basket traps in weirs, the use of multipronged spears, poisoning, and hook and line fishing.

Commercial Activities. Commercial activities are minimal. There is some casual employment as translators, household help, and unskilled labor, locally with missionaries or by walking to the Frieda River mining site.

Industrial Arts. Men make their own arrows for hunting. The arrows used to hunt large game have three parts: a reed shaft, a carved and painted palm wood foreshaft, and a bamboo head.

Women make string bags. They make their own skirts from shredded leaves or sedges. Men's traditional genital covering of a shell or a seed was replaced by a scrap of trade cloth or cotton shorts by the 1960s.

Three types of stone tools were in use in the 1960s: polished stone adzes, polished stone sago cutting tools, and flaked stone sago pounder/scrapers. The adzes used for sago cutting were replaced by steel axes and adzes, but stone sago pounders continued to be manufactured and used.

Trade. Sago was traded to Sepik River peoples, though the distances involved made such trade rare and unprofitable. Shells and other ornaments and stone tools were traded, but only the flaked stone sago pounders originated in the area. Since contact, produce and artifacts have been sold to missionaries, traders, and adventure tourists. Exchange items have included clothing, metal tools, flashlights and batteries, wristwatches, hooks and line, beads, salt, and matches.

Division of Labor. The primary division of labor involves gender and age. Women do most of the sago work, though it is not unknown for men to do it. Men hunt and do most house-building and craftwork with wood. They specialize in activities that they enjoy and do especially well; for example, one man disabled by a leg distorted by tertiary yaws made fine arrows and armbands. Men who especially enjoy hunting or house-building share meat or living space with others. Women make string bags and other items of string. Both men and women gather wild plants and fish.

Land Tenure. The patrilineage is the land-holding unit, holding in common tracts of bush and watercourses and the hunting and fishing rights associated with them. Sago palms are held by sibling sets, brothers and sisters who were shown the sago by either or both of their parents.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. A named patri-clan is associated with the hill of its traditional home. Each clan has its own myth of origin at that place, a slit gong call, and a totem such as a dog or a betel nut palm. Within the clan, constituent patrilineages bear a name that consists of the clan name and a birth order term associated with the founder; for example, *Arasu peteriari* is a lineage of the Arasu clan that traces its descent from a first-born son. Genealogies are not traced back farther than the lineage founders.

Kinship Terminology. Some Omaha features occur in the cousin terminology, though cross-generational merging is not pervasive. Birth order terms that refer to birth orders one through five of each sex are important in the kinship terminology as well as in personal naming.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. For women marriage does not occur immediately after menarche and may be delayed for years, especially if a young woman's labor is important to her family. Both partners in the prospective couple and their parents may be involved in proposing or resisting a union.

Some weeks after a woman has gone to her new husband's community and they have begun cohabiting, a feast is held to which her relatives are invited for the payment of

the bride-price. Individual relatives of the groom, not his patrilineage collectively, contribute to the bride-price. The shell valuables they have contributed are amassed for display and then distributed to individual relatives of the bride, not necessarily the members of her patrilineage. The largest items, passing to and from closer relatives, are cowry shell money stitched on woven string bands. Smaller items include other types of shells, formerly dog's-teeth necklaces, and now strings of colorful trade beads. Cash began to be used for bride-wealth in the 1980s.

Sister exchange, or, more accurately, an attempt to pair marriages to achieve parity in the flow of women, is expected and does not eliminate the expectation of bride-wealth.

Marriage is very stable, and divorce as a result of adultery is unusual. Polygyny is permitted.

A high rate of mortality among young adults causes many marriages to be broken by death while the children are still young. Both widows and widowers are subject to severe food taboos and behavioral restrictions, for example, on work.

Domestic Unit. The basic unit consists of the husband, the wife, and young children. The couple rarely live alone but regroup frequently into new households, residing for a time with a brother or sister or the parent of one spouse or visiting or being visited by other relatives. Although there is a bias toward virilocality, residence is better described as multilocal, as it is not unusual for a family to have houses in more than one hamlet. The basic coresident unit is a brother and sister with their spouses and children, joined by various young single and elderly widowed relatives.

Inheritance. Very few possessions are accumulated that can be inherited. Items of everyday personal use are destroyed or continue in use in the household. Claims to a future bride-price and sago palms are the few things that people explicitly speak of passing from parent to child: "When she is grown, you will share in her bride-price because I paid part of the bride-price for her mother."

Socialization. Mothers provide all the care for breast-fed infants, though the father may look after older children while the mother is away working with sago. Older children are not involved in caring for younger children. Socialization of teenagers, which consists of teaching them subsistence tasks, is done more by younger aunts and uncles than by parents. A ritual washing ceremony and feast was held to mark the menarche, after which the girl was decked out with bead and shell ornaments. The most highly valued trait that adults attempt to inculcate by lecturing young people is generosity, especially sharing food with others.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The largest named groupings are the parishes formed by pairing neighboring clans, such as Oparu-Paru or Arasu-Nikiyei.

Political Organization. The term "big man" means literally any adult male. Leadership is widely diffused, and egalitarianism is the rule. Women expect to be listened to in discussions of public affairs.

Social Control. Persons accused of witchcraft can be executed by the relatives of a person they are alleged to have killed through their craving for human flesh. Gossip and openly expressed disapproval attend violations of sexual and food taboos and failures of hospitality.

Conflict. The typical response to threatened conflict is avoidance, with people moving to another settlement to avoid conflict. In the absence of leaders to mediate conflicts, if people do not separate, a conflict can rapidly escalate to killing. Because this is known, the intervention of the police was welcomed from the early days of contact.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The supernatural entities of the Saniyo are local spirits resident in ironwood trees, the ground, and whirlpools and ancestral spirits. All these spirits are known for their ability to cause illness and the death of those who are particularly vulnerable, such as infants and the elderly. The deaths of those in less vulnerable age groups are more often attributed to sorcerers or witches.

Religious Practitioners. All adult males except the mentally deficient traditionally were initiated into the male cult. A shaman smoked tobacco and became possessed by its spirit in order to heal.

Ceremonies. The male cult involved the playing of a bamboo trumpet and paired bamboo flutes that represented the voices of the ancestors in the secrecy of the men's house. In case of illness, a pig is sacrificed to these ancestral spirits.

Dances traditionally were held at night in the larger houses. Dancing was done to the rhythm of hour-glass-shaped drums. Central figures wore elaborate feathered headdresses; others wore whatever finery they could assemble, including shell valuables.

Arts. Wood carving was the most developed visual art. Incised designs on war shields, drums, arrows, and spears were painted with red, white, and yellow ochre.

Medicine. Frequently-used traditional treatments employ the principle of the counter-irritant, such as rubbing the skin with nettles. Western medicine has been highly valued since its introduction because of the dramatic effect of injections of penicillin on yaws, but it is not consistently available.

Death and Afterlife. Before the government began to insist on burial, bodies were placed on a platform or, in the case of infants, in the fork of a tree. Later the bones were given a secondary burial. The shell valuables of a man who dies go to his matrilateral relative (a cross-cousin, mother's brother, or sister's son) as a funeral payment. It is said that the ghosts of the recently dead linger and may cause illness because of their jealousy of the living.

For other cultures in Papua New Guinea, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 2, Oceania.

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Senoufo

ETHNONYMS: Minianka, Senari, Senefo, Senna, Senofo, Senufo, Senufu, Siéna, Suppire, Syenambele, Syenamana

Orientation

Identification and Location. The term "Senoufo" describes twenty-five to thirty or more sub-groups of Gur-speaking peoples inhabiting, for at least two centuries, northern Cote d'Ivoire, southern Mali, and southwest Burkina Faso, in western sub-Saharan Africa.

Demography. Estimates from 1996 placed the Senoufo population at more than 1.27 million people while estimates from 2001 place the population at more than 3 million.

Linguistic Affiliation. "Senoufo" actually may be a Mandingo term, translating roughly into "those who speak Séné or Siéna," which are a number of Gur (Voltaic) languages (estimates range from four to twelve languages) with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility belonging to the Western Sudanic subgroup of the Niger-Congo language family.

History and Cultural Relations

Senoufo history is largely transmitted orally with many different mythological variants of Senoufo origins. Traditional Senoufo society is comprised of animist agriculturalists who seem to have migrated to the area they currently inhabit from the north at least two centuries ago, if not much longer ago. Over the years, the Senoufo have been influenced by external forces. These include local and European slave traders and raiders active in the region from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, Islamization of west Africa, which began as early as the tenth century, the French who colonized and inhabited the region from 1895 through 1960, and the governments of the post-independence modern nation-states *of* Mali, Burkina Faso, and Cote d'Ivoire.

Settlements

Senoufo villages are often enclosed settlements built on open land in close proximity, if possible, to a water source and fertile grounds used for agricultural purposes. A typical Senoufo compound is usually a self-contained unit defined by walls, granaries, men's and women's houses, courtyards, altars, log shelters, and divination houses. Most compounds consist of a series of small close huts made out of earthen bricks of sun-dried clay, perhaps mixed with straw or reeds, with thatched roofs. Increasingly, there are compounds of rectangular cement houses with corrugated sheet-iron roofs in more urbanized Senoufo settlements. The traditional thatched hut clay structures are usually round with a conical roof or rectangular with a flat roof; the interior walls are windowless and reinforced with a combination of mud and cow dung. In principle, a household head would provide a hut to each adult member of his household, and several vacant huts would exist in a compound for temporary meetings, for storage of agricultural tools, or as a type of foyer to enter and exit the compound. Thatched huts elevated on three large stones or blocks of dried earth to ventilate and preserve grain, granaries flank the houses or serve as buttresses to reinforce the courtyard walls, giving privacy and creating exterior living space for the families.

Economy

Subsistence. Skilled agriculturalists, Senoufo traditionally have been self sufficient, cultivating staples such as millet, sorghum, yams, corn, cassava, and other grains which they eat with a sauce containing locally grown foodstuffs such as peppers, eggplant, okra, and shea butter, a fat obtained from the nuts of the shea tree, native to west Africa. Fruits such as papaya, banana, and lemons and meats, when available, supplement the Senoufo diet. Water is the standard drink; its taste is improved, where necessary, with several lime drops, baobob flour, tamarind pulp, or cola nut. On special occasions, Senoufo drink either a locally produced beer made of millet or corn, or, in some areas, palm wine. To safeguard the quality of the soil, the Senoufo farmer will either leave land fallow for one year out of three (where circumstances permit), rotate crops, or change agricultural plots from time to time. Senoufo farmers generally are also familiar with basic irrigation methods. Under colonization, more modern agricultural technologies, such as plows and tractors, were introduced into various Senoufo-speaking regions with some success; however, the main agricultural tool continues to be the garden hoe, either short- or long-handled. Hoeing contests transform grueling agricultural labor into ritual, as Senoufo males and females compete for the title of champion cultivator, one of the most important ways to gain prestige and reverence within their particular clan. In fact, a champion cultivator may achieve symbolic immortality in that he or she is venerated as an ancestral champion of the clan and is rewarded with the clan's sculptural trophy staff, the equivalent of a coat-of-arms. During cultivating season, teams of cultivators swing hoes to drums and balafon rhythms while proud staff bearers follow the competing champions of each team. More than a statement of being an excellent farmer, hoeing contests celebrate the values of strength, endurance, skill, obedience to authority, teamwork, and leadership.

Commercial Activities. Traditionally, Senoufo bartered or used cowry shells as currency, although the use of cowry shells has been supplanted in the postcolonial era by the regional currency, the C.F.A. franc. The colonial administration introduced peanuts and rice as cash crops for regional consumption and export; sorghum, yams, cassava, okra, potatoes, hot peppers, tobacco, cotton, and other fibers are other notable cash crops produced mainly for local and regional needs, and with varying degrees of success for export. In addition to farming, Senoufo men participate in artisan industries and tobacco preparation; Senoufo women spin cotton, prepare oils and soap (especially from shea butter) and prepare condiments for use in cooking. Both Senoufo women and men may be involved in local beer production and dying textiles.

Industrial Arts. The artisan groups integrated within Senoufo culture include blacksmiths, woodcarvers, basket weavers, brass casters, potters, weavers, jewelers, and leatherworkers. Having lived for centuries among the Senoufo farmers, the artisans produce a variety of agricultural tools or household and ceremonial items. For example, the blacksmiths produce the Senoufo farmer's *tiya*, the distinct short-handled hoe with a broad scooped-out blade, as well as weapons, musical instruments, wrought iron figure sculpture used by diviners, and other objects for household and ritual use. Women of blacksmith households often produce mats and baskets. Woodworkers produce culinary utensils, short-legged stools, and mask and figure sculpture used in various Senoufo rituals. Brass casters and jewelers produce divination charms, cosmetic jewelry, and ritualistic and ceremonial figure sculpture and ornaments, while women from brass caster households are often skilled potters producing much of the locally used household pottery. Leatherworkers traditionally have produced shoes, amulets, knife sheaths, bags, and cosmetic and ceremonial ornaments.

Trade. Because transport by foot is still widespread, daily or weekly local markets traditionally have absorbed 75 percent of locally-produced items, including agricultural products, prepared foods, poultry, pottery, tobacco powder, garden tools, leather goods, small livestock, and bundles of wood. A larger regional market is often held periodically, and serves as the base for export of locally produced goods. The Dioula/Malinke, the predominant mercantile ethnic group in the region, also exert substantial influence in trade with Senoufo populations.

Division of Labor. Senoufo culture exhibits fairly rigid gender roles, with Senoufo females of all ages taking responsibility for all household tasks in addition to any other responsibilities they may have. Labor is also divided based on age. In addition to performing general unisex tasks such as gathering and bundling grain stalks from the harvest, working in the fields, and helping their mothers in rice paddies, Senoufo girls help fetch wood and water, tend to children, do household tasks, obtain herbs and leaves for a meal's sauces, and spin cotton. Senoufo boys are expected to tend chickens and other poultry and herd any livestock. Senoufo women sort rice, work in their personal agricultural fields, work in the family fields along with the men, prepare all meals, fetch wood and water, look after children, do all household tasks, and produce shea butter, soap, and beer, some for domestic use and some of which they sell in the markets. Senoufo men are expected to work in the fields, cut down trees and chop wood, dye textiles, make rope, take care of livestock, hunt, and sell their ropes in the local market. Both men and women can fish and are responsible for construction and repair of houses in the compound. Older people continue to perform their traditional gender roles to the best of their ability. Older Senoufo women sometimes take on an additional role as caregivers or healers. During colonization, many Senoufo men were placed in forced labor projects; thus women found their time spent in laborious activities increased.

Land Tenure. Land, as traditionally conceived in Senoufo culture, is a collective good that cannot be owned privately; the individual, family or even village who inhabits or cultivates the land has a right of extended use, but village land remains the property of the first Senoufo ancestors to settle that land. The ontological importance of land in Senoufo culture is illustrated by the existence of a "chief of the earth" who, as chief representative of the ancestral founders of the village, is called on to distribute land and to serve as an intermediary between the ancestral and the living worlds by means of appropriate sacrificial acts. Land in a typical Senoufo village may be divided between independent, interrelated farmer and artisan residential settlements (and each settlement's agricultural land), public meeting spaces, and collective agricultural lands harvested by the village as a whole. Each Senoufo village also has at least one *sinzanga,* or sacred grove, situated on the outskirts, perhaps marking the location of the original settlement, and used for socialization rites and various religious activities.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent in Senoufo culture traditionally has been matrilineal. An average village may consist of numerous residential settlements whose members belong to the same ethnic group and whose leadership is identified with a particular matrilineal clan segment. Although Senoufo society is patrilocal, meaning a Senoufo woman who marries outside of her matrilineal clan would reside with her husband's matrilineal clan, that same Senoufo woman would still remain a part of her own matrilineal descent group. Traditionally, a woman's sons answer more to their maternal uncles than to their own father. The sons may be called upon to work in the maternal uncle's fields, or as adults, to take over the maternal uncle's household. Postcolonial Senoufo society has witnessed an increasing shift to a patrilineal system due to increasing Islamic and Western influences.

Kinship **Terminology.** The matrilineal nature of Senoufo society is illustrated in certain dialects where the generic word for "ancestors" is the same as the kinship term for maternal uncle.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is a universal institution in Senoufo society. From a young age, Senoufo youth are socialized to assume roles as spouses and parents, and both sexes are circumcised in preparation for marriage. Senoufo exhibit a strong concern for the decorum of unmarried youths, and

many rules circumscribe interactions between the two sexes as adolescents. Traditionally, Senoufo marriages were polygynous and were arranged by families of the betrothed, with a Senoufo woman marrying the same way that her mother married. Two primary types of marriages exist: *loborgho*, or marriage for wealth or status, which is usually arranged by the two families, and *tamaraga*, or marriage for love. The loborgho usually is negotiated between the two household heads. The man is required to work in the fields of the female's family several days a year from the marriage proposal through the marriage and sometimes through the birth of the first child. A large dowry must be paid to the bride's family (traditionally in cowry shells). In these marriages a wife's right to leave her husband is largely circumscribed.

In a tamaraga, the couple themselves can decide to marry, with or without the involvement of the wider families, but a lesser work and monetary obligation is owed to the bride's family. Less frequently, one finds marriages in which the groom "kidnaps" the bride (even a woman who is already married may be kidnapped), in which case no work obligation is owed to the bride's family. A kidnapped bride has a right to leave her husband but, if the bride stays with her kidnapper when she was betrothed or married to another man in a loborgho, then any offspring conceived with her kidnapper husband would belong to the ex-fiancé or ex-husband. In some sub-groups, it was fairly common for a Senoufo man to marry the first-born child of his childhood sweetheart. Whatever the marriage type, postmarital residence with the husband's family is the norm, although the wife remains an integral part of her matrilineal clan's household.

Domestic Unit. The *katiola*, a residential and cooperative work unit whose members share not only the same general living space, but also the food harvested from communally worked land, is the true cell of Senoufo society. A large katiola will house the extended family, and may even include several households. A typical katiola consists of the head of the household (the oldest male); his wife and children; his brothers and their families; his sisters, aunts, and cousins who are not married or widowed; the children of this last category and, historically, the freed descendants of former ancestral captives. Katiola members can be likened to a clan with most of its members having the same common mythical (animal or human) ancestor name. Political management of the family is left to males whereas females largely manage spiritual affairs.

Inheritance. The matrilineal clan, not the deceased's spouse, traditionally inherited the deceased's property. Children inherit through their maternal uncle, not through their father.

Socialization. Senoufo socialization cuts across kinship lines and household ties and constitutes a stabilizing and unifying force at the community level. The Senoufo use secretive age-grade associations, the *Poro* or *Lo* society for males and the *Sakrobundi* society for females, to preserve Senoufo folklore, teach its customs, instill self-control through rigorous tests, and prepare Senoufo youth for adulthood. The youth's education is generally divided into three seven-year periods, the passage of each marked by initiation and ceremonies that may involve circumcision, isolation, instruction and the use of masks. Poro is a continuously active institution used universally for the socialization of Senoufo males whereas Sakrobundi is active only at key points in the initiation cycle.

Since a Poro society often involves various katiolo or clans, Poro plays an essential role in the cohesion of social and political life of a Senoufo village. Using the sinzanga as a school, a political meeting house, a place of worship, and a dressing room where initiates prepare for ritual and theatrical performances during the three phases, Poro teaches the male initiate, according to one source, "'to walk the path of Poro,' leading to responsibility, wisdom, authority, and power. From the children's primary grade of 'discovery' through the long period of training and service that is highlighted by the initiate's ritual death and spiritual regeneration to the final graduation of the 'finished man,' Poro is preparation for responsible and enlightened leadership." In the first phase, obedience and tradition are taught through song and dance. The intermediate phase teaches the adolescent about the moral integration of the individual into the community, for whose sake an initiate must thereafter be willing to sacrifice himself. At this stage, the initiate joins in communal work, learns ritual songs and dances, is introduced into army service, and undergoes a solitary period lasting several weeks. After this he graduates with his cohorts into the adult phase. Major ceremonies in the last phase teach the initiate a deeper understanding of mythical and religious tradition, the special language of lo, incomprehensible to outsiders, and the initiate's definitive secret name. Final graduation from Poro generally occurs after age thirty when the graduate becomes part of the ruling gerontocracy consulted on important religious, social, and political matters and freed from agricultural labor (other than certain tasks such as nocturnal harvesting of millet, considered a privilege). Traditionally, if a man did not graduate from Poro, he was virtually an outcast, excluded from village affairs.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Senoufo society can be best described as an occupationally caste-bound society. Traditionally, the Senoufo have viewed the six or so distinct artisan groups who live intermingled with the farmer groups, particularly the blacksmiths, as part of a divinely ordained social order looked down upon and feared by the population because of its special powers and indispensable skill. Respectful apprehension of artisan groups has meant that artisans occupy a lower position in the social hierarchy, well below that of the farmer, and even traditionally below that of the slave. The blacksmith is the most distinct caste. To be a blacksmith is a birthright; a blacksmith occupies a special place because of his inseparable and magical ability to harness fire and the forces of the earth inherent in the extracted metal. The blacksmiths have their own katiolos (and historically their own villages) as well as their own Poro societies with rites similar to the farmers' Poro. Graduation from Poro for blacksmiths takes place earlier (at around age twenty-five) than it does for farmers.

Political Organization. Representing the interests and rights of their respective katiolos, the male elders of each katiolo in a Senoufo village constitute a type *of* village council. The village chief, who must be a male of matrilineal descent from the village's founding family, is the titular head of this

council of elders. Traditionally, the village chief also served as an earth priest responsible for assigning land for cultivation and for ritual purification of village lands contaminated by bloodshed or accidental death. While Senoufo males dominate in the political arena, they do not act without the support and guidance of female elders and Sandogo members, the women's spiritual leadership society.

Social Control. Before colonization, conflicts within the culture, whether intra-village or inter-village, are said to have occurred over marriage and family relationships, tensions between matrilineal and patrilocal tendencies, or over land. Often, such conflicts could be mediated and solved through intervention by the elder councils or the Sandogo diviners.

Conflict. The Senoufo experienced some level of conflict historically with their local neighbors, particularly the Mande population. Colonization and Islam further increased tensions in Senoufo society by imposing patriarchal structures on a traditionally matrilineal culture, as well as by introducing cash crops into a traditional subsistence economy, and forcing Islam or Christianity on traditional animists and private property rights on a communal society. Inevitably, these tensions have manifested themselves in some bloodshed, violence, and corruption over time. The more widespread result, however, has been syncretic traditions and practices within all aspects of modern Senoufo society.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Senoufo practice richly varied series of divination, initiation, and funeral rituals designed to strengthen and protect their community. Traditional Senoufo society is animist. Religious practice, worship, prayers, and sacrifices seek to restore and maintain healthy relationships with the hierarchy of spiritual beings, which consists of the deity, the ancestors, and bush spirits. Senoufo also believe in magical and impersonal sources of power that an individual can appropriate, by means of acquired knowledge and ritual, for his or her own or others' benefit. Central to Senoufo religious belief is the concept of a bipartite deity called Koulo Tyolo in its aspect of a divine creator god and Katyelééó, or "Ancient Mother," in its aspect as the protective, nurturing goddess. The divine creator is responsible for the original creation, while the Ancient Mother watches over the Poro societies and the community in general. The bush spirits inhabit the lands surrounding a village, and are constantly being disturbed by Senoufo as they go about their daily activities. Bush spirits can influence people's lives for good or evil. The souls of the ancestors complete the pantheon of supernatural forces revered. Islam has been increasingly influential in Senoufo society.

Religious Practitioners. Senoufo women, to a far greater degree than men, assume roles as ritual mediators between humankind and the supernatural world of deities and spirits. The *Sandogo* or *Sadow* society is a powerful women's organization that unites the female spiritual leadership of the many extended household units and clans of the village. There is only one Sandogo society per village, its head called the Sando-Mother. Participation in Sandogo is not universal for women; rather, each katiolo is represented by at least one Sando, a term referring both to any member of Sandogo and to those members who become divination specialists. Sandogo membership is primarily hereditary, although it can be divined. Consecration of a female to Sandogo may happen at any time, from birth to middle age. Sandos' responsibilities are both social and religious. The bush spirits are thought to be the chief source of the Sando's power and the chief cause of her client's problems. Sando seek to prevent death and sustain life through ritual communication with the spirits. They also protect the sanctity of betrothal and marriage contracts. As diviners, they act as an interpreter and intermediary between the villagers and their deity, the ancestors, spirits of twins, and, in particular, the bush spirits.

Ceremonies. As discussed, every aspect of Senoufo culture is permeated with ceremonies, whether Poro, Sandogo, hoeing contests, weddings, or funerals. Ceremonies often include song, dance, and masquerades that display male pride and political power.

Arts. Senoufo are, above all, sculptors renowned for their masks and ancestral man and woman sculptures. The Poro and Sandogo societies are the chief patrons of the arts, but neither deity is ever represented in art; only the lesser spirits as well as the ancestors are shown as figurai sculpture. In fact, the most pervasive theme in Senoufo sculpture, ornament, and decorative arts is the bush spirits. The term *Madebele,* which means bush spirits, has come to be synonymous with figurative image in graphics or sculpture.

Medicines. Certain Senoufo sub-groups possess an ancient and widely renowned society of healing specialists, known by some as *Nökariga,* who use traditional medicine to cure ailments.

Death and Afterlife. Death does not necessarily qualify one for ancestral status or for a proper ritual funeral. The death of anyone but an initiated adult of considerable age is considered abnormal and thought to be caused by supernatural or magical intervention. Senoufo believe illness resulting in death results from witchcraft, evil spirits, angered ancestors, bush spirits, or violation of taboos. Such a death results in a simple burial, rather than an elaborate ritual funeral.

Juxtaposing art, drama, ritual, and individual loss against community, continuity, and communion, the Senoufo funeral is a final rite of passage that seeks to mark the completion of the spiritual, intellectual, and social formation of the individual member within the group and to create the necessary conditions under which the defunct can depart from the living world. Through the funeral's sculpture, dance, music, and song, the deceased is transformed into a state of being that is beneficial for the community, thereby ensuring a sense of continuity between the living and the dead. The Senoufo believe in reincarnation. Seven year's after the deceased's death, he or she will either be reincarnated or join the ancestors.

For other cultures in Mali and Burkina Faso, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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TANYA SOUTHERLAND

Serbs

ETHNONYMS: Srbi, Srbin (singular, masculine), Srpkinja (singular, feminine)

Orientation

Identification and Location. The majority of Serbs live in the state of Serbia, the larger of the two units of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) that was established in April 1992 after the breakup of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Serbia is in southeastern Europe, in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula. Its territory includes two autonomous provinces—the Vojvodina in the north and Kosovo in the south—occupying an area of 34,116 square miles (88,383 square kilometers). In 2001 Kosovo was under a United Nations (UN)-supervised administration, and its future relationship to Serbia was uncertain. Serbia borders Hungary to the north; Romania and Bulgaria to the east; Macedonia and Montenegro, the other unit of the FRY, to the south; and the now independent states of Bosnia and Croatia to the west. The northern and northeastern part *of* Serbia is part of the alluvial Pannonian Plain and is predominantly level. The central and southern areas are approximately one-third rolling hills and two-thirds highlands, intersected by canyons and wide river valleys. Serbia's rivers flow to the Black, Adriatic, and Aegean seas. More than one-fifth of the Danube River's length is in Serbia.

Demography. In the 1991 census the total population of Serbia was 9,779,000. Ten years later it had grown to some 10 million inhabitants, or 94 percent of the total population of FRY. Most of Serbia's population resides in medium-size to small communities. In ethnic terms, Serbs account for about 63 percent of the country's population. Of the remaining population, 16 percent are Albanians who live principally in Kosovo, 5 percent are Montenegrins, 3 percent are Hungarians, mainly in Vojvodina, and 4 percent are people who call themselves Yugoslavs. The other 9 percent are Croats, Slovaks, Romanians, Roma, Macedonians, Ruthenians, Bulgarians, Turks, Ukrainians, and Slovenians. Overall the Vojvodina, once a part of the Habsburg Empire, has the most diversified population. The Serbs are still an absolute majority in that region, but in Kosovo they are a minority among an overwhelming Albanian majority that in the 1991 census constituted 82 percent of the population. After the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) conflict with Serbia, large numbers of Serbs left Kosovo and many settlements, especially in rural areas, were abandoned.

The dissolution of the SFRY and the wars of succession in Croatia and Bosnia were accompanied by atrocities, including massacres and "ethnic cleansing" (killing and deportation). Those acts were committed principally but not exclusively by Serbian military forces against Croats and Bosnian Muslims. The Serbian populations in Croatia and Bosnia have also been affected. Many Serbs fled their homes in Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, preceding those who later became refugees from Kosovo. Thus, Serbia has had to cope with several waves of refugees. The number of Serbs in Croatia was reduced from 650,000 to 100,000 after the exodus in August 1995. According to Serbian statistics, over 700,000 refugees came to Serbia between May 1991 and December 1995. Over 80 percent were ethnic Serbs. Serbs still represent the overwhelming majority in the Republika Srpska, a semiautonomous unit within the newly constituted Bosnian state created as a result of the 1992-1995 civil war and the Dayton Peace Agreement (1995).

Linguistic Affiliation. The Serbian language is a Stokavian dialect of what has been known as the Serbo-Croatian language in the South Slavic group of languages, which is part of the larger Indo-European language family. Serbian has a modern standard literary version that exists in two basic variants: The Eastern, or Ekavian, variant is spoken in the northern, central, and eastern parts of Serbia, and the Western, or Jekavian, variant is used in the western Balkans, the Dinaric region. The main difference between the two dialects is in the pronunciation of an old Slavic vowel represented by the letter *jat,* pronounced as e in the Eastern variant and as *ije* in the Western one. Serbian and Croatian nineteenth-century language reformers chose the Stokavian dialect and the Jekavian subdialect as the basis for standardization. Croats and all other ethnic groups in the western parts of the former SFRY, except for Slovenes, speak the same language. That explains why during the "second" Yugoslavia the two subdialects were hyphenated into a common name: Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian.

History and Cultural Relations

The Serbian kingdom, with an autonomous Orthodox Church, arose in the early thirteenth century under the Ne-

manja dynasty, modeled on a Byzantine prototype. By the fourteenth century Serbia had become a major power in the Balkans, but it then disintegrated into lands controlled by competing feudal nobles. The whole area subsequently became part of the expanding Ottoman Empire, which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. Symbolically, the independent Serbian medieval state ended with the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. A mythologized version of that event came to represent the essence of Serbian identity, embodying both defeat and resurrection. The legend of Kosovo was instrumental in building the modern nation in the nineteenth century and was used most recently by Slobodan Milosevic to energize Serbian nationalism at the time of the breakup of the SFRY.

During the centuries of Ottoman occupation constant uprisings and insecurity motivated Serbian population movements. Most of those migrations were unplanned and involved regional kin groupings, but they had a strong effect on the current Balkan ethnic structure. A significant number of Serbian migrants settled within the Austro-Hungarian Military Frontier in Croatia. Those Serbs served as soldiers to shield the Hapsburg monarchy from the Ottomans. In addition to peasant-soldiers, Serbian society developed an educated and prosperous urban class. Two of the largest population movements from the Serbian medieval heartland to Hungary in the seventeenth century resulted in settlement on the Panonian Plain north of the Danube in today's Vojvodina and neighboring Hungary, creating another Serbian diaspora in the Habsburg lands. That area became a new Serbian cultural and religious center, largely replacing the one in Kosovo that had been mostly depopulated. That area also became the home of an expanding Albanian Moslem population.

The Serbs were on the victorious side in World War I and were unified with other South Slavic lands that were liberated from Austrian domination. This unification led to the emergence of Yugoslavia ("South Slavia"), a cultural and political idea that originated in the nineteenth century. However, the adoption of a centralized political system, dictatorship, and Serbian hegemony, coupled with a lack of economic development, doomed the first Yugoslavia and led to national animosities and the violent civil war that accompanied the German occupation during World War II. An important development was the role of the Croatian fascist government in organizing mass killings of Serbs in Croatia, which led to Serbian-led military groups killing Croatians in the 1990s.

The idea of integrating the South Slav peoples was preserved by the communist pan-Yugoslav partisan movement during the war. Under the slogan "brotherhood and unity," it was a foundation for Tito's communist Yugoslavia (1945-1992). However, the new regime never attempted to resolve ethnic animosities, including the consequences of the wartime atrocities. The ideologically motivated state manipulated national issues to its own political ends. After Tito's death in 1980 political rivalry and the struggle by political elites for survival in the rapidly deteriorating economic conditions of a changed post-cold war world led to the breakup of the second Yugoslavia. Social and economic problems were increasingly expressed as ethnic grievances.

In Kosovo, as opposed to the Vojvodina, where multiethnicity was the established way of life, ethnic rivalry between Serbs and Albanians led to occasional outbursts of violence. Each instance has added to the grievances, making every subsequent clash more serious and complex. The Serbian side claims that the period of violence that started in the early 1980s and has continued into the twenty-first century is the consequence of the injustice it had suffered from both the pro-Axis state of Albania to which Kosovo was annexed during World War II and Tito's postwar regime, which favored Albanians. Kosovo is regarded as the cradle of the medieval Serbian state.

This issue became politically significant as the Serbs increasingly perceived themselves as a victimized minority. The reemerging Serbian nationalism after the fall of socialist Yugoslavia led to the curtailing of the province's autonomous status and to unprecedented state oppression, terror, and atrocities committed against the Albanian population. Well-publicized evidence of those atrocities led NATO to launch air strikes on Serbia in March 1999. That intervention initially exacerbated civilian massacres, especially by Serbian paramilitary forces. Some 850,000 Albanians became refugees seeking shelter in the neighboring states of Macedonia and Albania. After the Kumanovo peace agreement was signed in 1999, close to 200,000 Serbs fled the region to central Serbia as the Albanian refugees returned to their homes. Tensions remain despite the presence since June 1999 of NATO peacekeeping forces and a UN administration. Atrocities committed by the Serbian side were the grounds for indicting Slobodan Milosevic, the former president of Serbia and Yugoslavia, for war crimes and crimes against the humanity by the Hague tribunal of the International Court.

Settlements

Traditionally, there were two basic types of villages: dispersed and nucleated. In dispersed villages houses were far apart, with buildings, fields, and cultivated lands and meadows surrounding each one. Many were in what had been pioneering areas, previously forested lands. Nucleated villages had closely positioned houses along roads; some were associated with the Ottoman system of landholdings. The villages in the Vojvodina Panonian Plain region were developed according to regulations instituted by the Habsburg monarchs in the eighteenth century.

Towns in Serbia south of the Danube and Sava rivers were almost exclusively Turkish in character. In the Ottoman Empire towns or urban settlements were usually fortified but also had open parts with administrative, commercial, religious, cultural, and residential functions. The city plan consisted of an irregular pattern of narrow, winding cobblestone streets. Public and private areas were strictly separated, and residential quarters reflected segregation based on religious and ethnic affiliation.

Economy

Subsistence. Well into the twentieth century most rural households in Serbia were primarily self-sufficient, and so a diversified economy was characteristic, especially in the rolling hills and lowlands. Some herding often was combined with growing wheat and corn as well as cultivating fruit trees, gardening, and poultry raising. Livestock raising was predominant in the mountainous regions. These patterns continued into the second half of the twentieth century. By the middle

of the eighteenth century new immigrants from the mountainous regions had settled in central Serbia in regions depopulated during the Ottoman and Austrian wars. Initially, acorn-fattened pigs pastured in the oak forest were marketed across the border in Austria, creating the first prosperous Serbian class, which was active in the early nineteenth-century revolts against the Turks. As immigration and population increase filled up previously forested areas and land became scarce, there was a shift from herding to the cultivation of arable land for human subsistence and animal feed as well as for the market. Corn became the most important crop. Most holdings were small, averaging about 15 acres (6 hectares), and fragmented because of extended household divisions. This situation was little altered till the end of World War II, when almost 80 percent of the population was agricultural, producing about 50 percent of the gross national product.

Commercial Activities. After the demise of communism in the late 1980s, privatization resulted in the reallocation of communal wealth within the ruling elite. The subsequent breakup of regional trade flows between newly independent states, a war economy, the UN's economic sanctions, hyperinflation, and mismanagement of the economy contributed to a catastrophic economic situation. NATO air raids during the 1999 conflict targeted important industrial facilities and infrastructure and added to the existing problems. In 1999, inflation was 42 percent and unemployment was 30 percent. Approximately 1,700,000 farmers hold about 82 percent of the arable land, contribute 20 percent to the gross domestic product (GDP), and produce enough food to allow a surplus for export. Some 30 percent of GDP is furnished by services.

Industrial Arts. Peasants had to be skilled in many trades so that they could maintain their estates and repair equipment. More complicated tasks were done by villagers who had specialized through apprenticeship in a specific craft. Villagers' other needs were provided for by migratory craftsmen and vendors in markets. Others, such as potters, woodcarvers, stonecutters, tailors, and sandal and candle makers, were based in small towns. After the Ottoman conquest the towns were in the hands of other ethnic groups, such as Turks, Greeks, and Jews. After the end of Ottoman rule Serbian artisans and merchants emerged as distinct social groups.

Trade. Open-air markets were first established and regulated toward the end of the nineteenth century. The first city green markets were places where Central European culture influenced Serbian cuisine. Farmers and vendors from the Vojvodina introduced vegetables and other foods used in Hungarian, Austrian, German, and Czech cooking. After World War II and the socialist restructuring of property, all large-scale commercial enterprises were controlled by the state. Private small-scale retail trade and services were permitted and supplemented the state system. The private sector expanded in the 1970s and especially in the second half of the 1980s. Much of the trade in luxury goods dates from that period.

During the years of severe economic crisis in the 1990s, what remained of the state-owned sector was unable to provide for consumers' basic needs. Private entrepreneurs were the only functional part of the economy. In addition to legal stores and shops, semilegal kiosks abounded on the streets of Belgrade and other towns, with inventories including foods, detergents, clothing, automobile parts, and illegally imported cigarettes. Goods were sold for foreign currency, but vendors never seemed to have problems, with demand always being higher than supply. Many vendors were professionals who had lost their jobs or were only nominally employed by state corporations.

Division of Labor. Ideally, the outside world, fields, markets, and cafés were traditional male places for business and socializing. The house and garden were the woman's domain. In rural areas men were the sole owners of the land, implements, and agricultural and livestock herding knowledge and were generally the providers of subsistence. Day-to-day food processing, making dairy products, baking bread, cooking meals, and hauling water were women's work, in addition to raising children. Women also processed textile fibers that were used to weave linen, cloth, decorative parts of their clothing, and household furnishings such as rugs, blankets, and towels. Women were the official mourners for the dead and communicators with them. They also were healers who used herbal remedies and magic.

Women were supposed to keep poultry for meat and eggs and grow vegetable gardens. They could sell those products at the market and keep the money as income. However, since the extended family household with sufficient male labor was an ideal that was not always achieved, women also had to take over men's chores when men were not available, particularly in times of war, when women and the elderly provided agricultural labor. That pattern continued in households in which the men were full-time factory workers. Those activities did not help women obtain decision-making and property rights, although the situation changed in post-World War II Yugoslavia.

Land Tenure. In the medieval period landholdings included property held by the king, feudal lords, and monasteries. Peasants were tied to the land with fixed obligations that included military service. After the Ottoman conquest lands were allocated to Moslem officials who collected taxes, keeping a portion for themselves—the so-called tax farming. The status of farmers in the medieval Serbian state and under Ottoman rule was similar. There was also communal village property that included forests, pastures, and water rights. The return of church, monastery, and royal properties confiscated by the communists has not been completed.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The kinship system is based on agnatic principles congruent with a patriarchal ideology that involves patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Although they do not function as formal corporate groups, agnatic lineages are significant in economic cooperation and marital exogamy. Village neighborhoods are often populated by the same lineage, with reciprocal patterns of aid and labor exchange. Each lineage had a patron saint's day marked by a household feast to which affinal kin were invited. These ties are significant in urban areas even after generations of urban residence.

Kinship Terminology. In general, terms of consanguineal kin are more descriptive than are those for affines. Thus,

there are specific terms for up to the fourth ascending male generation. Until the middle of the twentieth century it was possible for many rural males to recall lineal and collateral male ancestors to a depth of six or more generations.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In rural areas and until recently in urban areas as well, marriage and childbearing were important symbols of adult status. Age at marriage has remained in the early twenties for men and women in rural areas for more than a century. Recently, the prolongation of education and housing problems have delayed marriage. While one-child families have become almost the norm among urban middle-class families, rural values have encouraged multiple births if a male heir has not been produced. For most of the twentieth century abortion was an accepted means of birth control, often to the detriment of women's health. Divorce has become increasingly common. Warfare in the 1990s reinforced patriarchal values as heirs, carriers of the family name, and defenders of the honor of the family and the state.

Domestic Unit. The *zadruga,* or South Slav extended family, has been the ideal, although not always attained, prototype. Even in urban areas family units often included kin of the extended family. In the nineteenth centuries households of married brothers were common and were divided only when the children matured. There has never been a simple transition to nuclear family households. Households have become smaller, but linear extension of up to four generations has occurred as a result of increased longevity.

Inheritance. Traditional inheritance patterns reflected the dominant patriarchal ideology. These rules were of supreme importance because land was the key to survival. After World War II women were given equal rights, but they often were reluctant to exercise their options because of social pressure. Sisters would give up their rights to inherit paternal land and pass the land to their brothers. Educational attainment and a range of urban opportunities have diminished the economic importance of agricultural land.

Socialization. Mothers are loving caregivers, protective, understanding, and forgiving. Fathers traditionally played a more detached role and were strict disciplinarians with undisputed authority. Among the modernizing urban classes the socializing process has become more egalitarian over the last several decades. However, respect for elders within a hierarchy of age and gender is still highly valued.

Epic poetry was an important source of socialization in traditional rural culture. It was the repository of archetypal characters and positive and negative male and female role models. The Serbian Orthodox Church and later the state educational system played a role in supporting patriarchal values. With the building of a modern nation-state in the nineteenth century, educational institutions took over part of the role of socializing individuals into appropriate gender roles. The recent wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo have supported an official patriotism and reference to the past to glorify selected traditions supporting a patriotic effort to fight for Serbian ethnic space and the integration of Serbian-populated lands on the borders of the nation. The media became an important factor in socialization, especially official television with its depiction of appropriate heroic roles for youth in military recruitment videos for the war in Bosnia.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Village social organization was based on the kin-structured patriarchal household, with extension by ritual kinship in the form of godfatherhood and blood brother ties adding support to the structure. Territorial proximity, as in village neighborhoods, was also important. Those relationships were confirmed by obligations of reciprocity in ritual feasts, the cult of the dead in regard to shared ancestors, and cooperative work groups for agricultural tasks such as harvesting and house building. Village autonomy was significant in building viable community structures that were implemented through leading village elders who often drew their strength from their lineage ties moderated through the office of the village headman, who acted as a bridge between the village and the government.

Before the twentieth century village communities in central Serbia were rather homogeneous from a socioeconomic perspective, leading many foreigners to describe the land as a peasant state. The transition to capitalism and a growing role for the market economy stratified the villages to a degree, but there were not many people categorized as servants within households and relatively few households were landless. However, the differences were acutely felt. Arranged marriages were seen as a way to build family alliances.

In urban areas the most desired goal was the security of a job in the government bureaucracy, followed by a military career or a professional occupation as a doctor, lawyer, teacher, or engineer. The number of people in commerce also grew, increasing the significance of wealth in relation to middle-class status. The elite society consisted of the royal family and the circle around the court. At the opposite pole were the urban poor. In the period between the world wars the urban social structure remained stable. After World War II the social organization was completely restructured. The old elite class disappeared, as did elements of the commercial class. There were some executions, a significant amount of imprisonment, and flight abroad of class enemies who included prosperous and politically active peasants. The new society was also stratified; those who had been with the communist partisans from the beginning of the war constituted a favored group. While formally the three main categories were industrial and other workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, actual power resided with the Communist Party, the police, and the army. At the top were the political elite, or nomenclatura, consisting of high-ranking Communist Party officials, some of whom served as directors of major economic enterprises. The other elite group was a cultural elite consisting of writers, artists, and university professors representing for the most part an alternative worldview and lifestyle that resulted for some in the loss of their jobs or imprisonment. The largest segment of this group consisted of middle-class professionals, some occupying administrative clerical positions.

The post-Tito era witnessed the implosion of the social system and its values, the destruction of the middle class, and the expropriation of state resources by the political elite. That period saw the emergence of a larger and more aggressive criminal class. The elite drew support from the previous-

ly passive portions of the population and those on the fringes of the social system, including the less educated, pensioners, and small-scale entrepreneurs.

Traditional forms of social organization were highly adaptable and continued to function in both rural and urban areas, making up for deficiencies in the communist and post-communist systems. Examples are patron-client relationships and nepotism based on extended kin ties. Nonkin ties in professional organizations, clubs, school alumni groups, and sports associations coexisted and overlapped with traditional linkages and provided societal coherence.

Political Organization. In the post-World War I period a constitutional monarchy was established that was formally based on democratic principles, but with great authority given to the king, whose dynasty had previously ruled only Serbia. From the beginning there were tensions from conflicting national interests among the Serbs and Croats, who constituted the two major political forces in the new state. The influential Serbian Radical Party had a broad base among the peasants and also had middle-class support. There was also strong support in Serbia for a centralized government. This was in direct opposition to the aims of groups such as the Croatian Peasant Party, which was in favor of regional autonomy. Declaring opposition political parties illegal and arresting their leaders were political practices of the centralized authority whenever it felt threatened. In 1929 the king abolished the constitutional regime, political parties, and the assembly and replaced them with a royal dictatorship until his assassination in 1934. Loss of civil liberties, repression, censorship, emigration of political leaders, and the formation of new alliances abroad resulted. Some political organizations developed ties with fascist movements.

After World War II the victorious Communist Party used terror, intimidation, and police pressure to abolish all political opposition. Voters were offered only the government list of candidates. That situation remained unchanged for almost half a century until 1990, when the Communist Party lost its monopoly on power. The party exercised control even though its membership accounted for only 10 percent of the population, concentrated mainly in the institutions that controlled vital state functions.

A multiparty system was reinstated in 1989, and elections were held in December 1990. A large number of newly established parties participated, some with ties to parties of the pre-Communist period or even to those of the previous century. The Socialist Party of Serbia was a transformed version of the Communist Party. The country's long era of autocratic, personal rule ended when Slobodan Milosevic and his Socialist Party lost the election in September 2000 and a moderate democratic coalition came into power.

Social Control. Mild forms of informal control and self-control such as respect for traditional values; monitoring of familial, kin, and neighbor groups; and fear of negative public opinion, gossip, and ostracism continue to exist in both rural and urban environments in addition to formal mechanisms. The legal system established with the formation of the modern state in the nineteenth century is based on civil law. Local, district, state, and federal courts with appointed or elected judges and prosecuting attorneys were the legal forums for settling disputes. During the Communist era the police, especially the secret branches, and the courts secured the political conformity of the population. Centralized political control has been developed as a way to suppress ethnic conflicts. The Hague tribunal has held trials of members of armed military groups who during the wars in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo committed criminal acts against civilians.

Conflict. Daily life was filled with disputes over property, inheritance, borders, and other offences that were dealt with at village assemblies and in courts. On the national level, the history of Serbia is filled with conflicts with external and internal adversaries. Internal conflicts included inter-ethnic clashes and intra-ethnic rivalry. Ideological polarization between liberal and conservative, traditional and modern, nationalistic and cosmopolitan, "pure" village and "contaminated" urban worldviews is the leitmotif of cultural dynamism in Serbia.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Serbs are almost exclusively Serbian Orthodox Christians. The church has been autonomous since 1219. Elderly women are the most regular churchgoers. Older women are in charge of family rituals that are connected to the pre-Christian belief in woman's ritual purity after menopause. Church attendance is highest on major holidays such as Christmas and Easter and on the family patron saint day, which links home-based rituals with formal religious practices.

During the last decade of the twentieth century interest in paranormal phenomenon flourished. In addition to indigenous traditional magic, soothsaying, prophesying, and healing, occult traditions from around the world were employed as a survival strategy amid the disorder of everyday life. At the same time the official propaganda used popular fortunetellers, psychics, and astrologers to transmit messages that confirmed the official interpretation of worldly events as an expression of divine will.

Religious Practitioners. The clergy and the administrative structure of the Serbian Orthodox Church are hierarchically organized. The patriarch is the head of the church.

Ceremonies. The folk calendar and the annual customs cycle were centered on agricultural activities and seasonal changes. The traditional Christmas celebration still contains elements that were a part of pre-Christian winter solstice celebration, while some Easter rites resemble those for the vernal equinox. The highly ritualized celebration of *slava*, which involves an elaborate feast, is a hybrid of pre-Christian beliefs, especially those connected with the cult of the dead, and Christian sainthood. In addition to traditional rites of passage such as birth, marriage, and death, important life cycle events such as birthdays, graduations, send-offs for those serving the obligatory term in the military, promotions, and retirement are celebrated.

During Socialist rule there was an attempt to replace the main religious holidays with secular celebrations. The New Year's celebration was the replacement for Christmas. New holidays important to the state ideology such as the Labor Day (1 May) and the Day of the Republic (29 November), commemorating the date when the second Yugoslavia was founded, were introduced. The public celebrated the state

holidays but continued to observe the religious holidays in private. Thus, the New Year was celebrated with the Christmas tree and Grandpa Frost (Saint Nicholas, Santa Claus), both of which were imported into Serbian urban culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Orthodox Christmas (7 January) remained a traditional celebration. Christmas Eve retained elements pertaining to the cult of the dead and pagan solar rituals, expressed by the nature of the dinner food and the Yule log.

Arts. Traditional oral literature included decasyllabic epic poetry recited with the accompaniment of the *gusle,* a single-string instrument stroked with a bow, lyric poetry, fairy tales and other stories, proverbs, and riddles. Music was a popular form of expression composed within the pentatonic and eight-tone scale and employing many different rhythms. Folk dances are numerous and often feature the nonpartner *kolo.* Kolo dancing was an important event at village gatherings and provided an opportunity for courtship. Folk music remains popular in both rural and urban areas. Newly composed folk music has had a following since the 1970s. Neofolk music is based on authentic Serbian and Balkan folk music but also borrows styles and structures from other traditions and combines them with popular instrumentation and arrangements. The lyrics refer to the everyday situations of common people and their way of coping with love and life and sometimes express a nostalgic component such as happy, idealized memories of rural life. Neofolk celebrities have great influence on their audiences, and the neofolk media were used to disseminate "patriotic" and militant messages during the violent dismantling of the former Yugoslavia.

Medicine. There was increased trust in medical professionals and greater availability of modern health care after World War II. However, for several decades, when the government was trying to stimulate the "socialist sector" and abolish private ownership, accessibility to modern medical facilities was used as a discriminatory tactic. While state employees and their families had full health coverage, for those in the private sector, including individual small farmers (the majority of peasants) and small business owners, health benefits were almost unaffordable. Gradually, government policy changed and coverage became more inclusive.

The prevalence of Western medical care has not eliminated other approaches to healing. Folk medicine, with its use of touch, chants, magical action, and "magic potions," is still sought after. Herbal medicine and the healing potentials of substances such as bee pollen have wide popularity. Herbal medicine has been accepted by medical officials and often is administered as a supplemental therapy. In late 1970s and early 1980s Eastern medical traditions such as acupuncture, acupressure, aromatherapy, and macrobiotics became popular as alternative ways of healing. State-operated medical facilities experienced severe shortages of medical supplies and drugs in the 1990s. While their services were rapidly declining, private pharmacies and state-of-the-art clinics thrived. The cost of their exceptional services was beyond the means of most people.

Death and Afterlife. In accordance with the strong animistic component of traditional Serbian religion characterized by a dualistic—material and spiritual—conception of the world, the cult of the dead in traditional religion is important and elaborate. Death is considered a part of life cycle that does not annihilate the existence of a person but only transforms it. The bond between the living and the dead members of the family and lineage are permanent, and reciprocity of good deeds is expected for the benefit of all. The living must be extremely careful not to offend or estrange the deceased in order to secure their help in earthly activities and prevent their revenge or transformation into the dreaded category of the "undead," "vampires," "werewolves," and other equally evil creatures. As the netherworld is imagined to be similar to the world of the living, the dead are believed to have the same needs there, and it is the duty of the family to provide for their needs, such as food, light, clothing, and money.

The core myth, the legend of Kosovo, is based on the Christianized version of dual existence: a burdensome earthly life and eternal bliss thereafter. True national heroes who were ready to perish for the freedom and faith of the homeland secured eternal existence in the celestial kingdom not only for themselves but also for the entire nation. Reverence for the fallen kept the channel of communication between the two worlds open and enabled the two realms to become one in times of need.

For the original article on Serbs, *see* Volume 4, Europe.

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Sikh

ETHNONYMS: Khalsa, Singhs, Amrit-dharis, Nanak-panthis, Sahaj-dharis, Kes-dharis

Orientation

Identification and Location. The word Sikh is the Punjabi derivation of the Sanskrit term *shishya* or "disciple" and refers to someone who acknowledges the teachings of Guru Nanak (1469-1539) and his ten human successors as collected in the Sikh canon. Although Sikhs today generally acknowledge themselves solely as "Sikh," the ethnonyms above may be used to identify specific varieties of Sikhs.

Sikh culture developed in the Punjab region of northwestern India, which was partitioned between Pakistan and Indian in 1947. Since the early twentieth century the Punjab has been considered the homeland of Sikhism by the world's Sikhs. The Punjab is bordered by Pakistan to its west and the Indian states of Rajasthan and Haryana to the south. The north is bounded by the Himalayan Mountains while the eastern boundaries end where Himachal Pradesh and Haryana begin. Most Sikhs are from India and generally identify themselves by their religious tradition, Sikhism. There are Sikhs today, however, who are not ethnically Punjabi, namely western converts to the Sikh tradition who are members of the Khalsa Dharma of the Western Hemisphere organization.

Demography. In the early twenty-first century Sikhs in India form roughly 2 percent of the Indian population or about seventeen million. Worldwide their numbers hover around twenty million.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language of the Sikh people generally is Punjabi, an Indo-European language derived from Indo-Iranian Sanskrit and Prakrit. The script in which Punjabi usually is written is Gurmukhi ("from the mouth of the Guru") which differs considerably from Devanagiri, the script in which many other north Indian languages, particularly Hindi, are written.

History and Cultural Relations

Sikhs understand their religious tradition in terms of Sikh history. This history and religion are of fundamental importance to Sikhs in the twenty-first century as they strive to construct a community. While tradition provides a grand narrative of the history of the Sikh Gurus and their disciples since its beginning in 1469, there is little in terms of corroborative contemporary material. Even the little material that exists is often interpreted through a theological lens.

It begins with the birth of Guru Nanak, who is summoned into the presence of the eternal Guru (God) and entrusted with spreading the faith. Close to death, Guru Nanak nominates as successor his disciple Lehana, who is renamed Guru Angad. This incident is related in a hymn in the scripture. Guru Angad then nominates Amar Das, who later nominates Guru Ram Das. Guru Ram Das' youngest son Arjan was then made Guru, and it was under him that the completion of Amritsar as well as the compilation of the Sikh scripture in 1604 takes place. Both *of* these events probably brought the Guru and his Panth under the gaze of the Mughal state. In his memoirs the emperor Jahangir reports having had the Guru arrested, beaten, and ultimately executed for his support of Jahangir's rebellious son Khusrau. Sikhs perceive this event as a martyrdom and understand it to have precipitated the doctrine of *miri-piri* (secularism/spirituality) in 1606 which was formulated by Guru Arjan's son, Guru Hargobind. All Sikhs, according to tradition, would from that point combine the loyalty and secular outlook of the soldier with the spirituality of the saint.

Very little information appears in Mughal sources about the seventh and the eighth Sikh Gurus, Hari Rai and Hari Krishan. For their "histories" we rely solely on a mid-nineteenth-century text popularly known as the *Suraj Prakash.* Executed in Delhi on 11 November 1675 by Emperor Aurangzeb, however, ensured that the history of the ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadar, would find its way into the many Persian chronicles of the emperor's reign. Guru Tegh Bahadar is understood as a martyr, upholding the righteous claims of all the dispossessed. To ensure that these claims would be maintained, the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, instituted the Khalsa in 1699 and promulgated the Rahit recorded in the rahit-namas, with its emphasis on behavioral and sartorial Sikh observance. It was with this in hand and the ideals of the tenth Guru in mind that the Sikhs began the second decade of the eighteenth century, the Heroic Period of Sikh history. The Sikhs sacrificed life and limb in the pursuit of these righteous ideals. This sacrifice hardened the Khalsa and eventually culminated in 1799 with the first-ever Sikh kingdom, the Lahore Darbar, under the celebrated Maharaja Ranjit Singh. When he died in 1839 it was only a matter of time before the new imperial power in India, the East India Company, would claim his territories. Indeed, a decade later the Punjab was annexed to the Company after the three Anglo-Sikh wars of 1845-1849.

During the British period came the rise of the Singh Sabha reform movement. This movement emphasized that Sikhs were a unique people and that Sikhism was a unique dispensation which was in no way affiliated with either Hinduism or Islam. It was this group which standardized the history and practices of the Sikhs and made these conform to general nineteenth-century European ideas about religion and history. This standardization is also indebted to the heroic displays of the Akali movement (1920-1925) which strove to free Sikh shrines, *gurdwaras,* from the hands of their corrupt hereditary managers.

For Sikhs this history is a constant source of pride and honor, a fact evidenced by the large number of Sikh families who own books on Sikh history and the vast number of internet web sites devoted to the topic. The focus upon sacrifice, righteousness, and martial skill and temperament for example had certainly inspired the many Sikhs who valiantly fought in the three Indo-Pakistani wars after Independence. These traditions also guided the Sikhs during the struggle for a separate Punjabi-speaking state, a struggle that finally succeeded in 1966.

The 1980s and early 1990s saw a number of turbulent events for the Sikhs, including the rise of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the desire for a separate Sikh state known as Khalistan, the storming of the Golden Temple in June 1984 which resulted in the death of six hundred innocent pilgrims, and

the protracted period of militancy which left thousands of Punjabis dead, including an Indian prime minister and thousands of Sikhs living in Delhi.

Settlements

Sikh settlements or communities almost always include a gurdwara, or "house of the Guru," a place of worship so called because it houses the sacred Sikh scripture, the Guru Granth Sahib. Within the Diaspora gurdwaras can assume just about any size or shape. Within India, however, these buildings usually conform to a standard pattern. This pattern may differ in minor respects, but in one it does not: entrances are found on all four building sides to indicate that members from all of India's four traditional castes may enter, worship, and be fed. They are fed in the *guru ka langar* or "Guru's Kitchen," established to break down the discriminatory aspects of the caste system. Every gurdwara should house a Guru ka Langar. Every gurdwara should also fly the triangular, saffron colored Khalsa Sikh flag on the outside of the building so that it can be seen from some distance. The room in which the sacred scripture is kept and presented for sacred viewing is called the *Prakash Asthan.*

Economy

Subsistence. Most Sikhs today work in agriculture and live in rural Punjab, though there are also a fair number who live in cities. Food and other necessities are primarily bought and sold though many farmers eat some of what they grow. Overall Sikhs are generally well-to-do. This is a point of pride amongst Sikhs the world over.

Commercial Activities. Sikhs are generally involved in agriculture, as most belong to the Jat caste. Jats, traditionally, are farmers, though since the early twentieth century there are Jat Sikhs who are doctors, lawyers, teachers, and practitioners of other professions. The remainder of the Sikh population is made up of a variety of castes, and perform jobs in a large number of fields. These Sikhs are often, but not always, urban-based.

Industrial Arts. There is no specifically Sikh industrial art.

Trade. The Punjab is known for a large variety of products. Shawls and other textiles; wheat, rice, and other agricultural products; as well as bicycles and other manufactured goods are among some of the many Punjabi products sold commercially throughout the world. Sikhs engage in the trade of all of these Punjabi commodities. There are restrictions regarding with whom a Sikh initiated into the Khalsa may have relations but there are no general restrictions in regard to with whom they trade or from whom they buy.

Division of Labor. Males are generally the principal breadwinners in Sikh households. Since the twentieth century, however, urban Sikh women have been able to work in all fields. Rural Sikh women also work the farm (though the heavy labor is usually reserved for the men) and generally take care of the extended household including housework. Child rearing is done by women.

Land Tenure. When one speaks of land tenure amongst the Sikhs one speaks generally of Jat Sikh land tenure. Most Sikhs belong to the Jat caste and Jats are traditionally the farmer caste and therefore the most powerful and wealthiest rural Sikh caste. Land among Jat Sikhs is handed down to the sons of the owner and only in exceptional cases to daughters (usually the daughter's share is given to her by way of dowry). The importance of land may be seen, for example, in the treatment of widows. The wife of a recently deceased brother is usually married off to another brother in order to ensure that land stays within the family. Land in Jat Sikh society translates into power, and is intimately associated with Jat Sikh notions of self respect and honor.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Sikh doctrine is very derisive towards the discriminatory features of the Indian caste system whose *jatis* (literally, "birth") often possess the same characteristics as large kinship groups. Generally, however, Sikhs follow caste rules in terms of marriage and commensality outside of the gurdwara. Caste amongst the Sikhs is composed of *zat* (Hindi: *jati)* or the caste proper and *got* (Hindi: *gotra)* or patrilineal line. Every zat has many gots. The most prominent Sikh caste in rural Punjab is Jat, which forms some two-thirds of the Sikh population. In urban areas the two most prominent castes are Khatri and Arora, who are only 10 percent of all Sikhs. Sikh notions of caste are different from caste as it is generally worked out in the rest of India. There are, for example, certain castes like Ramgarhia and Ahluwalia that are found only amongst Sikhs. The Sikh castes that identify themselves as Khatri adhere to their own rules. Although Khatris form only a small percentage of the overall Sikh population all the Sikh Gurus were Khatris. Khatris are internally arranged into a number of endogamous groups, the principal division of which is *char-baraha-bavanja* or 4-12-52. The first number, four, represents the Bedi, Trehan, Bhalla, and Sodhi gots to which the ten Sikh Gurus belonged. These four groups may only intermarry among themselves. The two remaining numbers represent other Khatri zats, members of whom may only marry among the twelve or the fifty-two respectively.

Kinship Terminology. Sikhs have a wide variety of terms for kin. Elder and younger brothers and sisters all have unique designations, while kin outside the immediate family are named according to whether they are on the mother's or the father's side. Generally this system is bifurcate collateral. *Mama* and *marni* are the maternal grandfather and grandmother respectively while *dada* and *dadi* are the paternal grandparents. Friends of the family or co-villagers are also designated as either "aunties" or "uncles."

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In the distinctly Sikh marriage ceremony called *anand karaj*, the couple is seated before the Guru Granth Sahib. Marriages usually occur within one's zat but outside of one's got. Marriage is generally an arrangement between two families and usually is undertaken to produce male heirs. As of the early twenty-first century many urban Sikhs and those in the Diaspora in particular choose their own marriage partner without concern for family connections and children, though these alliances are still not overly common. Within villages, brides usually relocate to their husband's paternal

village and become sisters-in-law to the entire village. Divorce is generally looked down upon, though it does occur.

Domestic Unit. There are both rural and urban domestic units. In villages Sikhs often live in extended family dwellings which include several brothers and their wives and children. This means that there are many people in the household to share the duties of child rearing. In cities, however, domestic units are usually smaller.

Inheritance. Rules for inheritance generally follow those for land tenure. Inheritance is passed down to the sons of the owner or patriarch.

Socialization. Children are reared by the mother and other mothers within the extended family. Well-to-do urban families often employ an *ayaha* or full-time or part-time care givers. Within villages children may attend village school or visit the gurdwara for education in the Sikh faith. The turban-tying ceremony may be understood as a young male's right of passage.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. There are different forms of sociopolitical organization depending upon whether one speaks of rural or urban Punjab. In the countryside predominant social control is vested in five village elders known as the *panchayat,* whose head elder is the *sarpanch.* The panchayat and the zat govern the behavior of its members. Zats are often ranked hierarchically vis-a-vis other zats in the village. Within towns and cities the nuclear family is the basic unit of social control.

Political Organization. Although panchayats and the sarpanch play a political role within the village, Sikh politics within the Punjab is usually the prerogative of the many *Akali Dal* parties. Akali Dal literally means the "Army of the Immortal One" (i.e., God) and is known to protect Sikh interests within the Punjab and India. The first Akali Dal was founded in the early 1920s as a group to organize Sikh political dissent. Its membership is usually drawn from Sikhs initiated into the Khalsa Order who are predominately Jat. Its principal agendum is to forward mainly Jat concerns. There are a number of separate Akali Dal factions, each of which is generally named for its leader. Akali Dal (Mann) therefore is the Akali Dal faction led at the beginning of the twenty-first century by the politician Simranjit Singh Mann.

Social Control. Sources of conflict within the culture usually have to do with land and are tied up with Punjabi Sikh notions of self-respect. Family feuds resulting from land disputes, for example, may take generations to iron themselves out or may not be resolved at all. If the problem arises within the village proper, the panchayat may exert control. Sometimes these disputes are settled in courts of law. In the Diaspora, control of a gurdwara is also a point of contention between Sikh families, as a gurdwara is the logical repository of Sikh donations outside of and within India. In the Diaspora, conflicts over gurdwara income are usually settled in law courts.

Conflict. Conflict with other groups within India is sometimes over land and may be settled within the state's courts. Many times, however, conflict results from an insult directed towards a Sikh or the Sikh religion. These too are sometimes settled in court.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Sikhs are monotheists who worship one God known generally as Satiguru (the True Guru) ; Vahiguru (the Wonderful Lord) ; or Akal Purakh (the Timeless Being). Akal Purakh is both transcendent and immanent. The ten human Sikh Gurus intimately understood the message of Akal Purakh and communicated it to humanity. This message is contained within the scripture, the Guru Granth, in which the spirit of the divine mystically dwells. Sikhs also believe in the transmigration of the soul and the doctrine of karma. Humanity is caught in the never-ending cycle of birth, death, and rebirth and must meditate upon the *Nam,* that aspect of the divine which is present everywhere in the universe, through a discipline called *nam simran* (remembering the Name [of God]) to ultimately break the cycle and merge into the divine. Often Sikhism is understood as either a sect of Hinduism or of Islam, but it is neither. It is a unique religious tradition which shares some similarities with both of the above-mentioned traditions.

These beliefs hold true for Sikhs generally, but particularly for Amrit-dhari Sikhs. These Sikhs are those initiated into the Khalsa Order. Founded in 1699 Sikhs of the Khalsa generally follow the Khalsa Code of Conduct known as the *Sikh Rahit Maryada.* The Rahit proscribes smoking and eating meat killed in the h*alal* fashion in which the animal is slowly bled to death. Sikhs may eat meat but this must be *jhatka,* flesh from an animal whose head was severed with a single blow. The Rahit also enjoins Khalsa Sikhs to carry on their person five items known collectively as the Five Ks (as these begin with the Punjabi letter 'k') all of which have symbolic value: *kes* (uncut hair); *kangha* (comb); *kacchahira* (breeches); *kara* (bangle); and *kirpan* (short dagger). Today Khalsa Sikhism is considered the normative variety of Sikhism.

Religious Practitioners. There is no recognized priesthood in the Sikh tradition. There are, however, a number of professional religious personnel. Among these are included those who recite the scripture or *granthis;* traditional Sikh scholars and exegetes known as *gianis,* and those who put the verses of the scripture to song, *ragis.* To these may be added *sants* of a number of varieties. Sants are men or women who are recognized for their piety and their ability to interpret the scriptures. There is one body which is generally recognized as authoritative in terms of Sikh doctrine, however. This is the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee (SGPC), which is headquartered at Amritsar, the holiest Sikh city in the Punjab, where the celebrated Golden Temple is also located.

Ceremonies. There are a small number of specific ceremonies which mark significant points in a Sikh's life: the birth ceremony, the naming of a child, the tying of the turban on young boys, marriage *(anand karaj),* initiation into the Khalsa order *(amrit sanskar; khande di pahul),* and death. There is also the ceremony of *akhand path,* an unbroken reading of the Guru Granth Sahib (usually taking forty-eight hours) to mark an auspicious occasion. Whenever Sikhs congregate at a gurdwara the ceremony observed there involves taking a sacred look at the scripture *(darshan)* and touching the forehead to the floor before it, singing sacred hymns *(kirtan),* listening to a homily *(katha)* delivered by an exegete, and eat-

ing *karah prashad* or sanctified food. The ceremony concludes with the *ardas,* the Khalsa Sikh prayer.

Arts. Many of the arts often considered "Sikh" are also practiced by non-Sikh Indians who would most likely not consider these specifically "Sikh" arts. The only arts that can be considered distinctively Sikh are the recital and singing of the *ragas* (meters) of the Guru Granth and folk music performed by wandering minstrels known as *dhadhis.* There have been great Sikh painters such as Sobha Singh, litterateurs such as the Punjabi writers Vir Singh and Nanak Singh, and poets such as Amrita Pritam.

Medicine. According to the Sikh scripture, the best remedy for pain is the remembrance of the Name of the Lord. This is the only specifically Sikh medicine that exists. In terms of physical illness, however, Sikhs observe no restrictions on the type of treatment they seek, and may see homeopathic *(Ayurveda),* spiritual, or western-trained doctors.

Death and Afterlife. For Sikhs death is not to be mourned but rather contemplated, and the departed life is remembered with the reading and singing of the scripture. Many Sikhs, however, do mourn and follow what the orthodox refer to as "Hindu rites" of observance, namely organized lamentation by women and the practice of keeping an oil lamp *(diva)* lit for a year after the death. Sikhs believe that one who lives a good life and constantly remembers God will not be reborn. Instead he or she will "enter" what Guru Nanak refers to as *Sach Khand,* the True Realm, the end of one's spiritual journey. To explain beyond this, claims the first Guru, is "harder than steel."

For the original article on the Sikhs, *see* Volume 3, South Asia.

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Sinhalese

ETHNONYMS: Singhlese, Sinhala

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Sinhalese are a people who speak the Sinhala language, live in the southwestern region of Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), and are predominantly of the Theravada Buddhist faith. The name derives from a term meaning "dwelling of lions," an allusion to the mythical founder, an Indian princess who mated with a lion. Sri Lanka is located between 5° 55" and 9° 51" N. and 79° 41" and 81° 5.3° E. The Sinalese traditionally lived in the wet zone of the central, southern, and western provinces of Sri Lanka, where they are divided into two regional subgroups: the Kandyan Sinhalese of the central highlands and the Low Country Sinhalese of the maritime provinces. Since the inception of government-sponsored internal colonization projects after 1945, there has been considerable migration to the central and northeastern dry zone.

Demography. In 2001 the population of Sri Lanka was estimated to be 19,408,635. The population density is approximately 97 persons per square mile (252 per square kilometer), and the population is growing 1.8 percent per year. Sinhalese constitute 74 percent of the population of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's principal ethnic minority, the Sri Lanka Tamils, accounts for an additional 18 percent, while the Sri Lanka Moors, a Tamil-speaking Muslim group, constitute 7 percent. Other minorities include small communities of Malays and Europeans.

Linguistic Affiliation. Sinhala is an Indo-European language in the Indo-Aryan group and was brought to Sri Lanka by north Indian settlers in approximately 500 B.C.E.; the first written Sinhala texts appeared in the third century B.C.E. Subsequently, Sinhala evolved in isolation from its north Indian origins but in close proximity with the Dravidian languages of southern India, which gave Sinhala a distinct character as early as the third century B.C.E.

History and Cultural Relations

Dynastic chronicles trace Sinhalese origins to the exile of Prince Vijaya and his five hundred followers from his father's kingdom in north India. According to the chronicles, which portray Sri Lanka as a land destined to preserve Buddhism, Vijaya, the grandson of a Hindu princess and a lion, arrived in Sri Lanka at the moment of the Buddha's death.

However, it is misleading to suppose that a distinct, self-conscious "Sinhala" ethnicity has existed in Sri Lanka for two millennia. Classically, the term *Sinhala* referred only to the castes regarded as "clean" in the Hindu-influenced social structure of Sinhalese society; the low-ranking service castes were not considered members of this elite group. In the nineteenth century European racialist thought encouraged the extension of the Sinhala category to groups that traditionally were excluded.

Contemporary Sinhalese scholarship makes much of the connection between ancient Sinhalese kingdoms and Theravada Buddhism; in the third century B.C.E. the Sinhalese king converted to that religion, and Sri Lanka soon became a bastion of Buddhism in southern Asia even as that religion all but disappeared from the land of its birth. Today's religious intolerance is of modern origin; in antiquity Sinhalese Buddhist kings tolerated Hinduism and provided financial sup-

port for Hindu temples. By the first century B.C.E. a Sinhalese Buddhist civilization based on irrigated rice agriculture arose in the central plains (the dry zone), with capitals at Anuradhapura and Pollunaruva. By the thirteenth century C.E., however, a major civilizational collapse occurred for reasons that are still debated (malaria, internal conflict, and south Indian invasions are possible causes), and the population shifted to the southwest.

At the time of Portuguese contact in 1505 there were two Sinhalese kingdoms: one in the central highlands at Kandy and one along the southwestern coast near Colombo. The Portuguese deposed the southwestern kingdom (but not Kandy) and won converts to Roman Catholicism among the fishing castes along the coastal littoral, but they were driven out of Ceylon by the Dutch in the period 1656-1658. A legacy of those times is the popularity of Portuguese names such as de Silva, Fernando, and de Fonseca among Low Country Sinhalese. The Dutch instituted the Roman-Dutch legal system in the maritime provinces (but not in Kandy, which remained independent) and cash crop plantation agriculture involving coffee, cotton, and tobacco, but few Sinhalese converted to Protestant Christianity. The British took over the island's administration in 1798, brought down the Kandyan kingdom in 1815, and favored the growth of a European-owned coffee and tea plantation sector in the central highlands. By the early twentieth century a new elite of English-speaking, largely Low Country Sinhalese rose to prominence in trading, small industry, and coconut and rubber plantation agriculture. In 1932 universal adult suffrage and internal self-rule were granted within a strongly centralized unitary state in which the provinces were given little autonomy.

Without having to fight for its independence, Ceylon was granted freedom in 1948, becoming a constitutional democracy on the Westminster model. After independence the country was governed for eight years by an ostensibly panethnic national party of unity, but in 1956 a Sinhalese populist politician won a landslide victory on a platform that called for making Sinhala the sole official language of government affairs. Tensions rose as Tamils resisted that move, and communal riots occurred in 1958. Sinhalese youths also grew disaffected as the economy stagnated and unemployment mounted in the 1960s. A 1971 insurgency by an ultraleftist Sinhalese youth group called the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (the "People's Liberation Army," or JVP) nearly toppled the government. There were significant Tamil-Sinhalese riots again in 1977, 1981, and 1983; by 1984 a violent Tamil separatist movement led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) had all but driven Sinhalese security forces out of the Tamil north and east. In 1987 India sent sixty thousand Indian peacekeeping troops to the Tamil provinces in a failed attempt to impose a solution militarily.

A political solution to the country's continuing conflict would require the Sinhalese-dominated government to depart from the unitary state model and devolve considerable power to the provinces; however, when the ruling Sinhalese political party attempts to do this, its opponents mobilize chauvinistic Buddhist clergy and anti-Tamil sentiment in opposition to devolution, which is seen as tantamount to giving part of a Buddhist island to the Tamils. The result inevitably is that devolution does not occur. By 2001 most observers concluded that the government lacked the political will and resources to solve the problem politically, and so the military conflict has continued; by 2001 an estimated 100,000 Sri Lankans had died in one of the world's most intractable and bloody ethnic conflicts.

Settlements

Only about one in five Sinhalese lives in a city; Sri Lanka is still predominantly a rural country, and its rural-urban balance has not changed significantly. Educational and medical facilities are available in most rural areas, and a very low rate of industrialization gives rural villagers little reason to migrate to the cities. In the traditional "one village, one tank" pattern, the village *(gama)* is situated downstream from an artificial reservoir. Ringed around the paddy fields are the traditional two- to four-room houses, each situated in its own garden and separated from the others. Traditional houses are made of mud and plaster and thatched with woven palm fronds. Wealthier villagers construct stucco houses roofed with ceramic tiles.

Economy

Subsistence. Subsistence agriculture supplemented by marginal employment in service-related occupations and government employment characterizes the economic life of most rural Sinhalese villagers. Rice holdings are small and marginally productive. Plowing often is done with water buffalo; tractors are numerous but are more likely to be used for light transportation. Seed is sown and the young shoots are transplanted by hand; harvesting and threshing also are done manually. "Green revolution" hybrids are widely used but are underfertilized. Additional subsistence food crops include fruit (jackfruit, breadfruit, and coconut), vegetables, and manioc, which has become a staple of last resort for the poor. Domestic animals include cattle, buffalo, goats, sheep, chickens, and pigs. A major supplement to the village economy is direct government income for schoolteachers and village officials. Low Country Sinhalese achieved early prominence in coconut, rubber, and low-elevation tea plantation agriculture as well as trade and light mining. Marginal employment is available for many people in tea, rubber, and coconut processing.

Commercial Activities. There is significant nonplantation as well as village-based cash crop activity, especially in the highlands, that produces chilies and other spices, poultry and eggs, goats, honey, herbs employed in Ayurvedic medicine, onions, tomatoes, pulses, cereals, vegetables, marijuana, and potatoes.

Industrial Arts. The classical Sinhalese achieved remarkable feats in irrigation engineering, but the technology was lost after the collapse *of* the dry zone civilization, and Sinhalese today show little interest in engineering, mathematics, or science, preferring liberal arts subjects. "Hands-on" technical work is stigmatized because of its links to low-caste occupations, serving to inhibit children's hobbies, vocational education, and technological literacy, while Western imports have almost wiped out traditional arts and crafts. Efforts to industrialize the nation have had little success, and the country has had one of the lowest rates of industrial growth in South Asia since independence. Severe and growing unem-

ployment and landlessness, particularly among rural youth, has contributed to the JVP youth militancy.

Trade. Apart from the prevalence of subsistence agriculture, the rural economy is almost completely cash-based, with barter and reciprocity restricted to kin-group transactions. Purchases in village stores place villagers in debt that frequently results in an impecunious farmer becoming little more than a tenant on his own land; village shopowners are thus able to amass large landholdings. Shops in town sell additional consumer items, and weekly village markets provide marginal economic niches for itinerant traders and village cash crop agriculturalists. Transport is provided by bullock carts, tractors pulling flatbed trailers, old automobiles, and light trucks. Internal trade, foreign investment, tourism, and economic growth have been casualties of the Tamil rebellion and the JVP insurgency.

Division of Labor. Traditional Sinhalese society is male-dominated and patriarchal, with a strong division of labor by sex and a tendency to stigmatize female roles (women are considered ritually impure at times owing to the "pollution" of puberty, menstruation, and childbirth). Men are responsible for the provision of food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities, and women prepare food and care for children. Traditionally, a family lost status if it permitted its women to engage in extradomestic economic roles such as menial agricultural labor and cash crop marketing. Men and women led separate lives aside from the convergence brought about by their mutual obligations. The entry of women into higher education and the professions is beginning to alter this pattern.

Land Tenure. Traditionally, the descendants of the village founder owned inheritable (but not marketable) shares *(panku)* of the village paddy lands. The holdings were adjusted to suit water availability and reduce inequities in water distribution; when holdings were reduced below an economically viable level, a group of villagers moved into the wilderness, constructed a new tank, and founded a new village. British reforms that defined all wilderness as Crown land and eliminated multiple claims to existing plots of land eroded this system, and as land came on the market, a new class of rice land investors *(mudalalis)* acquired substantial holdings but left the farming to clients holding the lands through a form of traditional sharecropping tenancy *(ande* tenure). Population increase has led to severe and growing landlessness.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The largest kin group is the "microcaste" *(pavula),* an endogamous and corporate bilateral kin group that represents the convergence of several families' bilateral kindreds. Pavula members share paddy lands, often dwell together in a hamlet, and cooperate in agriculture, trade, and politics. A pavula's members share a unique status within the caste; the group's internal equality is symbolized through life-cycle rites and communal feasts. Descent is fully bilateral in practice, but noncorporate agnatic descent lines linking families with aristocrats of the Buddhist kingdoms may be maintained for status purposes.

Kinship Terminology. The Sinhalese, including Moors, use Dravidian terms that are associated with symmetrical cross-cousin marriage.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Most marriages are arranged between the two families, with a strong preference for cross-cousin marriage. Marriage implies caste equality, but with a double standard: To preserve the status of a pavula, women must marry men of equal or higher status within the caste; men, however, may have sexual relations with women of inferior status without threatening the family's status. Among the Kandyans, who are governed by Kandyan law, polyandry is rare, though villagers say it can be convenient for all concerned. Polygyny is also rare and may amount to no more than the husband's appropriation of sexual services from a low-ranking female servant.

The bride normally comes to live with her husband, and this pattern *(deega)* establishes a relationship of mutual aid and equality between the husband and his wife's kin. In the less common *binna* residence, in contrast, the groom, who is usually landless, goes to live with his wife's parents (matrilocal residence) and must work for his father-in-law. A dowry is rarely paid unless a woman marries a man of higher status within the caste (hypergamy). The marriage may not involve a ceremony if it occurs between equals and within a pavula. Among the Kandyans property is held individually and is not fragmented by the dissolution of a marriage, which is easy and common. Among the Low Country Sinhalese, who are governed by Roman-Dutch law, matrilocal residence is very rare and hypergamy, coupled with the dowry, is more common. After marriage the couple's property is merged, and in consequence the allied families resist the marriage's dissolution.

Domestic Unit. The smallest kin group is the commensal unit or nuclear family: a wife, unmarried children, and a husband. Among traditional Kandyan Sinhalese there may be more than one commensal unit in a house, but each has its own cooking area. Westernized families adopt the European pattern even in complex households.

Inheritance. In sharp contrast to Indian practices, property is divided equally among all the children, including females, although wealthy families control a daughter's property and use it as an instrument of marital alliance; among those families a dowry may be paid instead of an inheritance.

Socialization. There is a strong preference for male children, who may receive better care; the infant mortality rate for girls is higher. Girls are expected to work harder than boys and may be given significant household chores as young as age five or six and may be taken out of school at an early age even though education is compulsory for all children age five to fourteen. Children are cared for by their mother, with whom they sleep except in highly Westernized households. Children are expected to show respect to older people. Curiosity, initiative, and hobbies are not encouraged. Schools repeat this pattern by emphasizing rote instruction and avoiding vocational subjects. Especially among the landed and high castes, the family is strongly authoritarian; deference to one's parents and acceptance of their decisions are required on penalty of excommunication.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Sinhalese caste system is milder than its Indian counterpart; it lacks Brahmins and the strati-

fying ideology of Hinduism. Most Sinhalese villages lack caste organizations *(panchayats)*, which in India punish transgressions of caste; enforcement of caste endogamy is left to families. Because property is inherited bilaterally, however, families have very strong incentives to enforce endogamy (this is one reason for their authoritarian nature).

The Sinhalese ideology of caste is derived from precolonial feudalism, in which castes of almost all statuses were granted land contingent on their performing services for the king and the local aristocrats. The highest caste, the agricultural Goyigama, account for about half the population and count among their ancestors the aristocrats of the precolonial kingdoms. Among the Kandyans additional castes include service castes such as the Hena (washers), Berava (drummers), and Navandanna (metalworkers) and the "lowest castes" such as the Rodiya, who were formerly itinerant beggars. Among the Low Country Sinhalese three highly entrepreneurial maritime castes (Karava, Salagama, and Durava) have risen to economic and political prominence in this area, which has long been under European influence. Most Sinhalese continue to see caste as a positive principle of social affiliation but believe that castes should not be ranked or given special privileges. A major consequence of the colonial period was the development of an achievement-oriented national elite based on education and especially knowledge of English. Persons of low caste have won membership in this elite. However, local elites continue to be dominated by members of high castes or locally powerful castes.

Political Organization. Sri Lanka is a parliamentary democracy with a president as the head of state. There is a strong two-party system dominated by the centrist United National Party, which has been in power since 1977, and the center-left Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Both are dominated by Sinhalese politicians and appeal to Sinhalese sentiment.

The Sri Lankan state, an artifact of colonial rule, is excessively centralized and politicized; the provinces are governed by agents appointed by the president, and virtually all services—roads, railways, education, health services, tax collection, government-owned corporations, and land registry and allocation—are administered by centrally controlled ministries. Efforts to devolve power and resources to the provinces, including the Tamil Northern Province and Eastern Province, have been opposed by Sinhalese chauvinists, who see devolution as an erosion of Sinhala sovereignty. Members of parliament select the candidates for government positions, including the lowest menial jobs, on the basis of political loyalty. Politicization has eroded the autonomy of the civil service and the judiciary. The JVP insurgency and its popular support can be seen in part as a broad-based rejection of an unresponsive and corrupt political system.

Social Control. Within the village gossip and ridicule are strong forces for social conformity. The family regulates behavior through the threat of excommunication (deprivation of land and family support in seeking employment). With growing landlessness and unemployment, many families are increasingly unable to deliver on their material promises and the threat of excommunication has become ineffective. The JVP insurgency is in part a rejection of parental authority.

Conflict. Traditionally, violence within families often was a result of long-standing grudges and an obsession with one's "enemies," real or imagined; however, conflict between Tamil and Sinhala speakers was all but unknown until the late nineteenth century. In the interstitial zones between the two populations intermarriage was common. Today's Tamil-Sinhalese conflict is far more attributable to competition for modern state resources than to ancient animosities.

A late nineteenth-century riot occurred between Buddhists and Christians; later clashes pitted Sinhalese against Muslims (1915). After the "Sinhala only" language act of 1956, communal riots involving Tamils and Sinhalese occurred in 1958, 1977, 1981, and 1983. There was an aborted military coup in 1963, and violence often occurs during and after elections. Since the early 1980s, Sri Lankan security forces have attempted to suppress the LTTE through military means; such efforts may succeed in imposing nominal state control of the Tamil-dominated provinces in the north and east, but by 2001 it was widely acknowledged that such efforts could not eradicate the LTTE or reduce its capacity to conduct terrorist suicide bombings, assassinations, and the forced conscription of Tamil youths. Suffering high casualties, the Sri Lankan security forces, which are drawn mostly from the Sinhalese rural poor, are widely regarded as poorly disciplined and liable to desertion.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Almost all major world religions, including Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity, are practiced in Sri Lanka, but Buddhism has received special state protection under national constitutions since 1973. Nearly wiped out by Christian conversions and neglect in the late nineteenth century, Buddhism was revived by reformers who borrowed techniques of proselytization and political activity from Christian missionaries and in so doing altered Buddhism by expanding the role of the laity and emphasizing a rigid morality.

More than 70 percent of Sinhalese are Theravada Buddhists, but there are substantial and largely non-Goyigama Roman Catholic communities in the maritime provinces. Often thought by foreign observers to contradict Buddhist teachings, the worship of Hindu gods in their temples *(devale)* meets religious needs that *bhikkus* (Buddhist monks) cannot address, and the pantheon's structure symbolically expresses the pattern of traditional political authority. At the lower end of the pantheon are demons and spirits that cause illness and must be exorcised.

Religious Practitioners. In Theravada Buddhism a true Buddhist—a bhikku—is one who has renounced all worldly attachments and follows in the Buddha's footsteps, depending on alms for subsistence. However, few Sinhalese become bhikkus, who number approximately twenty thousand. Buddhist monastic organizations are known collectively as the *sangha*, which is fragmented into three sects *(nikayas)* ; most bhikkus live in the sect's temple/residence complexes *(viharas)*. The largest and wealthiest sect, the Siyam Nikaya, is rooted in the precolonial Kandyan political order and is still limited in practice to Goyigama aspirants. The smaller Amapura Nikaya emerged from the nineteenth-century social mobility of the Karava, Salagama, and Durava castes of the maritime provinces. The smallest sect, the Ramanya Nikaya, is a reform community. Traditionally, the sangha was

interdependent with Sinhalese kingly authority, which both depended on and supported the monastic orders, which in turn grew wealthy from huge land grants. The veneration of the famed Tooth Relic (a purported tooth of the Buddha) at Kandy was vital to the legitimacy of the Kandyan king. Bhikkus continue their tradition of political action and are influential in right-wing chauvinist organizations. At village temples of the gods *(bandaras* and *devas)* nonbhikku priests called *kapuralas* meet the needs of villagers in this life.

Ceremonies. Holidays include the Buddhist New Year in April, Wesak in May, the anniversaries of the birth, death, and enlightenment of the Buddha, the annual procession *(perahera)* of the Tooth Relic at Kandy in August, and the Kataragama fire-walking pilgrimage in August.

Arts. Classical Sinhalese civilization excelled in Buddhist architecture, temple and cave frescoes, and large-scale sculpture. In colonial times artisans, few in number by 2001, produced fine ivory carvings, metalwork, and jewelry. A mid-twentieth-century school of Sinhalese painting called the Forty-Three Group sparked a renaissance of Sinhalese art that was expressed in a traditional idiom in the temple paintings of George Keyt. A twentieth-century tradition of Sinhalese fiction and poetry has attracted international scholarly attention. A government-assisted Sinhala film industry produces many popular films, and a few of those movies have won international awards.

Medicine. The Indian-derived traditional sciences of Ayurveda (herbal medicine) and astrology, taught and elaborated at Buddhist schools *(piravena)* and practiced by village specialists, provide a comprehensive traditional explanation of health and illness.

Death and Afterlife. The possibility of enlightenment and freedom from rebirth is restricted to those who have withdrawn from the world; a layperson hopes for a more advantageous rebirth based on a positive balance of bad and good acts *(karma)* and performs meritorious acts (such as supporting the sangha) toward that end. In popular belief a person who dies without fulfilling cherished dreams may become a spirit and vex the living. Except among Christians, the dead are cremated.

For the original article on Sinhalese, *see* Volume 3, South Asia.

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Sotho

ETHNONYMS: Basotho, Sutu, Suto, Tswana, Batswana, Betchuana

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Sotho-Tswana speakers occupy the high plateau of the interior of southern Africa. They are found across a number of different international borders, living in South Africa, Lesotho, and Botswana. Apart from language, they are distinguished from the Nguni-, Tsonga-, and Venda- speakers by details of custom and social organization.

The area in which they originally settled varies from the dry, inland fringes of the Kalahari desert in the west, to the mountains of Lesotho in the south, to the humid escarpment and hot low veld in the east. In most of these areas, the rainfall is seasonal and erratic, low in the west and high on the eastern escarpment. Summer months (October to February) are hot, while the winter months (May to August) are cold, usually with snow in the southern parts (Lesotho).

Demography. Demography is easiest demonstrated by mother tongue speakers. By the year 2000 more than 80 percent of the approximate 1.7 million inhabitants of Botswana were speaking Setswana; in Lesotho, almost all of its estimated 2.3 million citizens spoke Sesotho. For the Republic of South Africa, the situation is a bit more complex. Approximately 3.5 million people speak Setswana; 3.8 million speak Sepedi (Northern Sotho); and 3.2 million speak Sesotho (or South Sotho). Thus, at just more than 10 million mother tongue speakers, this makes the Sotho, after the Nguni-speakers (at 18 million total) the second largest language group in south Africa.

Linguistic Affiliation. The languages (Sesotho, Setswana) spoken by the Sotho-Tswana people are closely related, belonging to the southeastern zone of the Bantu language, which also includes the Nguni, Tsonga, and Venda languages. Conventionally, it is divided into three different language clusters: Northern Sotho spoken in the north, Setswana spoken in the west, and Sesotho spoken in the south. However, all of these contain various distinguishable dialects, some also influenced by other contiguous language groups.

History and Cultural Relations

The Sotho seem naturally to fall into four divisions: South, Western, North and Eastern. Within these divisions there

are gradual transitions. The South Sotho subgroup as a whole is clearly defined by its relative isolation from the others. The boundary between Tswana and Northern Sotho is less precise. The Northern Sotho cluster contains sufficient diversity to raise doubts, at times, about its essential unity, but in wider perspective, this unity is perceived readily enough. This subgroup is distinguished not by a single origin, but from convergence of cultural traits of different components.

There are existing traditions of an origin in the north, in a land of lakes and mountains. They are believed to have migrated south, incorporating or displacing the earlier San inhabitants.

Prior to the rise to power by the Zulu, the central part of southern Africa was occupied by diverse Sotho and Tswana speaking groups such as the Fokeng, Kwena, Taung, and Tlokwa. With the arrival of fugitive groups from Natal in the early 1820s, some of these southern Sotho groups were dispersed far and wide. A Kwena chief, Moshweshwe, succeeded in consolidating large numbers of these fugitives, forming the basis for what was later to become the independent nation of Lesotho.

Tswana is a group term used by the people themselves in the western parts of South Africa and large sections of Botswana. Some of the more important names are Hurutshe, Thlaping, Rolong, Fokeng, Kgatla, and Kwena. Oral tradition indicates that they settled in the area in three successive movements as early as the fifteenth century.

With the exception of a few smaller groups, most of the people classified as Northern Sotho-speaking are found in Northern Province and Mpumalanga in South Africa. The Pedi proper, an offshoot of the Kgatla (Tswana), appeared on the scene in approximately 1650 and occupied the central parts of this area. North of them, on the so-called Pietersburg plateau, are found the people collectively referred to as *Kgalaka*, i.e., Karanga of Zimbabwe, as well as some other groups such as the Hananwa, Koni, and Kgaga. The third cluster includes groups such as the Lobedu, Narene, and Sekororo, most of whom are located on or below the escarpment in the low veld.

On the edge of the escarpment and in the low veld, a division of the Northern Sotho are found: the Pai, Pulana, and Kutswe. Culturally they are not recognizable as separate entities anymore.

Settlements

Traditionally, villages grew up around the homestead of the most senior person to settle at a place. Here his house and the house of his different wives would be found in an arch, with the cattle kraal in front and a gathering place for men next to it. Other dependents and strangers would settle in increasing distances from this original core. The whole village would be surrounded by an area used for agricultural fields and grazing.

Only in Botswana, and in a very few cases in South Africa, does one still find this classical settlement pattern. In Botswana, villages are so big that it necessitates a seasonal shift of the labor force between the village and the fields. For large areas in South Africa, people were forced due to a system colloquially known as "betterment" to resettle according to a grid pattern, breaking up the traditional type of settlement.

The traditional dwelling can be described as a cone-on-cylinder type of structure. Essentially it consists of a circular wall of poles, plastered with clay, lately of mud brick, topped with a conical roof of thatched poles. The floor is beaten earth smeared over with cow dung. Decoration is placed on the outside walls and consists largely of geometrical patterns applied in different earth colors or in cow dung.

A number of such dwellings belong to an extended family, and are linked to one another, and separated from other such units, by walling. These once consisted of reeds or poles, but by the 1980s were constructed exclusively of mud walling. Outside walls of the houses as well as these interlinking ones are decorated with different colors of clay, mostly in geometrical patterns.

Economy

Subsistence. Formerly, people were self-supporting, raising a variety of crops (sorghum, millet, and a variety of beans and legumes) and breeding livestock (cattle, goats, chickens). This was supplemented by food and materials collected from the veld. By the early twenty-first century most people were involved in a cash economy and locally produced food, chiefly in rural areas, is largely supplementary.

Commercial Activities. Since the onset of colonization, Sotho speakers have been involved, largely through the selling of their labor, in industrial and commercial activities. Access to resources and capital to develop it had, up until the 1990s, largely been denied them.

Industrial Arts. The practice of traditional arts and crafts was based on the exploitation of a select range of resources to produce a standard range of items needed for everyday household and survival activities. Those resources that were not readily available in the local environment were obtained through trade.

Household utensils consisted of clay pots for cooking, brewing beer, and storing liquids; baskets for winnowing grain and storing food; and wooden implements such as spoons, porridge stirrers, and stamping blocks. Metal was used for weapons such as spears and knives, and for implements such as axes and hoes. Probably because of large-scale intervention by missionaries and urbanization, very little craft was ever produced for sale or trade. In some places, such as Lesotho, it was actively stimulated, but with limited success.

Trade. In the past, some internal trade took place, mostly by specialists trading metal objects, clay pots, and such for cereals, meat, and other foodstuffs. In precolonial times trade also allowed the Sotho to obtain what could not be derived from local sources. Ivory, metal, and ore were traded for such goods as glass beads, metal, and cloth.

Division of Labor. Labor formerly was divided along gender lines. Men were occupied with domestic animals, while women were involved in agricultural activities. With the exception of a few activities such as metallurgy and pottery, there was no craft specialization, and every household produced its own utensils and implements. Men worked with wood and leather, whereas women worked with clay and grass.

Land Tenure. Tribal land was, and to some extent still is, controlled by the chief, supported by his different councilors and headmen. They ensure that every married man receives land for settlement and cultivation—grazing usually takes place on communal land. Land awarded to a man is inherited by his descendents, and is usually subdivided to ensure that everybody gets a share. The land cannot be sold and, if abandoned, reverts back to communal property when it can be reassigned to somebody else.

Grass for thatching, firewood, hunting, etc. is controlled locally, but is available for all to use. Some taboos exist on the cutting of certain trees. There are also some rules preventing the collecting of specific grasses and veld foods out of season.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, large numbers of men have gone to work as migrant laborers in mines and industrial centers. Population growth and scarcity of land led to greater economic dependence on migrant labor. For example, by 1976, only 27,500 people were employed inside Lesotho, in contrast to as many as 200,000 employed in the Republic of South Africa.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. With the Sotho-Tswana, kinship is the basis of most social institutions and is predominantly patrilineal. A man usually distinguishes between his close relatives according to sex, age, and line of descent. A special kinship term is applied to each category. These terms can be extended in special ways to include more distant relatives so that all genealogical connections, no matter how remote, are brought into his circle of kin.

Totem groups are patrilineal but nonexogamous. The totem group includes all members of the extended kinship group. A person inherits the totem affiliation from his or her father. It does not have any real function and seems only to indicate presumed historical connections.

Kinship Terminology. The Sotho have a collective term for all the kin and affines who fall within a man's sphere of interest. This is his *lešika.* Within this, they distinguish patrilineal kin as well as the close agnates of a person's mother. Lineal kin comprise the *kgoro,* a term which also refers to the residential group from the family group to the ward, and to the council-place, which symbolizes the tribe, ward, and family group as political units.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages used to be arranged by negotiation between the family groups concerned, but by the early twenty-first century were largely based on individual choice. The boy's people traditionally take the initiative through intermediaries. The marriage is concluded when the marriage goods *(bogadi)* have been transferred to the father of the bride, after which the bride is handed over to the husband. Both actions are accompanied by ceremonies in front of witnesses.

There is a distinct preference for marriage between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and less commonly between a man and the daughter of his father's sister. Marriages are not allowed between persons in the same line of descent, or between a man and the daughters of his immediate collateral relatives. It is also frowned upon for a man to marry the sisters and half-sisters of his father or mother.

Custom permits the practice of polygyny, although it started to become rare by the middle of the twentieth century. When a man marries more than one wife, a definite order of seniority exists among the wives according to the order in which they were married. In similar fashion, children also derive their seniority in the family from that of the mother. Within each family, birth order also influences children's positions of seniority.

A man may be required under the levirate system to assume responsibility for the care of the wife of a deceased elder brother. This obligation, in terms of *go tsenela* (to go into) arises from the tacit undertaking of the relatives of a man to take care of his wife and children after his death and to beget such children from her as they can.

In tribal courts the main grounds for divorce are sorcery, cruelty and non-support on the side of the man, and sorcery and barrenness on the side of the women. A divorced woman will usually return to her parental home, taking her children with her if they are still very young. When they get older, the children return to their father. A divorced woman-s parents or siblings often assist her by giving her a house, some utensils, and grain for planting. She is also free to marry again. Depending on the circumstances, the man might succeed in reclaiming at least part of his bogadi.

Domestic Unit. The household is the smallest social unit. Known as kgoro, it can be defined as housing a father, his wife or wives, and all their unmarried children. Over time, it will be extended to include the families of married sons, their wives, and children. Such an extended structure constitutes the family group, headed by men who are descended agnatically from a common grandfather or great-grandfather.

Marital residence is patrilocal, although the young couple might stay with the woman's parents for a short while after the marriage.

Inheritance. The eldest son of the first wife inherits all his fathers' belongings, as well as those from his mother's house. This son would also inherit any political office held by the father. In a similar manner, the eldest son of each lesser house inherits the estate of their respective houses. Debts as well as goods are inherited.

Socialization. In the past the process of socialization was simplified in that status was ascribed rather than achieved. In other words, each individual could be labeled at birth. There were no different socializing agents (home, school, or church) and the child was not handed over to a specially-trained few for the purpose of socialization. Individuals and institutions worked together within a homogeneous framework to produce the ideal community member.

From birth until he or she is weaned, the child leads a sheltered life. Weaning, at approximately age three, is not accompanied by any ritual and the child only experiences a gradual shift from the attention of its parents to being in the company of its peers.

Boys would traditionally herd cattle and goats, while girls stayed at home and assisted their mothers with daily chores. This has changed for most children, as they attend school during the week.

Puberty is marked by an initiation ceremony. For boys, this includes circumcision and a period of seclusion while undergoing various endurance tests and training in correct social behavior, and learning the different *melao* or laws of society. Girls are usually isolated during the onset of their first menstruation cycle. This period of seclusion is spent in preparing them for life as adults. This is later followed by attendance at an initiation school with a number of their peers. Here, similar to the boys, they are subjected to endurance tests and training in acceptable social behavior.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The origin of the Sotho population is reflected in different classes: nobles; the agnatic descendants of the (original) chief; commoners; descendants of people incorporated into the tribe some generations ago; and strangers, those who have recently been admitted to the tribe. The first two classes are generally seen as the "true" members of the tribe.

Social distinction also existed between male and female. Women were generally viewed as minors who are under the authority of males. As a result they usually sat apart from the men at festivals and in some churches, and they were not allowed at political gatherings.

Amongst the Sotho-Tswana, adulthood is not attained with the reaching of a specific age, but with the onset of puberty and subsequent initiation. Full adult status is attained for a man at the time of his marriage, while for a woman, it comes with the birth of her first child.

All of this has changed and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, women are now generally much freer to do as they want. Greater opportunity is available to women, enabling them to rise to levels and activities from which they formerly were excluded.

Political Organization. The two main elements regarding the administrative control of the tribe involves the chieftainship and the ward. The supreme authority in every tribe, exercising control over all its members, is vested in the tribal chief. Known as *kgoši,* he owes his title of authority to seniority of birth within the ruling family. This position is hereditary and passes from father to the eldest son by the senior wife. The status of the senior wife or queen mother *(mohumagadi)* normally arises from the fact that the whole tribe contributes towards the marriage goods *(magadi)* given for her.

If the designated successor to the chieftainship is still a minor at the time of his father's death, a regent *(moswaredi)* is appointed by the family council to rule until such time as the successor has reached maturity and can be installed as chief. As a rule, the regent is a younger brother of the deceased, although there have been cases of females taking on this role.

If the chief dies without issue, a substitute male *(go belehisa)* is appointed to "raise seed" with the senior wife—usually through one of the younger brothers of the deceased.

In the performance of his duties, the kgoši cannot act in an authoritarian manner and constantly have to consult with a series of advisors and advisory councils. The most important of these consists of members of the ruling lineage, supplemented with a number of confidants. Decisions made at these councils have to be presented at a larger tribal council. This is made up of all ward heads *(dintona)* and is known as *lekgotla.* Decisions made here might eventually be submitted to a gathering of all the adult males of the tribe, known as *pitšo.*

The duties that the chief has to discharge include the fields of religion, politics, judicial, economics, and social life. He has a number of officials who assist him in the performance of these duties. However, he delegates his powers to the ward heads, each of which can be described as a chief in miniature. The various wards are ranked according to seniority. All matters pertaining to a particular ward are discussed in the court of that ward. If no satisfactory solution can be achieved, the case is referred to a more senior ward for arbitration, If still no solution can be reached, it is again referred to a more senior ward, until it finally reaches that of the chief.

The situation used to be much the same in Lesotho in early years. However, because of their unique history, the people of Lesotho have a constitutional monarchy. Although the king is head of state, his powers are limited and authority rests with the prime minister and his cabinet. Traditional leaders, however, still play a large role in government, especially on local levels, where they are in charge of different wards.

Conflict. Internal conflict usually developed because of disputes regarding succession. In most cases, however, this was resolved by the loser moving away with his supporters to settle at some new location. Conflict with other groups, in the past, usually arose out of pressure for land to settle on and thieving of cattle.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Sotho believe in Modimo (also known as Kgobe, Khutswane), who, as creator-god, withdrew to heaven after creating the world and does not concern himself with life on earth. He is not worshipped directly, but can be reached through a long line of ancestors. The modern acceptance of the name Modimo as equal to God is the result of the work of missionaries who appropriated this name when translating the Bible.

The central element in the traditional religion of Sotho speakers is the belief in ancestors *(badimo)* and their veneration as they still influence the daily life of their descendants. Differentiation is made between one's own ancestors and those of the chief. Each family is under the direct guidance of its own agnatic ancestors. These can be consulted for any important affair concerning the family. A small altar *(Modimo wafase)* is usually erected in the courtyard of the dwelling. It is either here or at the grave of the ancestor that veneration takes place. This consists of presenting a small offering of beer, snuff, or meat, after which the ancestors are directly addressed. The chief would traditionally consult his ancestors in matters pertaining to the tribe as a whole.

Most Sotho speakers are now Christians, belonging chiefly to the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, and Dutch Reformed denominations. It is, however, the independent Black churches, such as the Zionist Christian Church, that have the largest number of adherents.

Religious Practitioners. The role of the chief officiator, or "priest," at a ritual is always a genealogical senior kinsman or head of the family. As senior representative of the ances-

tors he conducts the rites on the behalf of all the decedents. This role also gives him much authority over his dependents.

However, a more important role is played by the diviner or *ngaka.* This person's importance derives from his or her ability to interpret the cause of misfortune, whether it has been occasioned by the ancestors or by sorcery. Although it is not always clear, distinction can be made between diviners, who use one of several different aids to determine causes, and herbalists. An intrusive element, originating from Tsonga and Nguni sources, is mediumistic divination, largely practiced by women.

The chief also plays the role of priest, officiating in all religious matters where it concerns the tribe as a whole.

Ceremonies. In the past, a number of communal rituals were held. Most of these were concerned with agricultural activities and the welfare of the general population: making rain, preparing and planting fields, protecting crops, ceremonial opening of the harvest, and a harvest festival.

The various communal rituals are not solely instituted to ensure the economic welfare of the community. They reflect and also support the traditional political and religious structures of the community and are used by the chief to strengthen his position within the community. The chief has a central political and religious role in the life of Sotho communities. With his indispensable participation in the different communal rituals, and the support of his councilors and ward headmen, he controls the whole production mechanism of the tribe, and thereby ensures the people-s loyalty towards him.

Arts. Traditionally, clothing consisted of objects made from the skins of wild and domestic animals. These, as well as the body itself, were decorated with a variety of beads and other ornaments.

Music and dancing used to be largely a communal affair, practiced on occasion of various rituals. As few communal rituals are held anymore, music and dancing have taken on an element of commercialization, and are now performed by amateur as well as professional groups. Production of plays and other programs for radio and television are very active. The shows usually deal with issues regarding everyday life in the home and work place. A large number also deal with the popular struggle to attain freedom from colonial oppression and apartheid.

For the last hundred years and more, a large volume of literature has been produced in Sotho-Tswana language, much of which has also been translated into English and other languages.

Medicine. Medicine for socially approved purposes falls roughly into three categories: that used to promote the well-being of the tribe; that for the protection of huts, stock, crops, etc.; and that which influences interpersonal relationships. Cases diagnosed by diviners need appropriate action. However, the outcome of the treatment lies with the patient fulfilling the prescriptions of the diviner.

Death and Afterlife. Burial usually occurs as soon as possible after death. The family head used to be buried in the cattle kraal, with other people in places conveniently close by. In the past, the house of the deceased was abandoned. A diviner would be consulted to determine if there was any sorcery involved in the death of the person, after which appropriate preventive measures would be taken to neutralize this evil. Depending on his or her position in the household, over time and after the execution of some rituals, the deceased takes his or her place among the ancestors to be venerated and solicited for assistance when necessary.

For other cultures in southern Africa, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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J. A. VAN SCHALKWYK

South Asians in Britain

ETHNONYMS: South Asians, British Asians, Asians

Orientation

Identification and Location. The term "South Asian" is used to identify people who moved to the United Kingdom from the Indian subcontinent. British South Asians tend to identify themselves with three areas in the subcontinent: Gujarat in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. These broad labels conceal differences based on place of origin, language, culture, and religion. Pakistanis include Mirpuris, Kashmiris, Pathans, and Sikhs. Most of those who came from India, including Gujaratis, are Muslim or Hindu, whereas most Pakistanis in Britain are Muslims. Small numbers of South Asians came from other parts of India.

Demography. By the 1880s a few South Asians had made Great Britain their home. By the 1920s that number had grown to a few thousand. On the basis of 1998 census esti-

mates, 5,675,600 members of ethnic groups live in Great Britain, among whom 1,746,000 are South Asians. South Asians constitute about 8 percent of Britain's total population. South Asians are still entering Great Britain as fiancées and fiancés.

Linguistic Affiliation. British South Asians speak different languages, including Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, and Gujarati. The people who speak those languages brought folklore, history, religion, literature, and arts from their home countries and have developed their own cuisine and dress styles. Most South Asians in Great Britain speak English with varying levels of fluency. Most adults and children speak their mother tongues, but increasingly fewer members of the younger generation can read and write those languages.

History and Cultural Relations

Initially South Asians came to Great Britain to obtain an education to qualify them for work in the Indian Civil Service or to use London as a place to rest between working passages on ships bound for the Far East. A wave of migrants came in the 1920s, but the largest group of settlers arrived in the 1950s. Between those larger waves small numbers of Asians moved to Britain. The most recent arrivals were those who fled from Uganda in 1970.

In the 1950s most South Asians came to the United Kingdom to provide low-paid labor for a declining manufacturing sector. As a result of the postwar boom, better-paid jobs in an emerging service sector became available to indigenous workers. This left unfilled low-paid jobs in the manufacturing sector, the National Health Service, and the transportation system. South Asians filled these less desirable and less secure jobs. Chain migration was the dominant form of migration. Once a person settled in the United Kingdom, he or she became a focal point for his or her family, kin, and friends to find housing and work. Two consequences of chain migration were that ethnic enclaves formed in urban areas and immigration became difficult to control.

Before 1962 citizens of British colonies were citizens of Great Britain, and so there were no restrictions on their entry. In response to the rise in racism, from 1962 successive British governments made entry increasingly more difficult. In the 1970s, when housing and employment were difficult to find, native-born Britons attributed their hardships to South Asian immigrants. This reaction, when linked to the economic recessions of the 1970s and 1980s, led to a racist backlash that was associated with the inflammatory speeches of the Member of Parliament Enoch Powell and the rise of the National Front. By 1998 the immigration policy had halved the number of migrants entering Britain from around *90,000* to *45,000*. The close association between racism and immigration policy was epitomized by the phrase "the numbers game." However, a disassociation of racism from immigration began in the final years of the Conservative government (1994-1997). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, immigration control is associated with asylum seekers and refugees, and racism has become a political and judicial issue for the government and the courts. The 1976 Race Relations Act and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 were intended to reduce the level of racism by making racism a crime.

Settlements

South Asians settled in urban areas that had some significance in their history. Many chose to come to the Lancashire and Yorkshire mill towns, having learned about those cities from the finished products they and their families had bought in the subcontinent. Others settled in port cities such as London, Glasgow, and Dundee.

The majority settled in the major conurbations in North West England and Merseyside, Yorkshire and Humberside, the West Midlands, and outer and inner London. Smaller populations reside in the East Midlands, the eastern counties, South East England and Scotland, with relatively few living in South West England. The choice of location was determined by family and village connections through the process of chain migration.

Economy

Subsistence. The opportunity to improve one's life was the driving force behind South Asian migration. Initially these migrants came to take advantage of economic opportunities before returning to the subcontinent. However, the decision to stay in the United Kingdom was forced on them in part by the devaluation of British pound in the 1970s and in part by their getting accustomed to life in Britain.

Commerical Activities. With the disappearance of much of the manufacturing sector, many first-generation South Asians became self-employed or unemployed or found other low-paid work. The descendants of those settlers are British-born and are attending schools and graduating with the same hopes and aims as other young people. In the early twenty-first century they hold a wide variety of jobs, ranging from self-employment in local grocery and carryout food businesses to manufacturing, academia, and the professions. An increasing number of South Asian entrepreneurs have joined Britain's wealthiest classes, including computer manufacturers, businesspersons, and producers of ethnic foods.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The South Asian kinship system is based on patrilineal descent that once was associated with patrilocal residence. The family remains the most important social group. The general pattern is for young people to settle close to their kin.

The extended family includes parents, siblings, and their families and grandparents. To keep the family together, some South Asians buy a number of houses in new housing estates and place their families in them. With increasing wealth, many South Asians are buying houses in the better areas of towns and cities. Most still live in the areas where their parents first settled, although many of those areas have changed for the better as the result of government improvement grants.

Kinship still plays a major role in social, community, and business networks. Kin, especially brothers, often work together as business partners. Many South Asian businesses are constructed around sibling relationships, with a few highly successful husband and wife partnerships. Many businesspersons draw on their wider kin when expanding their businesses. Such networks support a range *of* businesses from ethnic

foods, clothing, car spare parts, and electronic equipment to managing homes for older people.

Kinship Terminology. South Asians use the kinship terminology that is typical of their areas of origin in the subcontinent. There is a degree of similarity between those kinship terms. Young people use terms such as "uncle" and "cousin" to show deference to older people whether or not they are related or belong to the same religious communities.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages are arranged by parents and are endogamous. Preferred partners come from or trace their origins to a village that forms part of an *ekada* (marriage exchange cycle) in the subcontinent. For Gujarati and Pakistani Muslims the preferred partner for their children is a first cousin, followed by a more distant cousin. For Hindus and Sikhs the preferred choice is a member of the same caste *(jati).* While most parents are still committed to arranged marriages, some Asian voluntary groups are drawing attention to the plight of young women who are forced into such marriages.

With the passage of time more and more marriages are being arranged by the children. With a rising divorce rate, remarriages are leading to choices of partners from other groups and communities and to the emergence of the "multicultural" stepfamily.

Domestic Unit. Between the 1950s and 1970s the domestic unit followed the pattern of traditionally divided responsibilities in which the man was the master of family wealth and the wife bore children and cared for them. Working women had to fit working commitments around their commitments to their families by doing piecework at home. With changes in contemporary society, women are able to find work more easily than men and young women expect to have careers outside the home. The educational process has given young South Asians the same opportunities as other young people. The effects of these changes have had an impact on marriage choices and the management of working and domestic lives.

Inheritance. Inheritance of wealth and property is based on transmission down the male line, but this may be changing.

Socialization. Socialization occurs within the family, allowing for the perpetuation of the family's cultural values, language, and religion. Generally boys are indulged more than girls are. Youth organizations in mosques and temples also contribute to the socialization of young people, helping to embed cultural values and religious beliefs. Community organizations contribute to this process by developing new group histories. Whereas the educational process emphasizes individual rights and achievement, some South Asian values stress group and family cohesion.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. In Britain various South Asian communities recognize their cultures through dress, religious rites, and beliefs they may or may not share with other communities. South Asians observe particular religious days, events, and occasions that are accompanied by social activities. Muslim communities observe major occasions such as Ramadan and other associated religious and social events. Most Hindus celebrate Diwali and their major religious occasions and the associated social celebrations. Religious events and social occasions are an important aspect of the process of socializing children into their respective cultures. These religious and social communities provide support for youth groups, older members, and those in need of personal or financial support and act as a social reservoir of memories by producing their own social histories.

Political Organization. Citizenship has given South Asians the same political, social, religious, and legal rights as native-born citizens. During the 1960s and 1970s, the period of the formation of ethnic identities, South Asians could use those identities to compete for funding for community projects and to interact with local politicians and the local government. When the government opened the competition for funds to all community organizations regardless of race or ethnic origin and made that competition more transparent, ethnic identity was removed as a central criterion. This led to a decline in ethnic politics and in the political connection between ethnic organizations and local government.

Once many South Asians joined the Labour Party, believing it to be more supportive of an open immigration policy than the other parties. Later the major political parties established black sections, but those sections were soon disbanded. In 2002 the emphasis is on individual membership and the application of democratic political principles. South Asians are spreading their political allegiances across all the main parties. A number have become active members in local politics, a few have run in elections, and a growing number are achieving election to positions in the local or national government.

Social Control. South Asians are committed to serving the interests of the family. Younger Asians are developing ways to meet their personal ambitions while upholding the honor of their families. By tradition, older men are the focus of family social and religious respect and women are responsible for the honor of the family through their observation of modesty, sexual values, and acceptance of arranged marriages. Commitment to these values has brought the older generation into conflict with the younger. These values are changing, and many parents recognize the right of their daughters to make their own decisions. Life in an urban area gives the children much greater freedom than that experienced by many of their parents. Having gone through schooling in Britain, many young South Asian women want to have the same experiences as young indigenous women.

Conflict. Intergenerational conflict occurs in South Asian families. Parental authority is challenged, as is the traditional superiority of men over women. As more young South Asians experience the educational process, parent-child conflict has been an almost inevitable outcome. Conflict ranges from issues associated with sexual behavior and the clothing worn by daughters to commitment to religious beliefs and respect for members of the extended family.

There is a degree of racial tension between those who are perceived to be "black" and those who see themselves as white and British. There is also racial tension between different South Asian groups and between South Asians and Afro-

Caribbeans. Most conflict takes the form of racial discrimination. Britain has in place a number of acts to protect people who experience racial discrimination.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. South Asians adhere to a wide variety of religions and sects. The majority are Muslim or Hindu and belong to one of the many sects and movements associated with those religious groups. The British Muslim community consists mainly of Sunnis and a minority of Shiites. The Hindu community has mainly followers of Krishna, who worship Krishna directly or through membership in a sect. Most Sikhs adhere to Sikhism. The remaining South Asians follow one of the Christian churches, one of the less common religions, such as Jainism, or allow their religious commitment to lapse.

Temples and mosques throughout Britain are associated with particular sects and communities. In most towns and cities with South Asian populations the Hindu and Muslim sects and communities have created mosques and temples to serve their members. Since Sikh communities are not as widely dispersed as are most other South Asian communities, Gurdwaras are found in fewer towns and cities. It is difficult to estimate the number of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs in Britain as no question has been asked about religious commitment in past censuses, but this changed with the most recent census.

Folk beliefs include a belief in the evil eye, omens, and magic. These beliefs are unlikely to disappear, as they are perpetuated by newer migrants who come to join their families and kin in Britain.

Religious Practitioners. In Islam there is a hierarchy of positions carrying religious authority. Most Muslim communities are served by imams, and only a few of the larger ones have a religious hierarchy in place. Those at the top of the hierarchy can dissolve marriages and make major decisions on religious behavior, including administering punishment for religious infringements. In Hindu communities priests supervise cremations and other religious rites. Generally, smaller Hindu and Muslim communities employ a priest or imam over whom they may exercise a considerable degree of control.

Ceremonies. Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs observe a range of religious and social rites. Naming a child, circumcision, marriage, death, and major religious ceremonies are a normal part of the events in the social lives of the members of those communities. Religious texts such as the Qu'ran, the Bhagavad Gita, and the religious books of smaller sects are available in a number of languages, including English.

Arts. Folk dancing is part of the social life of most South Asian communities. Some also support poetry, singing, and certain plastic arts, such as sculpture, pottery design, painting, and textile design. The architecture of mosques and temples is changing the urban skyline.

Medicine. Many first-generation South Asians brought a range of herbal and folk remedies to Britain as well as two major medical approaches: Unani and Aruyvedic medicine. Both *of* these approaches and folk remedies have become popular with the rise of a belief in the efficacy of non-Western forms of medicine in the general population.

For other cultures in The United Kingdom, *see* List of Cultures in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 4, Europe.

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KEN HAHLO

Tajiks

ETHNONYMS: Tadjiks, Tadzhiks

Orientation

Identification and Location. Tajiks are a Central Asian people who live in Afghanistan, some of the republics of the former Soviet Union, and China. The Republic of Tajikistan, which emerged after the breakup of the Soviet Union, contains the majority of the Tajik population. Tojikistoni shuravi (Soviet Tadzhikistan), a sovereign Soviet republic, was formed in 1929 from a portion of the former czarist Russian empire in Central Asia.

The distinguishing features of Tajiks are their language, sedentary lifestyle, and Islamic-Iranian culture. The widespread employment of *Tajik* as an ethnopolitical term emerged during the Soviet usage era; before that time regional rather than linguistic affiliation was the basis of self-identification. In Soviet usage, the term also includes speakers of non-Persian Iranian languages who inhabit mountain valleys in the Pamir mountains area, such as Sarikolis, Wakhis, and Shugnis.

Tajik-inhabited areas fall roughly between 65 and 75° W. and 35 and 42° N. Tajikistan was the southeastern most republic of the former Soviet Union and is bordered by Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan to the west and north, the Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China to the east, and Afghanistan to the south. The land area *of*

Tajikistan is 55,236 square miles (143,100 square kilometers) . The entire Tajik-inhabited region is very mountainous with narrow valleys; crops are nourished by mineral silt and irrigation from rapidly flowing rivers fed by melting snow. The rivers form tributaries of the Panj, which flows into the Amu Darya (Oxus River). Northern Tajikistan includes parts of the Ferghana Valley, where the waters eventually meet to flow into the Syr Darya (Jaxartes River).

Geographically, the Tajik Republic is trifurcated by mountains that are impassable by road in the winter. The northern portion is dominated by the town of Khojent, formerly Leninabad; the capital, Dushanbe, known from 1930 to 1931 as Stalinabad, is in the south. To the east but still part of the Tajik Republic is the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region, a sparsely populated area inhabited mainly by small, valley-dwelling ethnic groups, including the Kyrgyz. The major urban center in this area is Khorog.

The climate falls within the temporal continental high-altitude range, with about 320 days of sunshine. Precipitation occurs as rain and snow, mainly between November and April. Summers are hot and dry.

Demography. The world Tajik population is more difficult to analyze than that within the republics of the former Soviet Union, although that statistic also has been subject to manipulation, especially outside Tajikstan. The 1989 census placed the number of Tajiks within the Soviet Union at 4,217,000, 3,168,000 of whom lived within their own republic and 932,000 of whom resided in Uzbekistan; thus, about 99 percent of Tajiks resided in those two republics. Together with the estimated 4 million Dari speakers in Afghanistan, who may also be identified broadly as Tajik, and smaller numbers in the People's Republic of China, the world Tajik population can be estimated at about 9 million. Since the 1959 Soviet census, Tajiks have more than doubled in number, making them the fastest-growing major ethnic group of the former Soviet Union. They constitute 62.3 percent of the population of Tajikistan and 4.7 percent of that of Uzbekistan (Uzbeks constitute 23.5 percent of the population of Tajikistan). The number of Russians in Tajikistan has been declining (7 percent in 1989) and had fallen to about 4 percent at the end of the twentieth century. In 2000 the population of Tajikistan was 6,440,732, showing a growth rate of just over 2 percent. Among the total population, 42 percent was under fourteen years of age. Tajiks who fled to Afghanistan during the civil war and were aided by the United Nations have largely returned to their homes or have emigrated.

Linguistic Affiliation. The standard Tajik dialect is mutually intelligible with the Persian of Iran and the Dari of Afghanistan and is increasingly being called either Farsi-Tojiki or Farsi (Persian); these languages form the major living branch of the Iranian language family, a branch of the Indo-European language group. In addition to standard Tajik, there are nineteen dialects that differ from one another morphologically and phonetically. Rural mountain valley people cannot be readily understood by urban Tajiks, who generally use the standard dialect. Tajik intellectuals are monolingual (Russian), bilingual (Tajik and Russian), or trilingual (Tajik, Russian, and Uzbek). The Tajiks on the whole are one of the least Russified Muslim communities of the former Soviet Union; in 1979, only 22,666 claimed Russian as their "first native language."

History and Cultural Relations

Tajik historical development is intertwined with that of the other sedentary people of Central Asia, especially the Uzbeks. Before the coming of the Turks to the area and their eventual sedentarization, Iranian groups dominated the urban oases. Islam eventually became universally accepted, and Turkic conquerors adjusted their religious and literary culture to that of the local inhabitants they ruled. Local (Tajik) administrators continued to dominate public life under Turkic tribally affiliated rulers. This hybrid Turko-Iranian culture dominated the important oasis towns, especially Bukhara and Samarkand. Bilingualism—Tajik and (Turkic) Chagatay or Uzbek—was widespread on the literate and nonliterate levels through the early twentieth century. Most Tajik areas fell under the Bukharan and Khokand khanates until the Khokand khanates were destroyed by czarist forces in 1876 and incorporated into the Turkestan governor-generalship. Resistance to czarist and then Bolshevik rule gained strength in Tajik areas, where Basmachi bands of Uzbeks and Tajiks were not defeated until 1932. With the division of Soviet Central Asia along ethnolinguistic lines in 1924, a Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) was set aside within the Uzbek SSR and in 1929 became a full-fledged Tajik SSR.

Most educated and elite Tajiks lived in Bukhara and Samarkand and made the transition to Dushanbe and other Tajik territory reluctantly. Both the status and the size of the Tajik population in those two cities are sources of controversy; many Tajiks feel that those cities, together with Khiva, as traditional Tajik centers of culture, should be part of Tajikistan.

Disentangling a distinct Tajik culture from the Uzbek culture around it and from non-Soviet Persian culture became the focus of cultural activity during the Stalinist period. Separate Tajik institutions, organized on the All-Union model, attempted to use valley dialects, history, and especially archaeology to create a Tajik history disassociated from Islam and distinct from other Central Asian cultures. The thawing of Soviet-Iranianrelations led to ever-closer Iranian-Tajik cultural relations; the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 saw increasing Tajik tutelage of Afghans in Kabul as well as in Dushanbe. Important in this international cultural linking have been Russians and Russianized Tajiks. The Uzbek-Tajik bilingual pattern has been replaced by a Tajik-Russian one. Tension has been growing between Tajiks and Uzbeks owing in part to attempts by Uzbeks to increase their power in Tajikistan.

On the eve of the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, Tajikistan became independent but was still under the control of functionaries from the Soviet period. By late 1992 democratic opposition had forced the displacement of leading former communists, but the challenge to stability came with the rise of regionally-based Islamic parties. Into this mix entered Iran and Russia, with Iran expressing a wish to aid a fellow Persianate entity and Russia worried about vulnerability to the spread of Islamic extremism and concern in the region that Tajikistan would become an area of conflict like the neighboring Afghanistan. As the poorest country of the former Soviet Union, Tajik's economy fell victim to a lack of energy resources and an inability to export and import caused by the war in Afghanistan and fear among its neigh-

bors that the civil war would spread into other parts of Central Asia. At the end of the civil war (19924997) reconstruction efforts spearheaded by the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund and administered through bilateral arrangements with other countries have encouraged the creation of a flexible infrastructure for economic development. Despite the introduction of a Tajik currency, the Osomoni, reliance on foreign currency is widespread.

After 1994, as pressure on Tajiks in Afghanistan began to mount to give way before the Pushtun forces of the Taliban, Afghanistan's Tajiks sought shelter in the relatively less violent areas of Tajikistan. Ostensible consultation trips by President Burhannudin Rabbani to Dushanbe extended over months, especially when the Taliban drove the Tajik and allied ethnic forces out of Kabul in 1996. The close working relationship developed by the Northern Alliance to include the former communist Uzbek leader of Afghanistan, who was supported by Tashkent, brought about a confluence of interests among leaders in Tashkent, Moscow, Dushanbe, and Iran. In early 2002 it was not certain whether, with the removal of the Taliban from Kabul, that working relationship would continue.

Settlements

Most of Tajikistan is rural; 85 percent of the population lives in valleys and mountain areas up to 5,250 feet (1,600 meters) in elevation. Most of these settlements are organized in the *kolkhoz/sovkhoz* pattern superimposed on former villages *(deh kishlaq)* that are sometimes equivalent to loosely extended families practicing endogamy. There are pockets of industrialization in rural areas where non-Tajiks as well as Tajiks work. In the north and south the population density ranges from 19 to 58 per square mile (50 to 150 per square kilometer), whereas in the mountains it is as low as 1 to 1.5 per square mile (2 to 4 per square kilometer). New urban settlements have expanded from former villages. Urban administrative centers, especially Dushanbe, have grown along Western patterns, with roads for motorized vehicles, apartment blocks, parks, and industries. Old villages retain extended family homes that often are situated within orchards and vineyards. Walled compounds ensure household privacy.

Economy

Subsistence. Despite the small amount of land suitable for agriculture, most Tajiks support themselves by producing and processing agricultural products for sale or trade. The silk and cotton industry has not been reorganized to function in world markets since it had essentially been a subsidized domestic industry. The chemical and aluminum industries, relying heavily on the presence of now departing Russian or Slavic experts, also have been slow to adapt to the new economic environment. Suffering most from a lack of outside subsidies have been education, the arts, and cultural organizations, which were major employment sources. Substituting in part for some of the employment in those fields has been the large presence of nongovernmental organizations, whose need for educated office staff has attracted former university professors and other academics.

Commercial Activities. Under the Soviet system, Tajikistan was organized along Soviet Marxist economic lines. Cotton, a commercial product developed during the czarist period, has dominated Tajik agriculture; Tajikistan ranks second among former republics of the Soviet Union in cotton production. Other agricultural products, geared to the western, urban Soviet centers, include grapes and orchard fruits and nuts, vegetables, grain, and flowers. Greenhouse production, especially in the Surkhan Darya region, is flown to colder parts of the former Soviet Union. Stockbreeding, chiefly by Kyrgyz and Uzbeks, also contributes to the economy in mountainous regions. A black-market economy in produce, later expanded to manufactured goods smuggled from Afghanistan, also thrives. The privatization of industry has led to the idling of one in five factories, the sale of government tourist industry sites, and the breakdown of educational systems, especially higher education. Political stability has led to redevelopment of the economy along market lines, leading to a higher degree of production diversity in agriculture and the slow restoration of industry, especially the aluminum industrial complex.

Industrial Arts. Hydroelectric power and mining and processing are the main heavy industries. Large dams (Qairoqqum, Nurek, Sarband, Boighazi, Markazi, and Sharshara) supply power to Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan. Industrial manufacturing is dominated by cotton-related machinery. Together with light industry in textiles, furniture, and food processing, the industrial sector employs most non-Tajiks, especially Russians.

Trade. Under the Soviet system, trade within the nation was conducted on a nonmonetary basis. Thus, Tajik cotton, hydroelectric power, and other products were traded by Moscow on the world market for hard currency or as barter items. In return Tajikistan received needed commodities and services. On a lower level, trade in fresh agricultural produce on private plots had flourished under the Soviet system and continues in urban areas where the Soviet government constructed new bazaars, which are still maintained, to facilitate private trade. The transition to an independent state, the concomitant civil war, an end to Russian aid, and the necessity for cash payments for energy and food have crippled trade. The reestablishment of regional trade depends on stability. Tajikistan exports to Russia, Ukraine, Belorus, and Switzerland. The inflation rate is 22 percent.

Division of Labor. Labor patterns changed under the Soviet system in two important ways: the importation of labor (Slavs, Koreans) and the mobilization of women into the formal labor force. This imposed system of labor resulted in nominal universal employment. Most women, however, do agricultural work. The fast-growing Tajik rural population shows signs of having outpaced the nation's capacity for agricultural employment. Entry into light or heavy industry appears to be prevented by lack of training and aptitude. Women, who are visible in high positions, continue to be the only ones who perform domestic labor.

Land Tenure. Under collectivization, little land remained private, although private homes were frequently retained. As collectivization has been dismantled, the problems of commercial crop production, the small amount of arable land for the large rural population, and the desire for private housing have created problems in the new economic order.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Extended families sharing adjacent houses or a single compound were the norm in traditional Tajik society. This pattern has been interrupted by the construction of apartment complexes in which units are distributed on the basis of a person's place of employment. Descent is determined through the father, although women retain their own family names.

Kinship Terminology. Relationships are distinguished by gender and, reflecting borrowings from the Uzbeks, age among siblings.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage patterns differ between urban and rural areas and changed in the second half of the twentieth century. In urban settings and among young people, Soviet influence on marriage may be seen in the exercise of choice of marriage partners and the importance of civil ceremonies. The couple may live with the groom's parents until a suitable apartment is found. In rural areas the older pattern of arranged marriages with religious and traditional celebrations continues to be practiced. The couple will live with the man's family until a house is constructed. Divorce is rare in both settings.

Domestic Unit. The size of the rural domestic unit is large: The average rural household has seven or eight children as well as a grandparent or other relatives. In urban areas the domestic unit is far smaller, averaging three to four children and possibly a paternal or maternal grandparent. According to Bennigsen and Wimbush (1986, p. 89), "traditional customs such as the *kalym* (bride-price), the early marriage of girls, the levirate and sororate, preferences of marriage between cousins, sexual segregation, *aksakalism* (local rule by 'white beards') and even polygamy are observed by Tajiks more generally than by any other Muslim nationality of Central Asia."

Inheritance. The residence, if privately owned, and its contents are often inherited by the oldest son or the one with whom the parent lived. Inherited property is not often sold.

Socialization. Tajiks rarely send children to institutions for care even if both parents work away from the home. Accommodation is made within the extended family for the care of young children. Children are raised to value family life, religious or ethical standards, their ethnic identity, and their regional ties. Young Tajiks intermarry with Uzbeks and other Muslims at a far higher rate than with Russians despite the extensive Westernization of urban elites.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Tajik society retains few objects of cohesion except those determined by general Central Asian customs and recent history. Cleavage between urban and rural groups also depends on a person's place of origin and descent. Bukharan immigrants socialize with each other, as do people of various valleys. Soviet institutions and the workplace have brought them together, as has a common language, but without strong economic and political institutions, the social fabric is fragile and susceptible to influence from Islamic, nationalistic, and other forces. The core of social organization remains the extended family and the region.

Political Organization. In the late Soviet era the pattern of political organization had begun to move toward the gradual entrenchment of Tajiks into positions of real power in the Communist Party. Independent parties, both nationalist and religious, have arisen since 1986, and increasingly their challenge to the government through demonstrations and eventually armed conflict has led to a redrawing of the political picture. The introduction of monitored elections and the formation of coalition governments resulting from efforts to restore peace may lead to the acceptance of real political parties.

Social Control. Modes of social behavior ingrained within the family function in society at large. They include loyalty to family members and fellow villagers. Other forms of social control exercised by the state have served to create tight alliances to preserve the welfare and safety of the group. Increasingly difficult socioeconomic conditions arising from population growth, political discord, economic upheaval, and ecological damage have strained public order. The period of civil war has changed the social composition of Dushanbe in particular.

Conflict. Social and political conflict is most apparent between local people and outsiders, in particular Russians. A secondary source is regional friction over access to resources and services. In addition, there is tension among Bukharan Jews, fundamentalist Muslim groups, and secular Muslims, arising from religious customs or convictions. Resolution of some levels of conflict has emerged with the steady emigration of Slavs and Bukharan Jews. The confrontation between zealous Muslims and secular Muslims led to armed conflict throughout much of the 1990s, a conflict that became confounded with regionalism, democratic versus leftover Soviet forces, and a scramble for economic gain after the privatization of public property and factories.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Most religious Tajiks belong to the Sunni sect and, within it, to the Hanafi juridical school. Small, isolated groups, especially among the Pamir peoples of Iranian but not Tajik language, are devotees of Isma'ili Shiism, and a smaller proportion adheres to the Ithna Ash'ari sect. With the exception of Bukharan Jews, Slavs, other Christian-associated groups, and urban-dwelling Koreans, the people of Tajikistan generally adhere to Islamic belief patterns. Belief in the supernatural, outside of formal Islam, falls into several categories: curative customs, fortune-telling, and ascription of bad fortune to the power of fate or of evil beings called *jinn.* Once the period of Soviet control ended, among the most successful efforts made in the field of religion was that of the Isma'ilis, who, thanks to the office of the Agha Khan, now are recipients of welfare and educational advances in the Gorno-Babakhshan region.

Religious Practitioners. The level to which religious practice had survived underground during the Soviet period became apparent within the first years of independence. Before that time strong evidence existed for the growth of Islamic

practice among rural Tajiks, particularly the educated leadership on collective farms. In the absence of formal religious schools in Tajikistan, individual Tajiks have a surprising familiarity with formal Islamic theological and juridical doctrine, owing in part to unregistered mullahs, Sufi brotherhoods, and a special category of half-Sufi-half-shamans. About a dozen shrines to saints are major religious centers. Fasting during Ramadan, especially the fast-breaking feast of *Eid-e Fitr,* is popular and more public than it was in earlier years. Family ownership *of* a copy of the Quran is valued despite the lack of facilities for instruction in its contents. Informal teachers not recognized by the state or the Spiritual Directorate of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in Tashkent function throughout society on a semisecret level.

The politization of Islam under the Islamic Renaissance Party brought with it a higher level of Islamic practice and teaching and a return to pre-Soviet traditions. Despite the return of secular rule and the driving underground of the Islamic movement, there has been more open practice of Islam and widespread availability of religious teaching and materials.

Ceremonies. Rites of passage include the circumcision of male children, marriages, and funerals. Holidays include the Islamic *Eid-e Qorban* and Eid-e Fitr, as well as *Nowruz,* the traditional Iranian New Year celebrated at the vernal equinox.

Arts. Literature, especially poetry rooted in the classical culture that Tajiks share with other Iranian peoples, is foremost among the traditional Tajik arts. Architectural decoration *(gach kari*), carpet weaving, metal decoration, embroidery, and calligraphy continue to be valued, although under Soviet rule all those arts had acquired some level of Soviet content to conform with political dictates. In music, dance, and theater, innovations have become widespread as Western arts have been introduced. After the formation of an independent republic, the possibilities of independent arts development were limited by war and conflict. Interest in the development of popular folk ensembles has reemerged.

Medicine. Tajik medicine falls into two categories: the Western-oriented practice represented by the Gastrointestinal and Chemistry Institutes of the Tajik Academy of Sciences established in 1955 and the traditions of folk medicine passed within families by word of mouth but also based on the written works of medieval scientists such as Ibn Sina. The two branches have drawn closer together as the herbal cures offered by folk medicine have become the object of study at scientific institutions and the medical properties of cumin and other folk remedies have been recognized.

Death and Afterlife. Formal ideas about death follow either the nonreligious pattern or the Islamic one. It is customary for funeral proceedings for Tajik communists to be conducted according to Muslim customs and for burial to take place in a Muslim cemetery. Among the traditional populace the afterlife is believed to be a time for reward and punishment for conduct in the present life.

For the original article on Uzbeks, *see* Volume 6, Russia and Eurasia/China.

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EDEN NABY

Tamil of Sri Lanka

ETHNONYMS: Tamilarkal (Tamil people), Tamilian

Orientation

Identification and Location. Linguistically and culturally related to the Tamil- and Malayalam-speaking peoples of southern India, Sri Lankan Tamils have resided since approximately the thirteenth century in their traditional homelands (approximately described by the boundaries of the present Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka). Sri Lanka is located between 5° 55" and 9° 51" N. and 79° 41" and 81° 53" E. A predominantly Saivite Hindu and Tamil-speaking population that might be mistaken as an extension of south Indian society, Sri Lankan Tamils developed their culture in relative isolation from the great cultural centers of southern India. For centuries, Sri Lankan Tamils appear to have interacted more closely with their southern compatriots, the predominantly Buddhist Sinhalese, than with southern Indians; apart from language and religious affiliation, Sri Lanka Tamil and Sinhalese social systems, customs, and folk religious practices resemble each other far more closely than either does to the cultures of neighboring India. The Sri Lanka Tamils' unique geographical and historical experience generated a distinctively Sri Lankan variant of Tamil culture—a fact that is keenly felt by Sri Lankan Tamils themselves, who often speak of themselves as a small, unique, and deeply threatened community with no real ties to India.

Sri Lankan Tamil affiliation is by no means merely linguistic; Sri Lankan Tamils distinguish themselves (and are so distinguished by the country's largest ethnic population, the Sinhalese) from other Tamil-speaking groups in the region. (These are the so-called "Indian Tamils," who are Tamil-

speaking descendants of south Indian Tamil laborers who were brought to Sri Lanka to work nineteenth-century British tea plantations, as well as from the indigenous, Tamil-speaking Muslim population of Sri Lanka, and the Sri Lankan Moors, who dwell in the eastern coastal region and in the central highlands.) Viewing their postcolonial situation in dramatically different terms and rarely amenable to political cooperation, the three Tamil-speaking communities have been unable to work together to improve the conditions of Tamil speakers in Sri Lanka.

The center of Sri Lankan Tamil population and culture is the densely populated Jaffna Peninsula of the extreme north; other Tamil population concentrations are found on the island of Mannar and along the eastern coastal littoral, stretching from north of Trincomalee to Batticaloa. Many of today's Sri Lankan Tamils refer to their traditional Northern and Eastern Province homelands using the politically charged term "Tamil Eelam," which originally meant "Tamil Sri Lanka" but has now become virtually synonymous with the Tamils' quest for a separate state.

Since mid-nineteenth century, there has been a series of emigrations that amount to a diaspora. Considered by the colonial British as more hard-working and reliable than the Sinhalese, Sri Lanka Tamils found favor in civil service employment (a fact that generated significant Sinhalese enmity and led to anti-Tamil measures enacted by the Sinhalese-dominated postindependence government). Many Tamils took overseas civil service jobs; in consequence, significant and enduring Sri Lanka Tamil communities arose in Malaysia and Singapore. In the twentieth century, Sri Lankan Tamils migrated to the North Central Province as rain forest contraction and irrigation made new lands available, as well as to Colombo, where the many English-speaking Tamils found ready employment. By 1975, almost half the Sri Lankan Tamil population dwelled outside the group's traditional homelands. More recently, the Tamil diaspora has been fueled by the intractable conflict between Sri Lankan security forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a militant separatist group that seeks an autonomous Tamil homeland in Sri Lanka. According to a 2001 estimate by the U.S. Committee for Refugees, more than 500,000 Sri Lankan Tamils have been internally displaced by the fighting, while an additional 100,000 had fled to India and some 50,000 have sought political asylum in Britain, Europe, and Canada. Expatriate Sri Lankan Tamils typically try to maintain close ties with families back home. Foreign remittances have long been a significant factor in the otherwise impoverished Jaffna Peninsula; since the mid-1980s, these remittances have also provided crucial support for LTTE operations.

Demography. In 2001, the population of Sri Lanka was estimated to be 19,408,635. The population density averages approximately 100 persons per square mile (252 per square kilometer) and the population is growing at an estimated 0.87 percent per year; life expectancy (males and females) is 72.09 years. HIV/AIDS prevalence among adults is estimated to be 0.07 percent, with 490 HIV/AIDS-related deaths in 1999. With sufficient numeric predominance to exclude Tamil-speaking communities from Sri Lanka's political affairs, the Sinhalese constitute nearly three quarters (74 percent) of the population of Sri Lanka. Tamil-speaking peoples comprise most of the remainder (25 percent); this category includes Sri Lanka Tamils (11 percent), Indian Tamils (7 percent); and Sri Lanka Moors (7 percent).

Linguistic Affiliation. The Tamil spoken by Sri Lankan Tamils is a distinct regional dialect of mainland Tamil (of the Dravidian language family), but the two are mutually intelligible. The Sri Lankan dialect is characterized by its conservatism; testifying to the relative isolation of Sri Lankan Tamil culture, the dialect preserves archaic features of Tamil that have been dropped or altered on the mainland. Aware of their dialect's distinctiveness, Sri Lankan Tamils consider their dialect to be purer than that of the mainland. Like mainland Tamil, the Tamil spoken in Sri Lanka is characterized by diglossia. (One variant of the language is used for high-status situations, such as political speeches, while another is used for everyday conversation.) Beginning in 1813, American missionaries built an impressive series of English-medium schools (including Jaffna College, which was arguably the best secondary school in all of nineteenth century Asia) ; Sri Lanka Tamils thus had the advantage over the Sinhalese in the quest for English-medium civil service posts.

History *and Cultural Relations*

The culture of Sri Lankan Tamils took on distinctiveness from its close proximity to the Sinhalese and from waves of immigration from diverse regions of southern India. Many features of Sri Lankan Tamil culture, including village settlement patterns, inheritance and kinship customs, and domestic and village "folk religion," stand in sharp contrast to mainland Tamil customs. One possible reason is that the immigrants who created the first Tamil settlements in Sri Lanka appear to have come not just from the Tamil region of south India but from the Kerala coast as well; perhaps significantly, early European visitors to the island used the term "Malabars" (not "Tamils") to describe Sri Lankan Tamils.

It is not known when Tamils first settled in Sri Lanka, and the answer is not likely to be known any time soon. Regrettably, the quest for historical truth too often takes a back seat to political extremism in Sri Lanka's tense academic circles. Clearly, Tamil-speaking fishing folk visited the coasts, seasonally or permanently, as early as the opening centuries of the Christian era, either for their own fishing needs or to engage in the pearl trade between Sri Lanka and Rome. During the period of the classical Sinhala dry zone civilizations (from approximately the first to the twelfth centuries C.E.), there is some evidence that Tamil-speaking Buddhist merchants settled in the northern and eastern seacoast regions, where they built towns and shrines. Permanent Sri Lanka Tamil settlements may have arisen in the north as early as the eleventh century. Clearly, by the thirteenth century, Tamil settlement in the north and east was well established; by that date, an independent Tamil Hindu kingdom arose in the Jaffna Peninsula. More focused on Sri Lanka than India, this state vied with its Sinhalese counterparts for control of one of the world's richest pearl banks, located near Mannar.

The Portuguese subdued the Hindu king in 1619. Unable to operate safely beyond the seacoasts due to the threat of disease, the Portuguese left their legacy in coastal Catholic communities that persist today.

In 1658, the Dutch supplanted Portuguese rule; unlike their predecessors, the Dutch penetrated more deeply into

the social fabric of the Sri Lanka Tamil community. The Dutch codified the traditional legal system of Jaffna, but in such a way that they interpreted indigenous caste customs in line with Roman-Dutch definitions of slavery. Taking advantage of the situation, agriculturists of the dominant Vellala caste turned to tobacco-growing using Pallar slaves brought from southern India. Jaffna soon became one of the most lucrative sources of revenue in the entire Dutch colonial empire; Jaffna tobacco was widely esteemed throughout Asia, and remnants of this esteem survive to this day.

In 1796, the British expelled the Dutch from the island. During the first four decades of British rule, few changes were made, with the exception of granting freedom of religious affiliation and worship, a move that was deeply appreciated by the Tamil population. Slavery was abolished in 1844, but the change in legal status brought few meaningful changes to the status of Pallar and other low-caste laborers. More threatening to the structure of Tamil society was a conversion campaign by Christian missionaries, who built within the Tamil areas (especially Jaffna) what is generally considered to be the finest system of English-language schools to be found in all of Asia during the nineteenth century.

In response to a tide of Christian conversions, Arumuka Navalar (1822-1879), a Hindu religious leader, reformulated Hinduism in line with austere religious texts so that it omitted many practices Christian missionaries had criticized as "barbarous," such as animal sacrifice. Navalar's movement was resented by many Hindus who felt that sacrifice and other practices were necessary, but his reformed Hinduism stemmed the tide of Christian conversions. Benefiting from the missionaries' English-language schools without converting to Christianity, many Sri Lankan Tamils (except those of low caste) turned away from agriculture—which became far less lucrative as the nineteenth century advanced—and toward government employment in the rapidly expanding British colonial empire.

In this adaptation to foreign rule, an accommodative, utilitarian culture arose that stressed rigorous study in professional fields, such as medicine, law, and engineering, together with staunch adherence to Hindu tradition. Family support of educational achievement led to extraordinary success in the British meritocracy but to disaster later: after Sri Lanka's independence in 1948, many Sinhalese came to feel that Tamils were disproportionately represented in Sri Lanka's civil service, as well as in its professions, judiciary, and business affairs. In 1956, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike won a massive electoral victory by appealing to these sentiments and promising to implement Sinhala as the sole official language of government affairs. Tensions over the language act led to the 1958 riots, in which Sinhalese mobs attacked Tamils living in Sinhalese areas.

In the 1970s, the ruling, Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) imposed quotas on Tamil university admissions and civil service employment; the net effect of these quotas was to all but eliminate Tamil access to a university education or civil service jobs. Despondent and intractably unemployed, Tamil youths increasingly turned to radical youth organizations. Fearing the consequences of increasing youth militancy, the ruling Tamil political party called, in 1974, unsuccessfully, for the peaceful creation of a separate Tamil state in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

In the early 1980s, the rise of a violent Tamil separatist movement resulted in a wave of bank robberies and violent assassinations, mainly aimed at Tamils who were suspected of collaborating with Sinhalese organizations. In 1981, Sinhalese security forces went on a brutal rampage in Jaffna, burning down Jaffna's public library (formerly one of the best in Asia) and terrorizing the population. Even those Sri Lanka Tamils who had still hoped for a peaceful solution came to believe that only the militant youths, collectively known as "The Boys," could protect them; however, they soon learned that the militant Tamil groups presented their own dangers owing to their practice of forced conscription. Those who could fled overseas or to Colombo, but the 1983 Riots, which appeared to have the unofficial guidance and support of some sections of the government, effectively eliminated the Tamil business presence in Colombo.

In spite of efforts by non-governmental organizations to bring about a mediated settlement, the LTTE and Sri Lankan security forces are still in battle after (at this writing) nearly twenty years of violence. The struggle is characterized by a see-saw pattern in which Sinhalese security forces are sometimes able to recapture Northern and Eastern Province towns and cities, leaving the countryside, in effect, in LTTE hands; the Sri Lankan troops, meanwhile, are easy targets for LTTE reprisals. Most observers have concluded that neither side will be able to achieve its objectives through military means alone.

Settlements

Sri Lankan Tamil regions are predominantly rural; even the towns seem like overgrown villages. The rural-urban balance has not changed significantly as of the beginning of the twenty-first century, due to an almost complete lack of industrial development, as well as to Sri Lanka's vigorous rural social service program (vestiges of which still function despite the conflict). Traditional villages are nonnucleated; they consist of hamlets, in each of which members of a single caste reside. The only obvious center of the village is the temple of the village goddess. Lanes wander through the village, and homes are hidden behind stout, living fences (trees), which provide copious green manure fertilizer for gardens. Land is traditionally divided into three categories: house land, garden land, and paddy land. Traditional houses are made of mud and thatch; wealthier villagers construct stucco houses roofed with ceramic tiles. Houses are situated within a private fenced compound, which is usually planted with mangoes, coconut palms, and palmyras.

Economy

Subsistence. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1983, subsistence agriculture, supplemented by marginal employment, characterized the economic life of most of the rural poor among Sri Lankan Tamils. Except for the eastern coastal region, where irrigation produces high rice yields, rice agriculture in Tamil areas is extensive, but rainfall-dependent and only marginally economic at best produces only enough for subsistence. Under import restrictions following Sri Lanka's independence, Jaffna became a major source of gar-

den crops, including tomatoes, chilies, onions, tobacco, gourds, pumpkins, okra, brinjal (eggplants), betel, potatoes, manioc, and a variety of indigenous grains. Traditional agricultural practices make intensive use of green and animal manures, although the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides is increasing. In coastal regions with limestone bedrock (and particularly in Jaffna), groundwater is intensively used to supplement rainfall; irrigation is rare, except in the eastern coastal region. Domestic animals include cattle and chickens. Significant foods of last recourse include manioc and the ubiquitous palmyra, which supplies starch from seedlings, molasses, jam, and a mildly alcoholic beverage called toddy.

Before the war, rapid growth in the service sector (especially retailing, transport, communications, banking, public administration, education, health services, repair, and construction) created significant new employment opportunities for Tamils who could no longer look to the professions and civil service. Since then, military conflict has all but destroyed the once flourishing economy of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. According to estimates by refugee organizations, between *600,000* and 800,000 Sri Lankan Tamils are dependent on food provided by international relief organizations.

Industrial Arts. Some members of the artisan castes (goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, and temple builders) still create traditional goods such as jewelry, ox carts, hoes, and cooking pots, although such goods face stiff competition from industrially manufactured plastic and aluminum goods, so that traditional goods are increasingly used only for ceremonial purposes. Few industrial enterprises were located in Tamil regions, with the exception of the state-owned cement factory at Kankesanthurai along the northern coast, the chemical factory at Paranthan, and a paper factory at Valaichenei in the east; most such enterprises closed, and their premises were destroyed, in the war. Private-sector ventures include manufacturing or assembly of garments, toys, candies, bottled juices, and soap. But indigenous goods are regarded as shoddy and receive stiff competition from imports and rampant smuggling.

Trade. The rural economy is thoroughly cash-based. Village boutique owners and wealthy villagers often engage poorer villagers in what eventually becomes debt servitude. Shops in town sell needed consumer items, and weekly village markets provide marginal economic niches for itinerant traders and village cash-crop agriculturists. Transport is provided by bullock carts, tractors pulling flatbed trailers, old automobiles, and light trucks. Remittances from family members working abroad provide a significant source of income—or the only source of income—for many families.

Division of Labor. Traditional Sri Lankan Tamil society is male-dominated and patriarchal, with a strong division of labor by sex, arranged marriages, and a tendency to demean female roles. Female seclusion is a concomitant of family status, thus discouraging women from travel or work without a constant chaperone. However, new employment and educational opportunities for women cause many families to moderate the traditional division of labor as they seek additional income. In general, women are responsible for domestic affairs while men work outside the home in agriculture, transport, industry, services, and government.

Land Tenure. Land is held outright, but holdings tend to be both minute and geographically fragmented. Bilateral inheritance, coupled with population increase, compounds subdivision. Landlessness is increasingly common, and often delays or prevents marriage, because traditional dowry customs require the married pair to be given lands and a house.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The largest kin group is the "microcaste" (called "our caste people" in Tamil), a section of a larger caste category within which people recognize common descent and a shared status. The microcaste is often distributed among several hamlets or wards in adjoining (or in some cases separated) villages; within the hamlet microcaste members cooperate in agriculture, ritual, trade, and politics. In sharp contrast to south Indian Tamil culture, descent is fully bilateral, except in the eastern coastal regions, where matrilineal descent is common.

Kinship Terminology. The Sri Lankan Tamils use Dravidian kinship terms, which strongly encourage symmetrical cross-cousin marriage.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages among the "respectable" castes are arranged by parents and are accompanied by a large dowry, which, again in sharp contrast to the mainland Tamil pattern, includes lands and a house as well as movables and cash. Boys are expected to delay marriage so that they can help their parents accumulate enough wealth to marry off their sisters. A girl is technically eligible to marry after puberty, but marriages are increasingly delayed, often into a woman's mid- to late twenties, owing to the difficulties involved in assembling the dowry and finding a suitable groom. The ideal groom is an educated, English-speaking, government-employed man from a good, respectable family of the same microcaste. He is also ideally a cross-cousin of the bride, although this is by no means necessary. The traditional Hindu wedding is a lavish affair that proclaims the family's status. For poorer and low-caste families, who can afford neither the dowry nor the ceremony, weddings are far more casual. For most couples the marriage is strictly an unromantic relationship, though it may grow into love later; a "good wife" submits to her husband's authority and serves him humbly and obediently.

If a boy's parents discover that he has fallen in love, they take offense at this erosion of their authority and try to break up the relationship; if a girl's parents discover that she has fallen in love, they express their disdain for her and take advantage of the situation by trying to strike a marriage deal that involves little or no dowry. More rarely, broad-minded parents may try to arrange what appears to be a traditional marriage even if the two are in love. Residence after marriage is neolocal, the determining factor being the availability of lands and a house. Although wife abuse is thought to be common, it is publicly discouraged and, in strong contrast to India, women have a moderate degree of economic recourse in that they retain property rights under traditional Tamil law (which is upheld in the courts). Divorce is exceptionally uncommon and quite difficult to obtain, but among the poor

and lower castes desertion and new, casual relationships are common.

Domestic Unit. The average household is five or six persons; a married couple may be joined by elderly parents after these parents relinquish their lands and homes to other children in a form of pre-mortem inheritance.

Inheritance. In contrast to the mainland Tamil pattern, property is divided equally among all children—if any property is left after paying dowry at the going rates.

Socialization. Small children are treasured by most adults, who play with them, tease them, and create homes that are structured around their needs. A first rice-feeding ceremony takes place at approximately six months. Toilet training is relaxed and untraumatic. But there is a pronounced change at approximately age five, when the parents begin the task of bending the child to their will. At this age there begins an authoritarian relationship in which the parents assume the right to determine the child's school interests, prospective career, friends, attitudes, and spouse. Tradition-minded families may force girls to leave school at puberty, following which there was formerly a ceremony (now done privately or not at all) that declared the girl to be technically eligible for marriage; she dons a sari and is no longer free to go about unchaperoned.

Both the family and school declare to children, in effect, "Do what we tell you to do and we will take care of you in life." However, families and schools are increasingly unable to deliver on this promise. In the 1970s, Tamil youths found themselves receiving authoritarian pressure from their families to conform but faced bleak prospects; this double bind apparently contributed to a tripling of suicide rates, giving the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka one of the highest recorded suicide rates in the world. The rise of youthful Tamil militant groups is not only a political phenomenon but also a generational revolt; Tamil youths are rejecting not only Sinhalese rule but also the moderate politics and social conservatism of their parents.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Like the regions of southern India, part of the distinctiveness of Sri Lanka's Tamil regions stems from the presence of a self-consciously unique, dominant agricultural caste, around which the entire traditional caste system was seen to revolve. In the north, the Vellala (agricultural) caste predominated, while in the eastern coastal region the dominant caste role was assumed by the Mukkuvar, a former fishing caste that turned to agriculture.

Tamil society departs from that of south India in ways that are obvious to Tamils. For example, in sharp contrast to the Tamil mainland, Brahmans are few; although Brahmans are considered of higher status than the dominant caste in ritual terms, they are generally poor and serve the dominant caste as temple priests or temple managers. Traditional intercaste services were both sacred and secular. The sacred services, such as the services provided by barbers and washers at life-cycle rites and by agricultural laborers at sacrificial rituals, served to define and regulate the low status of serving groups, while the secular ones created patron-client linkages that could endure for generations. The artisan castes freed themselves from these relationships by taking advantage of British liberalization, the expanding service economy, and their urban residence. The rural service and labor castes remained in traditional relationships with the dominant castes until the mid-twentieth century, when the rise of a service economy created the new marginal economic niches for these groups at the same time that mechanization rendered their labor unnecessary. Coastal fishing groups were never so observant of caste differences, and in consequence have long rejected the stigma of low status.

Prior to the twentieth century, caste statuses were upheld by dozens of detailed regulations, such as a rule prohibiting low-caste women from covering the upper half of their bodies. Caste discrimination in such matters, including temple entry and the use of public facilities and conveyances, is now illegal, but persisted in rural areas until the outbreak of the war. In the face of the brutal occupation of Tamil areas by Sinhalese security forces in the early 1980s, caste rivalry diminished in intensity as the Tamil community integrated vertically in order to meet the external challenges posed by the war; for example, prominent in Tamil militant organizations are leaders from low or marginal castes. Tamil youthful militancy is thus often a rejection of traditional caste ideology as well as a generational and ethnic revolt. Still, it would be wrong to say that the war has erased the divisions of caste structure, which still reigns supreme as a principle of familial and community organization. Sri Lanka Tamil society appears to be evolving in the direction of Sinhalese society, in which most people view caste as a positive and valuable means of affiliation but strongly reject the notion that the various castes should be differentially ranked or empowered.

Political Organization. Sri Lanka is nominally a parliamentary democracy with a president as the head of state. The two-party parliamentary system is, however, dominated by Sinhalese, and the Sri Lankan Tamils are not sufficiently numerous to affect the outcome of elections. As a result, moderate Tamil politicians who endorsed a parliamentary solution to Tamil grievances were ineffective and were swept away during the rise of Tamil youthful militancy.

The Sri Lankan state is partly an artifact of colonial rule: excessively centralized, it was devised to suppress regional rebellions as the British were consolidating their power. The failure of this overly centralized political system to devolve power to the provinces is one of the reasons for the rise of militant Tamil separatism. Unable to win concessions from the Colombo government, Tamil parliamentarians lost credibility and were pushed out of the Tamil community by militant youth groups, which were composed mainly of unemployed graduates as well as unmarried and rootless youth. These groups competed with each other—sometimes violently—until the 1987 incursion by Indian troops under the provisions of an accord between Colombo and Delhi. The Marxist-oriented groups, unlike other factions, accommodated to the Indian security forces, but their presence and actions in the Sri Lankan Tamil community were resented as much as those of the Colombo forces. After the departure of the Indian troops, the Marxist groups lost credibility along with political moderates. At the beginning of the twenty-first century LTTE had effectively eliminated other potential sources of political leadership within the Tamil community.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs, Sri Lankan Tamils are predominantly Hindus, but there are significant enclaves of Roman Catholics and Protestants (mainly Methodists). Hinduism of Tamil Sri Lanka is at once utilitarian, philosophical, and deeply devotional. Shiva is the supreme deity but is not worshiped directly; he bestows his grace by running your life so you aspire to nothing other than reunification with him. The perspective taken toward the other deities is frankly utilitarian: they are approached for help with mundane problems, such as illnesses, university exams, job applications, conflicts, legal problems, or infertility. Commonly worshiped deities include Shiva's sons Murukan and Pillaiyar, the several village goddesses (such as Mariyamman and Kannakiyamman), and a host of semi-demonic deities who are thought to demand sacrifices. Of all deities, most beloved is Murukan, who bestows boons even on those who may be unworthy, to the extent that they devote themselves to him.

Religious Practitioners. In temples that conform to the medieval temple-building manuals (called *Agamas),* the priests are Brahmans. A small caste of non-Brahman temple priests called Saiva Kurukkals performs the rites at non-Agama temples, particularly shrines of the goddess Amman. The officiants at village and family temples, called *pucaris,* are ordinary villagers with whom the temple's god has established a spiritual relationship, often through a form of spirit possession. Here and there one finds temple priests who open a shrine to the public and try to solve medical, legal, and social problems for all comers, without regard to caste. The very few holy men are revered but may attract more foreign than indigenous disciples. Astrologists are numerous and are routinely consulted at birth, marriage, and times of trouble; Hindus believe that one's fate is "written on one's head" *(talai viti)* and cannot be fully escaped, although some intelligent finessing and divine assistance can help one avoid some problems or calamities.

Ceremonies. Households celebrate a rich repertoire of calendrical and life-cycle rituals that bring the family together in joyous, festive holidays. Village temples offer annual "car" festivals, in which the deity is carried around the temple atop a huge chariot; these ceremonies used to attract visitors from all over the country.

Arts. With its utilitarian ethos, Sri Lankan Tamil culture does not encourage young people to pursue careers in the arts. Even so, young people today may receive instruction in traditional South Indian classical music (Carnatic music) or South Indian dance (Bharata Natyam) as a means of impressing on them the antiquity and greatness of Tamil culture. Music and dance were formerly associated with low-caste status.

Medicine. There is a pronounced division of labor between scientific medicine and Ayurvedic medicine, which is thought to be more effective for mental illness, snakebite, paralysis, and listlessness.

Death and Afterlife. Westerners who believe Hindus are focused on a better life after reincarnation are inevitably surprised by the almost complete disinterest that Tamil Hindus show in the afterlife. It is thought, though, that someone who dies without having fulfilled a great longing will remain to vex the living. Cremation is the norm and is followed, for most castes, by a period of death pollution lasting thirty-one days; subsequently there is an annual death observance with food offerings. For the few highly educated Hindus familiar with the Saiva Siddhanta tradition, an expressed goal of afterlife is reunification with Shiva.

For the original article on Tamil, see Volume 3, South Asia.

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Tetum

ETHNONYMS: The designation ``Tetum"technically denotes an Austronesian language spoken on Timor, one of the Lesser Sunda Islands in the eastern part of the East Indian archipelago. The word has come to be used by anthropologists and other researchers to refer to those whose indigenous language it is. It does not, however, seem to be employed everywhere as a self-referencing term by Tetum speakers, whose institutions differ significantly within the linguistic population. In some regions of Timor the ethnonym by which people refer to themselves is *fehan,* a term that includes among its referents "lowland dweller" and "civilized people," though many Te turn-speaking peoples live in a mountainous habitat. The Atoni, the numerically dominant ethnic population in the western half of Timor, refer to them as *belu* or *belo,* a Tetum term meaning "friend," and this is the name generally applied by non-Tetum speakers in western Timor, which until 1949 was a Dutch colony, in contrast to eastern Timor, which was Portuguese. Today West Timor is part of the Republic of Indonesia. Until the year 2002, when it will probably become an independent nation-state, East Timor will be under the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

The word "Tetum" may be pronounced with or without a nasalized termination, and so it is often rendered as "Tetun" (or Tettun) or Tetu (or Teto). The Portuguese language renders the word as *Tetum,* a usage that appears to have won favor with the new political leaders of East Timor.

Orientation

Recent field research in East Timor has not been possible for political reasons. Therefore, this article describes the ethnographic particulars of the Tetum for the most part as they existed in the period 1966-1975. Long-established practices have undoubtedly changed, however, as a result of Indonesian actions.

Identification and Location. From the mid-1970s, when the Indonesian army of occupation began a policy of compulsory resettlement, until September 1999, when the militias forced more than a hundred thousand villagers to leave East Timor and become refugees in West Timor, the ethnic geography has presented a confusing picture. As of the year 2000 it was not possible to delineate with any certainty the ethnolinguistic map of East Timor. In 1975, however, the Tetum-speaking population occupied two spatially separate regions, which for convenience have been referred to as "Western Tetum" and "Eastern Tetum." These are geographic designations; institutional features of social life may vary radically according to locality.

In West Timor the Western Tetum occupy most of the Belu *kabupaten,* with the exception of the Kamaknen *kecamatan,* that is, the kecamatan of Malaka Barat, Melaka Tengah, Melaka Timur, Tasifeto Barat, and Tasifeto Timur. They further extend along the northern coast into East Timor, stopping just north of the Balibo district, where they abut another ethnolinguistic group, the Ema. On the southern coast too they overlap the international frontier, occupying the districts of Fatu Mean, Fohorem, and Suai. To the north this Tetum region is separated from that of another ethnolinguistic group, the Mambai, by the River Lulik, while in the west the boundary between the Tetum and yet another ethnolinguistic group, the Bunaq, is roughly coterminous with that between the districts of Cova Lima and Bobonaro. The Western Tetum are separated from the Eastern Tetum by the Mambai ethnolinguistic group in the Suro regency. Included within the Eastern Tetum region are the areas of western Alas, Fatuberliu, and Barique; the southern parts of the Laclubar and Lacluta areas; and the western part of the Viqueque district. The eastern limit of the Eastern Tetum is roughly demarcated by the River Cuha, with Caraubalo being the easternmost Tetum suku on Timor. Less than a mile, across the River Cuha in Caraubalo, the territory of another ethnolinguistic population, the Makassai, begins.

Demography. Before 1970 the total population of Tetum speakers probably numbered more than two hundred thousand, but as a result of the demographic ravages inflicted by the Indonesian occupation, it is not possible to provide reliable statistics for the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Linguistic Affiliation. The term *Tetum Terih* is applied to the language as it is spoken in the two regions, although there are dialectal variations within each region. This is *Tetum los,* or "correct Tetum," in contrast to *Tetum Praça,* a hybrid mix of Tetum and Portuguese that is spoken in the capital, Dili, and throughout most of East Timor except for the eastern end of the island.

History and Cultural Relations

Insufficient information exists to state with certainty the archaeological and historical sequence before the arrival of the first Europeans at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese. Oral tradition describes a great journey made from the mainland of Southeast Asia to the Wehali region of West Timor, from which area the Tetum population dispersed, but some linguistic evidence may point to an origin in Sulawesi. This dispersion from Wehali eventually resulted in settlements in the Cuha River area, but it is not known when this occurred or what relations with neighboring populations may have provoked those movements.

Settlements

The pattern of settlement varies with the nature of the local terrain. Perhaps the most typical (before the Indonesian resettlement policy) form of settlement was that of the *knua,* or hamlet, a collection of houses *(urna)* grouped around an open plaza. The Indonesian resettlement policy involved the compulsory establishment—in certain areas—of families in concentrated encampments along main roads that gave the military convenient access to the local populations. These compulsory dispersals virtually emptied the uplands of thousands of people.

Economy

Subsistence. Corn is the staple crop, grown under dry farming methods in gardens *(to`os).* Rice, which also is grown in dry gardens, is the second most important cereal, but in some regions wet rice, cultivated on flat alluvial plains or on hill terraces, makes a vital contribution to subsistence. Root crops, such as yams and potatoes, and a variety of green leafy

vegetables supplement the diet. Pigs are a ubiquitous source of animal protein, as are buffalo. Goats and chickens are raised everywhere. Agriculture is directly influenced by the monsoons, with the western half of the island generally being drier than the east. Approximately from November through May the rainy season dominates the landscape, and from June through October the dry season governs the annual cycle of economic and social activities.

Commercial Activities. For the most part, in the rural areas commercial activities play a relatively small role in the economy.

Industrial Arts. The main handicrafts are weaving, ceramics, basketry, mat making, and metalworking.

Trade. In the Portuguese period markets flourished in most administrative centers in East Timor, with women overwhelmingly being the sellers of the agricultural produce their families grew. Until at least the late 1960s barter was used among the Timorese.

Division of Labor. Both sexes work in the gardens, with men responsible for the heavy labor of making fences. Men are also the house builders and metalworkers. Women carry out domestic duties, including fetching water and cleaning clothes, and are the potters and weavers.

Land Tenure. Land is owned by local descent groups whose rights are vested in clans whose claims are sanctioned in myths. Families within the landowning descent group have the right to cultivate any land not worked by other families. Many families, however, cultivate land owned by other descent groups, in which case they have the status of tenants.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Throughout most of the Tetum-speaking regions a system of matrilineal descent and matrilocality prevails. One of several exceptions is the area immediately west of the Cuha, where the regime is one of patrilineal descent with postmarital residence in or near the husband's father's household. In the northern part of the West Tetum region a child belongs to its mother's descent group (uma) from birth. If the child's father's descent group (the child's father's mother's uma) delivers the bulk of the bride-price for the child's mother, the child becomes a member of its father's mother's uma and the child's mother resides in the locality of the father's uma. Even in this case the child's mother's brother must help the child financially, and when the child is older, he has the right to cultivate some of his mother's brother's land. At the highest level of segmentation descent groups are named and totemic and would conventionally be designated as clans. Each has its own myth of origin and self-defining customs. Rights and duties of various social, economic, and political importance are ascribed to each segmentary unit, from the clan down to the minimal lineage group.

Kinship Terminology. Lineal terminologies are virtually universal, but whereas they are nonprescriptive in the Cuha and Wehali areas, elsewhere they are mainly prescriptive, as is the case among the northern peoples in the West Tetum region, who employ a two-section system.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Asymmetric alliance is a defining trait of Timorese social organization and, when incorporated into a matrilineal/matrilocal regime, confers some distinction on the Tetum-speaking population since this particular coordination of affinity and kinship regime is rare. The alliance groups are normally lineages or sublineages, typically of the same rank. Among the northern and central Tetum, the wife-taking group is called the *fetosawa* and the wife-giving group is called the *umamane.* Each category of group has a varying number of affinal partners with whom its alliance (fetosawa-umamane) typically endures for generations. In at least two regions asymmetric alliance is not practiced. One is among the patrilineal/patrilocal peoples immediately west of the Cuha; the other is among the matrilineal/matrilocal populations of the Wehali area, in West Timor. Several forms of marriage coexist with asymmetric alliance and have differing socioeconomic entailments. Bride-wealth is typically a factor determining which mode of marriage is contracted. In the fetosawa-umamane bride-wealth includes symbolically masculine gifts consisting of buffalo, horses, golden disks, silver disks, and money. This set is countered by "feminine gifts" of pigs, cloth, domestic artifacts, and the person of the bride. Gifts of the same "masculine" and "feminine" nature are exchanged between wife givers and wife takers on occasions when they conjointly celebrate rites of passage.

Domestic Unit. The household consists of the father, the mother, unmarried children, and quite often various relatives, who may include widowed parents, unmarried sisters of the parents, and sons-in-law.

Inheritance. Relative age plays a part in inheritance. Elder children tend to take precedence over younger siblings, with the youngest sibling's portion being the smallest.

Socialization. Mothers undertake a more constant nurturing role in the upbringing of children than do fathers. Older female siblings share this task with their mothers. Discipline is the responsibility of both parents.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The ranking system, which is defined by rights and duties and is administered through the system of descent, consists of four ranks. At the top of the hierarchy is the rank of royalty. Immediately below royalty are the aristocrats, then commoners, and at the bottom of the hierarchy individuals descended from slaves. In the 1960s this system of ranking was still integrated into the political organization.

Political Organization. Interference by the Indonesian and Portuguese administrations greatly distorted and weakened the viability of traditional Timorese polities. The political organization in East Timor thus illustrates the syncretic structure of both alien and indigenous political systems. For administrative convenience the Portuguese colonial government amalgamated the knua into nonindigenous units called *povoação* (villages). A number of these villages formed a *suku* (also known as *fukun),* or princedom, based on an indigenous unit of the same name. A number of suku formed a *posto* (post), another Portuguese innovation but one that at times corresponded to a defunct indigenous unit known as the *reino* (kingdom). A number of postos formed a *concelho* (regency),

ten of which in 1966 constituted the Province of Portuguese Timor, as East Timor was then called.

Social Control. The head of each of these units reported to the head of the unit immediately above it, with the exception of the governor of Timor, who reported to the government in Lisbon. Only at the levels of knua and suku were there indigenous heads. Leadership of the knua rested in the hands of an older man *(katuas)* who had the respect of its members. The level of the suku, until 1976 at least, epitomized the syncretic character of the political structure. The Portuguese administration had created an office formally designated *cheje de suku* or "suku chief to administer the suku, and the incumbent—invariably a Timorese—would report to the official in charge of the posto, the *cheje de posto*. The more traditional designation, *liurai*, was also employed as a honorific alternative to chefe de posto, but this usage was a misnomer. More correctly, the term liurai *{raja* in West Timor) identified the "king," a position absent for many decades from Timorese polities. Independently of the office of chefe de suku was a system of governance that in its dual structure was characteristically Timorese, since it consisted of a pair of rulers whose titles could vary from locality to locality. In the suku of Caraubalo, in Viqueque Concelho, the actual titles were *makair fukun* and *dato wain.* Although the incumbents of both offices were male, their symbolic connotations were distinguished by gender, with the former being associated with masculine qualities and the latter with female qualities. Both officials, even in the early 1970s, continued—with help from an informal council of elders (katuas)—to influence the course of life at the level of the suku. Liurais, in the past and to a large extent in the late 1960s, were of the royal rank, but in general incumbency in any of the other political offices was open to men of any rank except the descendants of slaves.

Conflict Under the Portuguese administration conflicts not involving homicide between members of the same segment of a descent group were resolved by the head of that segment with the assistance of elders. Conflicts between members of different descent groups within the same suku were resolved by either the traditional pair of suku heads or by the chefe de suku. When a conflict involved members of different sukus, the chefe de posto would resolve the issue. Homicides were dealt with by the administrator of the concelho. Under the Indonesian regime the extent to which descent groups and sukus had the authority to enforce traditional customs is unclear, but Indonesian control was considerably more intrusive than that of the European predecessors; in the case of resettlements, for example, no resistance by the Timorese was tolerated.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. In sharp contrast to the diverse systems of descent and affinity, belief and ritual among the different Tetum populations have more similarities than differences. Tetum people in most areas refer to a celestial masculine deity called *maromak,* but he does not figure prominently in their rituals, at least not among the eastern population. Less clearly defined in some localities is a female deity who is identified with the earth. These deities are contrasted in complementary fashion as father sky and mother earth. Other spiritual agencies include the souls of the recently deceased, ancestral ghosts, and several categories of nature spirits. Souls of the recently deceased are *klamar maté,* and are entirely malevolent. The injury they can impose on the kin of the dead person is affected by rituals, mostly taboos, including prohibition of remarriage by the widowed person within a specified period. More ambivalent are ancestral ghosts *(maté bian),* who appear to human beings in their hamlets. These were once klamar maté, though when and in what manner the transformation occurs is not known. Ghosts exercise a powerful influence on their living kin that may be malignant or beneficial. In principle, beneficence is characteristically attributed to their behavior, which most typically confers health and fertility. To acquire these life-sustaining qualities kin carry out rituals of sacrifice and observe food taboos. The neglect of these prescriptions and prohibitions invites punitive sanctions, as do other faults, whether of omission or commission.

The various categories of nature spirits can be classified into fertility spirits and locality spirits. Fertility spirits are known by the generic term *klamar,* and there are distinct subcategories of spirits that control the fertility of plants and livestock. Locality spirits, or *rai nain* ("lords of the land") and *w'e na'in* ("lords of the water"), display the same ambivalent behavior toward human beings characteristic of ghosts. They may confer blessings such as wealth, fertility, and agreeable sex on individuals (male or female) who attract their attention, or they may contrive to bring death to the hapless. Superficially, the effect of their intrusion into human affairs may appear to resemble that of ghosts, but the advent of locality spirits, who are associated with the wilderness rather than the hamlet, derives from their whims, according to which they may bless or curse. Unlike ancestral ghosts or nature spirits, locality spirits are central figures in many fabulous stories *(aiknananoik).*

Another category of spirit is the *buan,* a term that might be best translated as "witch" since it refers to a living entity that is partly human and partly spirit and as such is as much at home in the hamlet as it is in the forest. Malevolent by nature, it offers no benefits to the people it bewitches. There is also a spirit responsible for ensuring a supply of rain, but in localities where rituals are performed to it this spirit seems to be a manifestation of a prominent ancestral ghost rather than a distinct class of elemental.

Religious Practitioners. Descent groups have certain individuals who tend to take the lead when ceremonies such as rainmaking are performed, and some communities have shamanic figures *(matan do'ok)* whose functions include curing and divination.

Ceremonies. Although details vary from region to region, in addition to the rituals mentioned above, communities in many regions perform rites of passage at birth, marriage, and death.

Arts. The favorite form of artistic expression in which both sexes indulge is dancing, of which there are several stylized categories. Storytelling was very popular before the expansion of literacy.

Medicine. Various plants were formerly used as cures, and betel spittle was a ubiquitous treatment for a variety of ailments.

Death and Afterlife. Beliefs in an afterlife are vague, but some individuals say that at death the souls of the dead start a process of migration to the underworld. After they are established there, they eventually become ancestral ghosts.

For other cultures in Indonesia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 5, East and Southeast Asia.

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DAVID HICKS

Tigrinya

ETHNONYMS: Tigrinia, Habesha

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Tigrinya are Eritrea's largest ethnic group, accounting for approximately 50 percent of the country's population. They live mainly in the Eritrean highlands (Kabessa) in the provinces of Hamasien, Akeleguzay, and Seraye. The highlands are the most populated region of Eritrea and are among that country's most fertile areas. The highland plateau forms the central part of Eritrea and connects it to the Ethiopian highlands. It ranges between 6,000 and 8,000 feet (1,829 and 2,439 meters) above sea level and is rocky and mountainous, with some fertile plains and valleys and a variety of grasses, trees, and vegetation. As a result of prolonged warfare, there has been serious deforestation in Eritrea; however, since Eritrean independence in 1993 there has been much replanting. The plateau has a temperate climate with an average rainfall of 15 to 20 inches (38 to 51 centimeters) a year. There are two main rainy seasons: the winter rains *{mai kremti)* between June and August or September and the shorter summer rains *(mai hagai)* in March and April.

Demography. Because of the more than thirty years of conflict in the region, there has not been a reliable recent census. The Eritrean population is variously estimated at 2.5 million to 4 million, with the higher number including Eritrean citizens who live outside the nations's borders. Among this population about *50* percent are Tigrinya, followed by Tigre, 31.4 percent; Saho, 5 percent; Afar, 5 percent; Hedareb, 2.5 percent; Bilen, 2 percent; Kunama, 2 percent; Nara, 1.5 percent; and Rashaida, 0.5 percent. Most Tigrinya live in the Eritrean highlands, but there are large numbers in towns and urban areas throughout the country.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Tigrinya language is in the Semitic language family, along with Arabic and Hebrew. Tigrinya is most closely related to Tigre, which is spoken by the Tigre ethnic group of Eritrea. Tigrinya also is related to the ancient liturgical language Ge-ez, which is no longer spoken or written outside the Orthodox Church.

History and Cultural Relations

As the largest ethnic group, Tigrinya people and communities were affected by the war and the liberation movement fought by Eritrea against Ethiopia and were significant participants in that movement. Although there have been some historical continuities in Tigrinya culture, that culture has been affected by war and governmental transitions in terms of the economy, settlements, and people's livelihoods.

Living in the Horn of Africa, Eritrean ethnic groups have their origins in and have cultural affiliations with a mixture of local and external groups. Recent archaeological evidence points to the existence of pre-Axumite settlements in highland Eritrea, the region the Tigrinya inhabit. These early settlements are approximately 2,800 years old and support the notion of independent cultural development in the highlands. This idea is opposed to the theory that highland culture originated in other places, such as the Arabian peninsula or parts of highland Ethiopia. The settlement patterns and apparent lifestyles of these early sites appear closely related to modern Tigrinya settlement patterns. Despite this independent cultural development, there have been important cultural contact with and influence from other parts of the Red Sea region, including Sabean migrants from Arabia, the Turkish, and rulers from Ethiopia and the south, all of whom had influence and control in the Eritrean highlands. Tigrinya culture is documented in travelers' writings from 1200 to the 1500s, and Christianity in the region dates back to the fourth century. Although Tigrinya culture or its variants probably began to develop between the fourth and thirteenth centuries, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact period of origin. It is not a static culture and has undergone numerous changes.

Until the establishment of the Italian colonial administration, highland Eritrea was largely feudal and was dominated by the nobility and local kings whose power was based on historical claims, heredity, and the backing of the Orthodox (Coptic) Church. In the Tigrinya highlands there were three main social classes: the peasantry, the upper-level clergy, and the ruling elite. Historically, there were several key periods of mutual influence between the highlands and the predominantly Muslim lowlands, and Muslim activities often affected the highlands. There have always been important social, cultural, and economic interactions between the highland Tigrinya and the other regional ethnic groups and between the agricultural highlands and the pastoral lowlands in general.

Italian colonialism began in the late 1800s, first in the coastal areas of Eritrea. By the 1890s the Italians had penetrated into Tigrinya areas. During that period highland Eritrea experienced marked growth, industrialization, and urbanization that affected Tigrinya communities. After World War II Eritrea was under British military administration before being federated with Ethiopia in 1952. By the early 1960s the country had been fully annexed by Ethiopia, precipitating the beginning of the Eritrean armed struggle in 1961.

Tigrinya ethnicity historically has been associated with highland Ethiopia, with the Tigrinya sharing a language with

the Tigray of northern Ethiopia and a religious affiliation (Orthodox Christian) with much of Ethiopia. It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that the Tigrinya began to identify with Eritrean nationalism and less with highland Ethiopia and the majority of Tigrinya eventually rejected Ethiopian rule. In terms of culture and "ethnicity," there is still a relationship between the Tigrinya of Eritrea and the Tigray of Ethiopia.

Settlements

Most Tigrinya have historically been settled agriculturists, and they continue to be largely agricultural and rural, as does Eritrea as a whole. Typical Tigrinya settlements in rural areas usually take the form of small towns or villages with houses on rocky hillsides overlooking more fertile fields and valleys where crops are grown. The Orthodox Church usually is situated on the highest point in the village. Most of the Tigrinya population in Eritrea is rural, though many people inhabit towns and cities and participate in the urban, governmental, and other sectors. There are also a number of small to medium-size market and administrative towns in the Tigrinya regions, many of which have been experiencing marked growth since Eritrean independence in 1993. Traditional Tigrinya homes *(hidmo)* have stone walls covered with mud or clay and are painted white; roofs are supported by tree trunks, and rafters are covered by layers of branches, sand, and stones. More "modern" buildings made of rocks or concrete with corrugated iron roofs are constructed by those who can afford them. Surrounding the home is a stone enclosure. Villages are made up of varying numbers of extended families. In urban areas, such as the capital city, Asmara, where many Tigrinya live, housing tends to vary more and does not necessarily follow traditional patterns. People residing in urban areas maintain ties to their villages of origin.

Economy

Subsistence. The economy in Tigrinya areas is mainly agricultural, with small family-run farms where subsistence agriculture is practiced. The Tigrinya are settled agriculturists who grow a variety of grains, vegetables, and legumes and maintain domestic livestock such as cows, goats, and sheep as well as oxen for plowing. The staple diet consists of *ingera,* a flat spongy bread usually made from teff, a local grain, and various stews and sauces made with spices, butter, and vegetables, legumes, or meat. Conflicts since the 1960s have severely affected the highland economy in terms of the ability to carry out farming activities and environmental degradation. Droughts and climatic and environmental problems have contributed to a precarious situation, and food aid, mostly from European countries and distributed by the Eritrean government, has been necessary at times. Food is grown locally and purchased or traded, as are other goods and services. Other needed goods, such as clothing and housing materials, are minimal and can be obtained through gathering activities and small amounts of cash.

Commercial Activities. Commercial activities in the Tigrinya region increased considerably with the advent of colonialism in the late 1890s. Urbanization increased along with commerce, services, food processing, building materials, mining, dairy farming, and other light industries. In the 1990s the Eritrean highlands experienced an increase in light industry, mining, and small and medium-size businesses and an expansion of the goods and services produced and sold, particularly in the towns. In rural areas many commercial activities continue to be small-scale, including *sewa* houses (a fermented beverage made and sold by women) and other small businesses.

Industrial Arts. The Tigrinya produce some craft goods, such as baskets, coffeepots and items for brewing traditional coffee, and other small items for local use, sale, and trade.

Trade. Trade in rural areas is typically small-scale, involving products such as household items, salt, sugar, animal products, grains, and craft goods. Trade involves goods from the lowlands and other regions of Eritrea as well as from parts of the Middle East. During the colonial period Eritrea exported some items, such as fruit and animal products, but much of that trade was interrupted by war.

Division of Labor. In households and communities labor involves agricultural work that is done mostly by adult men and domestic work (cooking, collecting water and firewood, and caring for children) that is done by women. Children are responsible for herding animals and assisting adults. In the highlands it is common for the members of a household, usually young men, to be employed in urban areas, especially during seasons when their labor is not needed at home. Households also participate in small-scale trade and the selling of products such as eggs and baskets; often these items are sold by women. With the intensification of war in the 1970s, large numbers of Tigrinya left the country, settling in nearby countries such as Sudan or in the Middle East, Europe, and North America. Tigrinya living abroad continue to play a significant role in the Eritrean economy through remittances.

Land Tenure. There were several traditional varieties of land tenure in the highlands. In the *diesa* system land was held as the common property of a village, with access based on village residence. Land was allocated and reallocated periodically by the village for household and individual use, depending on people's needs. Variations of this system were found in the highlands before the 1950s, but it was not entirely "traditional" in all places. Instead, it sometimes was used by the Italian colonial government, especially in areas where the *tsilemi* system was operative. Tsilemi land tenure patterns entailed the "ownership" of land by an immediate family or kin group, with rights to the land established by inheritance but with no right of sale or alienation. Variants of the diesa system were implemented by the Ethiopian government under the "socialist" Dergue rule that began in the mid-1970s. The Dergue socialized land and put in place state ownership. Land reforms also were initiated by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the guerrilla movement that liberated Eritrea. By the 1980s and 1990s most highland villages had undergone land reform and had modified diesa systems. After independence in 1993 the new government gained control *of* all the land. Land remains in state hands, with permanent usufruct rights for any Eritrean citizen over the age of eighteen who wishes use the land productively but with no rights of sale or inheritance.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Traditional Tigrinya communities revolved around the *enda,* a large patrilineal kinship group whose members varied in number but could all claim common ancestry. Most Tigrinya have large families and maintain extensive family ties with both the father's and the mother's sides of the family.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages take place outside the family lineage and link kin groups. Marriages historically took place when men were in their early twenties and women were in their middle to late teens. The age of marriage is increasing, as is the practice of family-arranged marriages. In practice, families still have a great deal of influence. Marriages follow the tradition of the Orthodox Church or, in the case of Catholics, Protestants, or Muslims, within those traditions. After the wedding a couple lives together for the obligatory honeymoon period of about one month, after which the bride returns to her parents' home. During this time the groom works and completes a new homestead, usually with or near his family. After about one year the couple move into the new home together.

Domestic Unit. Households usually are formed around one married couple. They consist of at least one adult man responsible for most of the farming work, although in urban areas he may be employed in a variety of service, professional, or administrative jobs, and one adult woman who is responsible for the management of almost all household and domestic activities, including food preparation, child care, and the collection of water and firewood; women sometimes help with farm work. Dependent children help their parents perform these tasks, usually along gender lines, and are responsible for herding animals.

Inheritance. Inheritance is mainly patrilineal. Some property is given to sons at marriage in the form of grain or agricultural equipment for the establishment of a separate household, and some passes at the death of the parents. Most items are divided between the sons, except for the house, which is inherited by the youngest son. Daughters' "inheritance" usually consists of a dowry, though they may also inherit jewelry or household items.

Socialization. Women and older children are the primary caretakers of children. Fathers also play a role in the socialization of children, as does the community as a whole and the church.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Social organization revolves around land ownership and use, parental authority, kinship ties, and family and community hierarchies. In rural villages there is social differentiation between households despite the existence of some leveling mechanisms. In urban areas there is more variation in social status and organization.

In traditional highland politics political and class distinctions were closely tied to the territorial unit on which inheritance and land rights were based. This created a social distinction between those who qualified as members of the enda and had rights to land and newcomers or foreign residents who represented "second-class" citizens; being outside the enda, those people had no rights to inherit land and could live only as tenants. However, in many parts of Eritrea there have been considerable changes in traditional social organization, especially after Eritrean independence in 1993.

Political Organization. Political organization in Tigrinya villages historically centered on the community, particularly among adult men. The *Baito* (gathering) is a system used for electing assemblies at the village, district, and provincial levels, although since 1997 it has been used only at the regional level. Historically, the Tigrinya were incorporated into various state systems, including colonial administrations, Ethiopian administrations, and independent rule. Before Italian colonization the Orthodox Church was the most powerful institution in the highlands, with substantial influence over social and economic systems and supported by a great deal of material resources, including large landholdings. There was a strong connection between local elites, politics, and religion. The postliberation government has limited religious power considerably, and the link between religion and politics has been weakened.

Social Control. Social control often operates at the local level. Generally settled within or between communities or families, conflicts include disputes over land, resources, and personal animosity. In some instances the church is a mediator or adjudicator in conflicts. On a broader level conflicts can be dealt with through regional court systems. By the 1980s the EPLF also played a role in social control in some villages. There are customary laws among the Tigrinya, in conjunction with state laws.

Conflict. Before the 1890s there was some ethnic warfare between the Tigrinya and other ethnic groups, particularly in the lowlands. With the advent of colonialism in the 1890s, conflict involving land tended to be intensified both within Tigrinya communities and between the Tigrinya and other groups because of colonial policies. In general, there does not tend to be extensive conflict between the Tigrinya and other ethnic groups.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Most Tigrinya are followers of the Orthodox (Coptic) Church, which dates to around the fourth century and is one of the oldest extant branches of Christianity. It represents the main indigenous religion among the Tigrinya. A small proportion (7 percent) of the Tigrinya are Muslims (*Jeberti),* who are often merchants and traders. There are also small numbers of Catholics and Protestants who were converted during the colonial period.

Religious Practitioners. In the Orthodox Church the priest *(k'ashi)* is the main religious practitioner. The Orthodox clergy are divided into two groups. Lay priests live in the villages and parishes on land belonging to the church and perform marriages and other services and ceremonies. Their role in the community gives them high social status. Monks living in monasteries maintain celibacy (Orthodox priests can marry) and have less daily interaction with their communities. Historically, monks were important socially and politically. They represented church authority and served other

functions, such as passing judgment in legal matters concerning religious or family issues and bringing about reconciliation between individuals and groups. Among Muslims the local mufti is the main spiritual practitioner; other Christian denominations are governed by their own clergy.

Ceremonies. There are numerous ceremonies in the Orthodox Church, many of which revolve around saint's days and other religious and seasonal holidays, as well as functions such as baptisms, marriages, and funerals.

Arts. The Coptic Church is known for artwork such as paintings and illuminated manuscripts. At a more local level the arts include traditional music and dance that is accompanied by instruments such as the *Krar,* a traditional guitar/harplike instrument, and drums. Many of the songs and dances have their origins in the church and are used during religious feasts and ceremonies as well as at weddings and other occasions. The Tigrinya also have traditional dress, decoration, artwork, crafts, poetry, and literature.

Death and Afterlife. The Orthodox Church shares beliefs about the afterlife with other branches of Christianity. There is a great deal of ceremony surrounding funerals. The funeral is held the day after a person's death. On the twelfth day the first memorial ceremony occurs *(assur)*, followed by the second memorial service on the fortieth day *(arba'a)* and the third memorial after six months *(menfeqh)*. The last memorial *(amet)* is held on the first anniversary of the death. One of these memorials is also chosen to be the "second funeral" (*teshar)*, in which everyone who was part in the first funeral participates. Food and drink are served at all these ceremonies.

For other cultures in Eritrea, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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RACHEL SPONZO

The Tsimshian

ETHNONYMS: Tsimshian, Coast Tsimshian, Chimmesyan, Chimseyans, Chymshean, Chimpsain, Shimshyans, Simseans, Simpsian, Tsimsean, Tsimseyans, Tsimsheeans, Tsimpsean, T'simpshean, Zimshīan (German)

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Tsimshian are a group of Canadian First Nations affiliated with the Tsimshian Tribal Council. They live in seven communities in northwestern British Colombia just below the Alaska panhandle along the Skeena River and its estuary and extending south to Milbanke Sound. The seven communities are Kitselas, Kitsumkalum, Lax Kw'alaams (Port Simpson), Metlakatla, Kitkatla, Gitga'at (Hartley Bay), and Kitisoo (Klemtu).

Demography. In 1835 the Hudson's Bay Company estimated the population of the Southern Tsimshian at twelve hundred and that of the Coast Tsimshian at three thousand; this was after over fifty years of maritime trade during which the population was reduced by disease. The population continued to shrink during the nineteenth century but began to grow again in the twentieth century. In 1990 there were over six thousand Coast and Southern Tsimshian, though that figure excluded those who resided outside Canada (there are numerous Tsimshian people in New Metlakatla, Alaska, and Seattle) and those who were not federally recognized Indians.

Linguistic Affiliation. Sm'algyax, the language of the Coast Tsimshian, is part of the Tsimshianic language family, along with the languages of the Nisga'a and Gitksan; a fourth Tsimshianic language, Sküüxs (Southern Tsimshian), was replaced by Sm'algyax during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tsimshianic is not demonstrably related to any other language family despite academic theorizing that it may be a Penutian language.

History and Cultural Relations

The archaeological record indicates that after the retreat of the glaciers communities were small, relying on large mammals and berries in the inland areas and shellfish and sea mammals on the coast. When salmon became established in the rivers, it became the principal food resource, and permanent winter villages were established. Early in the archaeological record there is evidence of trade involving items such as obsidian and dentalium from distant sources. For the period after cedar forests became well established and the technology for canoe making began to develop, evidence of trade is even more pronounced. By 1500 B.C.E. there are indications that the organization of society had become hierarchical and that coastal and inland economies were interdependent, exchanging dried salmon, mountain goat and caribou, berries, furs, and tanned hides for dried seafood and oolachan grease. Trade networks extended to the Gitksan, and beyond them to the interior Athapascan groups such as the Wet'suwet'en and Carrier and to the Haida and Tlingit and Bella Bella on the coast.

The first written record of contact with Tsimshian people appears in the log of the British vessel *Princess Royal,* which visited the Kitkatlas in 1787. In 1834 Fort Simpson was built in the territories of the Coast Tsimshian at present-day Lax Kw'alaams (Port Simpson). The trade center became the site of the winter habitations of the ten lower Skeena communities of Coast Tsimshian, and the Nisga'a, Gitksan,

other Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit visited regularly for trade. This period was marked by an increase in wealth and by intergroup hostilities, sometimes fueled by alcohol purchased from ships or the Hudson's Bay Company. The first missionary to enter the area was William Duncan in 1857; by 1862 he had established the mission village of Metlakatla at the site of an old Tsimshian winter village. In the 1860s prospectors entered the area, traveling up the Skeena to reach the Cariboo. In 1873 the first salmon cannery was established on the Skeena, bringing permanent settlers and a cash economy that interfered with Tsimshian control over land and resources. In 1887 Duncan moved the mission village to Alaska, and over eight hundred Tsimshian moved to the American side, reducing the population of Metlakatla to a small fraction of its former size; many Tsimshian returned to their own territories rather than move to Alaska. Newcomers continued to enter the territories of the Tsimshian to pack fish, mine, log, and establish new communities, forcing the Tsimshian to defend their territories through the use of political and legal strategies.

Settlements

Two Coast Tsimshian communities have long existed in the vicinity of Kitselas Canyon on the Skeena River. The Kitselas lived in two winter villages on either side of the Skeena River, and the Kitsumkalum lived below them near the mouth of the Kitsumkalum River. Ten communities of Coast Tsimshian had winter villages on the lower Skeena and its tributaries below the canyon: Gitwilgyots Gitzaklalth, Gitsees, Ginakangeek, Ginadoiks, Gitandau, Gispakloats, Gilutsau, Gitlan, and Gitwilkseba. In late prehistoric times they built new villages on the islands of Venn (Metlakatla) Pass, where the weather was milder, but continued to return to their territories on the Skeena in the summer for salmon fishing. After the Hudson's Bay Company moved Fort (later Port) Simpson to its current location in 1834, nine groups built communities around the fort (the Gitwilkseba were extinct by then). Duncan reported that there were 2,300 Indians living in 140 houses around Fort Simpson in 1857. In the 1980s those people constituted the Port Simpson and Metlakatla bands in British Columbia and also lived in New Metlakatla, Alaska.

The historical Southern Tsimshian villages are Kitasoo, Gitga'at, and Kitkatla. The Kitasoo reside in Klemtu, where there are also Haihais people. The original village of the Gitga'at was depopulated as a winter settlement when the people joined the mission village of Metlakatla. The current village was founded at a new site in 1887 by people who returned to their own territories rather than follow Duncan to Alaska. Kitkatla has been in its current location on Dolphin Island for at least five thousand years.

Economy

Subsistence. The Tsimshian harvested the abundant resources of their territories and preserved them for use and trade: fish, shellfish, seabird eggs, game (land and sea mammals, fur-bearing species, birds, and small game), berries, seaweed, the inner bark of trees, shoots, and roots. The Tsimshian fished and rendered oolachon oil at the mouth of the Nass River, and that product was both a staple food and a valued trade commodity. Smoked fish, sometimes preserved in oolachon oil, was carried over trails to the interior, where game animals were predominantly lean and fat was an essential nutrient for winter survival. Most of these activities have continued into the present. The labor of slaves, who were either war captives or their children, was important in permitting the accumulation of surplus food for trade.

Commercial Activities. By the late nineteenth century the economic pattern included commercial salmon fishing, with women working in the canneries and men fishing. By the 1950s multinational forestry companies and canneries were dominant players in the economy of the Tsimshian area. As in the fur-trading period, there was an era of increased prosperity followed by depletion of resources, softening of foreign markets, and a marked decline that neared crisis proportions in the 1990s.

The economy of the Tsimshian continues to adapt. Forestry, fishing, sale of art, management of resources, government services, and a growing tourism industry are the major sources of income. Unemployment is high, especially seasonally, related to the cycles of commercial fishing and logging. The wage economy is supplemented by fishing for salmon, halibut, cod, herring, and oolachon; harvesting shellfish and berries; and hunting and trapping for use, trade, and sale.

Industrial Arts. Woodworking is a major traditional industry, including canoes, houses, and storage boxes; sculpture; and decorative painting on wooden house fronts and boxes. Ropes, fish nets, and baskets were principal manufactures in pre-nineteenth century Tsimshian communities.

Trade. The Tsimshian developed extensive trading networks over millennia, moving goods by canoe along the coast and rivers and packing them over a network of "grease trails" to the interior. Formal trade relationships were significant both within and between the Tsimshian-speaking divisions and with the Haida and Tlingit groups. Trade goods included preserved foods (shellfish, salmon, halibut, herring, fish roe, oolachon, grease, meat, seaweed, berries, and edible cambium), furs, basketry, rope, robes, carved horn spoons, canoes, storage containers, coppers, ochre, and slaves. Periods of intense production and preservation alternated with spring and fall trading expeditions and a winter ceremonial season.

Division of Labor. Women were responsible for weaving (baskets, mats, and robes) and making rope, fishing nets, traps, and other goods. The technology for weaving Chilkat blankets originated with the Tsimshian. Men produced cedar beams and plank timbers and used them in building houses, large cedar canoes, and bentwood boxes for cooking and the storage and transportation of food and for household property, especially oolachon oil. Men and women cooperated in constructing fish weirs and traps such as intertidal stone structures at river mouths. Men were primarily responsible for hunting and fishing, while women processed the catch and preserved it for the winter; both men and women harvested shellfish. There was also a division of labor by social class, with chiefs and matriarchs managing intergroup relations and directing the use of territories, resources, and labor. Lower-ranked people performed most of the activities of harvesting and production, while slaves did many of the onerous tasks, such as hauling water and firewood; their labor was es-

sential in the harvesting and preservation of food and in paddling canoes on long trading expeditions.

Land Tenure. The matrilineal house owned fishing, hunting, and gathering territories under the stewardship of ranked members. Since British Columbia has never signed treaties with the Tsimshian, their aboriginal title still exists. In the nineteenth century tiny reserves were allocated to each band, providing little more than a village site, a cemetery, and a bit of land for collecting firewood. All identified fishing stations were included in the reserves, but as the commercial cannery industry developed, Indians were restricted in their right to fish in the rivers and sell their catch as a distinction between 'subsistence' and commercial fisheries was imposed. The 1973 Supreme Court of Canada decision in the Calder case acknowledged that aboriginal title to land might be a living right and ushered in several decades of treaty negotiations. The Nisga'a Treaty is the only one that has been finalized and signed. Tsimshian communities have been negotiating under the British Columbia Treaty Process, but there is no sign *of* a final agreement. The 1997 Delgamuukw decision by the Supreme Court affirmed that aboriginal title may be a living right and that compensation is required if it is infringed. The Tsimshian continue to negotiate their aboriginal title and are suing for recognition of their aboriginal right to a commercial fishery.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The basic social unit is a matrilineal house whose members share a history of origin and the crests derived from that history. Each house belonged to one of four exogamous matrilineal clans designated by the names of the primary crest animals: Killerwhale, Eagle, Raven, and Wolf. All the members of a clan consider each other brothers and sisters, and marriages must be with members of other clans; hence, the clans were connected through marriage over many generations.

The most powerful houses and chiefs of each clan are the leading chiefs of the village, and the most powerful is considered the leading house and chief. Decision making is by consensus and involves all the chiefs and the matriarchs, who bring other people into the discussion through clan meetings and informal consultations. The primary responsibility of the chief or matriarch is to manage the territory of the house, provide for each member, and meet the social and ceremonial obligations of the house group as a whole. Chieftainships have been maintained and bear many responsibilities to their houses and communities. Since the imposition of the Indian Act election system in 1867 there have been elected band councils and chief councilors in all the communities, but their functions consist largely of administering village affairs. The Tsimshian Tribal Council has undertaken an "umbrella" role to facilitate the pursuit of land rights by all its member communities, and an advisory council *of* chiefs assists in its activities.

Kinship Terminology. The kinship system is of the Iroquois type, with separate terms for affines.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriages traditionally were arranged. Gift exchanges between the relatives of the bride and the groom were made, including a potlatch when the marriage was announced to others. There was a preference for marriage with a man's mother's brother's daughter, though this was relevant only for the highest-ranked members of society who were heirs to chiefly positions, for whom the primary goal of marriages was the consolidation of wealth and position.

Domestic Unit. The unit of production and consumption was the matrilineal house, which was managed by the *Sm'gigyet* (chief and matriarch) and a class of councilors. The ideal postmarital pattern, at least for high-ranking men who inherited noble names, was avunculocal residence. A boy would go to live with his mother's brother as a child, later succeeding to his name and position. Polygyny was permitted for chiefs, although it was apparently rare. A widow might marry her husband's successor or brother or could return to her own (brother's) house; divorce was probably frequent. Related houses cooperated and supported one another, while village wide activities were coordinated by the village chief and a council of house chiefs.

Inheritance. Since descent was reckoned matrilineally, succession to a man's names and position went in theory to a younger brother or a sister's son. Actual succession, which involved a number of situational factors, was often a source of controversy. Since property and resources were owned by the house, their stewardship was passed to the successor to the ranked names.

Socialization. Traditionally, the educational system drew on the resources of the extended family, with different members playing designated roles in raising and educating children. Grandparents, aunts, uncles, and parents taught children practical skills, values, and proper behavior. The chief or the matriarch of the house group instructed children in their house's history *(adawx)* and the laws of the people. As they matured, children accompanied their parents and other family members in learning place names and boundaries and assisting in productive activities. At puberty children entered the ceremonial life of the community; at that point aunts and uncles assisted in rites of passage and in preparations for marriage and adulthood.

This system of education was undermined by the church-sponsored shift to single-family homes, which was largely achieved at Metlakatla by the 1870s; legislated schooling (especially residential schools); and participation in the mainstream economy by adult members of the extended family. Education in communities was substandard until recently, and residential schools provided an education that was only marginally better. Since the 1970s aboriginal communities have had more control over the education of their children. There is a Tsimshian curriculum-development program in one provincial school district where 47 percent of students are native, and there have been several locally delivered social work and education degree cohorts in partnership with postsecondary institutions; Sm'algyax is taught in public schools and one university for credit.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The Tsimshian recognize four named social distinctions that often are called classes. Women were of the same levels as men, although their names and status

did not ordinarily entail the same sort of political power. All marriages were supposed to be between social equals; the children of parents of unequal rank inherited a rank no higher than that of the lower-ranked parent. The titleholders were ranked, and this was most apparent at feasts where the order of seating and the gifts given reflected rank. The social distinction between the sm'gigyet, or "real people" (singular *sm'oogyet,* or "chief")—the chiefly families—and the *likagigyet,* or "other people"—those who had names of a lesser rank—was maintained through intermarriage with other chiefly families, including Tsimshian speakers and members of other language groups (Tlingit, Haida, Haisla, and Heiltsuk). Free people who had not taken ancestral names in the potlatch system were termed *wah'ayin* or "unhealed people" ("without origin" or "having no relatives"). Slaves *(xaa* or *luungyit)* were captives taken in war or purchased from slavers, especially from the south, and their children; their status was hereditary.

Political Organization. Although matrilineal houses were the owners of territories and resources, they were linked into several types of organizations for political purposes. All the houses in a village would cooperate for defense, and the chief of the highest-ranking house was the village chief; in all clans the other houses were ranked under him in descending order. Houses also had connections beyond the local village, linking houses that shared *adaawx* (oral histories recounting the origin and migrations of houses). Members of related houses owed support and loyalty to one another and would not engage in warfare or raiding against one another. Houses tended to fluctuate in size over time, and if a house became small, it might recruit members from related houses, especially if there was no appropriate successor to a chiefly title.

Until well into the nineteenth century Tsimshian-speaking peoples regulated individual behavior and conducted community affairs through the institution of the house group and the leadership of hereditary chiefs and matriarchs. This system was challenged by the federal government's appointment of Indian agents and the imposition of a system of elected band councils. Besides undermining local structures of self-government, the new arrangements placed control over all matters concerning relations with the federal and provincial governments in the hands of a few people. At first communities adapted to the system by electing one of the leading hereditary chiefs to the post of chief councilor. However, the chiefs often were forced to rely on individuals who were familiar with the procedures, politics, and bureaucracy of the Department of Indian Affairs, and the position of band manager eventually was created to fill that need. Ultimately, the interplay of the hereditary system, the elected system, and a local Indian agent made routine decision making complicated and maximized the potential for divisions within and between communities, particularly since final approval of decisions had to be granted by the federal government. Counterbalancing the forces of division was continuing respect for the role of the hereditary chiefs, matriarchs, and elders and the perpetuation of the feast system.

The tribal councils have annual elected positions such as president, vice-president, treasurer, and board members. These positions are often contested, and the choices are considered with grave deliberation since the councils are responsible for land negotiations with the provincial and federal governments. Since 1996 the councils have been responsible for capital works, education, and social services.

Tribal councils are affiliated with the Canada-wide Assembly of First Nations and participate in its activities. The other active political organization is the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, which is both a fishing union and a political action organization. Members of the Tsimshian-speaking groups were prominent in this body when it was formed in the mid-twentieth century, and their continuing presence in large numbers in the brotherhood is reflective of their significant role in the fishing industry.

Political relationships with nearby cities, regions, and the provincial and federal governments generally are managed through the tribal council. Participation in provincial and federal politics is considerable though variable. In some communities the right to vote is exercised with enthusiasm, but in others almost no one votes and the external political system is often rejected.

Social Control. Village chiefs and house heads traditionally managed local affairs and settled disputes. Matriarchs had considerable control over stores of preserved foods and often participated in trading expeditions, actively trading and sometimes making trade decisions for the group. Trespass, resource theft, murder, and witchcraft were punishable by death or banishment. Injury, especially to a titleholder, was a serious offense; cleansing feasts "washed" a person who had made a mistake or had been injured.

Conflict. Intragroup hostilities generally were engaged in by house groups, sometimes involving several related houses. Raids for slaves, booty, and control of trading routes sometimes were made against villages in other nations; the network of relationships tended to temper hostilities among Tsimshian communities. The level of hostilities may have increased during the period of maritime fur trade, but the level of competitive feasting apparently increased, largely replacing armed conflict.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Northwest coastal peoples do not separate religion from other aspects of life. The spiritual vitality and interconnectedness of creation—humans, animals, plant life, and the spirit world—are acknowledged in every aspect of life. Spiritual beliefs and a value system based on them form the basis for the education of children and are emphasized throughout the lives of those destined to be leaders. The development of attitudes of respect begins at an early age and in the past was followed by specific spiritual training that empowered young adults to deal with the physical, social, and spiritual demands of life as an adult. Specific rituals were used for making contact with supernatural powers for healing and for winter ceremonial dancing and life-cycle rituals and in preparation for hunting. Chiefs controlled some forms of spiritual powers, and shamans had access to others. There were many types of shamans, including healing shamans and divining shamans as well as specialists who watched the sun and stars to predict the timing and bounty of the coming seasons.

Missionary activity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries culminated in the conversion of almost all the Tsimshian, with a number of syncretic beliefs emerg-

ing to form a distinctly Tsimshian Christianity. The practices of the long-established denominations (United Church, Anglican, and Salvation Army) have been incorporated into public events such as weddings, funerals, and political gatherings. People see no inconsistency in holding firmly to precontact ideas such as reincarnation along with Christian doctrines. The role of church services varies from community to community. There also are newer denominations and "revivals" conducted by traveling evangelical groups. Those groups often denounce drumming and traditional dancing as "heathen," whereas the mainstream denominations have apologized for their past behavior and now accept indigenous practices as legitimate forms of spirituality.

Religious Practitioners. Establishing and maintaining supernatural power and well-being were not relegated to religious specialists but were the responsibility of the political leaders *(sm'gigyet)*. Their religious responsibilities included demonstrating respect for animals and spirits in activities such as hunting, fishing, and the consumption of animal foods and during the volatile periods around rituals, birth, and death. The spiritual leadership of the sm'gigyet can be separated into four types of activity. In their role as house chiefs they were active in ritual occasions such as feasts and naming ceremonies; on those occasions they wore crests and ceremonial robes and headdresses. In their role as *naxnox* ("power") dancers they dramatized and validated the powers of their ancestors and houses through masked dances and dramas. As *smhalayt* ("real dancers"), garbed in *gwushalayt* (Chilkat dance robes) and *amhalayt* (frontlet headdresses not covering the face), with the raven rattle as a symbol of power, they initiated young people into ritual roles. The final formal named role for a leader was the *wihalayt* ("great dancer"), the leaders of the four secret societies into which many people were initiated. For that role the wihalayt wore red cedar-bark neck rings and danced to the music of whistles and drums. The chiefs' roles in ordering sacred relations were complemented by the activities of specialists called *swansk halayt* ("blowing shamans"), who were particularly active during serious illness or times of "bad luck" such as failure in a salmon run. Such events were understood to be due to events in the domain of power. Secret society dances apparently were borrowed from Haisla- and Heiltsuk-speaking people just before contact with Europeans; they were most fully expressed among the Southern Tsimshian, who obtained them directly from the Heiltsuk speakers and were only partially received by the other divisions. Most of the names for the dancers are Northern Wakashan in origin.

Ceremonies. Although the secret society dances were the most flamboyant expression of ceremonialism, the feast complex was the core around which the social system revolved. Through various types of feasts the social order was maintained and expressed, inheritance and succession were validated, and conflict was expressed and managed. The ability to manage the territories of the house and gather the support of contributors made it self-evident that the house was ritually clean and the event was proper. The constant features *of* a feast or "potlatch" were the division of the people into two groups—hosts and guests—and the public distribution of wealth by the hosts to the guests. The specific nature of the feast varied according to the purpose of the event: there were house-building, marriage, naming, funeral, and cleansing feasts (which "washed off' a mistake or indignity from an individual or group and "shut the mouths" of the guests).

The sociopolitical system of the Tsimshian persists in spite of efforts by government agencies to replace it with Euro-Canadian institutions. Although the Indian Act banned the potlatch in the nineteenth century, the Tsimshian continued to feast. During the era of repression defiance of the potlatch ban occurred in more remote communities where agents of the state did not reside. In the communities where police, Indian agents, and missionaries resided, people feasted privately in their homes and in some places covered their windows to avoid detection. Some charges were brought under the antipotlatch law, but they were not effective in ending the practice.

Arts. Fine bentwood boxes, totem poles, feast bowls, masks, ornate carved horn spoons, baskets, mats, and robes used in ceremonial dance and theatrical performances are now museum pieces. These arts were discouraged for decades but have seen a revival, and artists continue to produce these and other items such as limited edition prints for sale and use in Tsimshian communities and for the external art market.

Medicine. Good health is considered to be dependent on physical training from youth on, a healthy diet, and spiritual cleanliness (fasting and sexual abstention sometimes were practiced to achieve this before hunting or warfare). Some foods, such as grease, serve dual purposes as food and medicines for specific ailments. Other medicines, such as infusions of devil's club, yew wood, or poison root, are prescribed carefully for specific conditions. Illness was believed to be at least partly due to spiritual weakness or impurity, and the practices of the shaman marshaled the spiritual resources of the community to strengthen and purify the spirits of the patients, who were symbolically cleansed by having the shaman suck "dirty" objects from them and rub them with clean substances. The swansk halayt were not a separate social stratum like the sm'gigyet, and some sm'gigyet were shamans as well. Today health care practitioners provide services at village clinics and urban hospitals, but "Indian medicines" continue to be used.

Death and Afterlife. Death initiates a crisis in the house that is resolved through a memorial and feast, now with Christian services. A memorial totem pole was formerly erected by a successor to a chiefly name; a stone monument generally has replaced it. New babies often are recognized as reincarnations of the deceased by birthmarks or behavior. Adaawx referred to a special village to which the souls of the dead traveled before reincarnation.

For the original article on the Tsimshian, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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MARGARET SEGUIN ANDERSON

Tsonga

ETHNONYMS: Tsonga: collective noun for related ethnic groups in Mozambique and the Northern Province of South Africa; also called Shangana, Changana, Shangana-Tsonga, Changana-Tsonga. Smaller Tsonga groupings refer to themselves by their tribal names.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The name Tsonga comes from the Mozambican "Ronga," meaning "from the east." Some Northern Province Tsonga call themselves Shangana. Others refer to themselves as Tsonga. The confusing compound term Shangana-Tsonga is to be avoided.

About 700,000 Tsongas still live in the rural communal territories comprised of three areas (northern, central, and southern) in the east of the Northern Province of South Africa, divided into seven districts (Giyani, Malamulele, Hlanganani, Ritavi 1, Ritavi 2, Lulekani, and Mhala) with a total area of 2,535 square miles (6,565 square kilometers).

These areas lie between 1,575 and 1,800 feet (480 and 550 meters) above sea level. The terrain varies between the fairly mountainous north and the level mopane *(colophospermum mopane)* woodland south with its granite hillocks. Of the eight rivers in these areas, only the Levubu and the Great Letaba rivers are perennial.

The summers tend to be hot (86°F-109°F) and the winters cooler (73°F-95°F) and drier. Rainfall is mostly in October through March and averages 20-28 inches (50-70 centimeters). Soil fertility is generally low and the soil has a low water retaining capacity. Most of the land (87 percent) is used for stockbreeding, with a small proportion for agriculture (4 percent). Gold, clay, and sand reserves are mined on a limited scale.

Demography. The rural population was estimated in 1995 at 690,000 (6 percent in the eight proclaimed towns in these territories). More than one million Tsonga live permanently in other parts of South Africa. The population growth rate is about 4.8 percent (12 percent in the proclaimed towns); the birth rate is 30-40 per 1,000, and the mortality rate 20 per 1,000. More than half the population is younger than 15 years old.

Linguistic Affiliation. Tsonga is a South Bantu language, part of the larger Niger-Congo family of languages. It developed from Zulu, southern Mozambican Thonga, and Tembe and forms a bridge between Shona and Nguni. There are four Tsonga language groups: Tshwa (spoken in Mozambique); Ronga dialects (Mozambique); the Northern Province Tsonga dialects; and Maputsu or Tembe (Ingwavuma-district of Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa).

History *and Cultural Relations*

The Tsonga tribes lived peacefully in southern Mozambique from the sixteenth century until 1824, when the Shangana (named after their leader Soshangana) fled from Zululand after their defeat by the Zulu king, Shaka. The Shangana subjugated and assimilated Tsonga tribes. Some tribes fled to the northeastern parts of what is now the Northern Province of South Africa to settle under Venda/Sotho rule during the late 1830s. There was a second migration from Mozambique to the northern parts of South Africa after 1858 (due to a succession struggle between Soshangana's sons), and a third after the 1895 defeat of the Shangana by the Portuguese.

The ethnic composition of the South African Tsonga in 2001 consisted of Tsonga groups who fled to the Northern Province, including all the tribes in the northern and central areas, and Shangana tribes, mainly in the southern area.

In South Africa, legislation in 1913 and 1936 designated areas for exclusive Black occupation. Eventually, a homeland (Gazankulu) was established for the Tsonga. After 1994, Gazankulu became part of the Northern Province. The Tsonga are represented in the provincial government in a House of Traditional Leaders.

Settlements

Mozambican Tsongas still live in dispersed traditional homesteads *(kraals)* in round walled huts with conical thatched roofs. Circular kraals enclose central cattle byres. Each wife has her own hut. Unmarried boys share a hut, as do unmarried girls.

South African rural villages feature a western-style grid pattern (street blocks with square stands). Structures vary from typical round to square thatched huts, rectangular flat-roofed houses, and modern western-style houses. Traditionally, huts were built with natural materials. Modern dwellings are built with sun-dried bricks and corrugated iron roofs. Traditional layouts are still found outside villages.

Economy

Subsistence. Rural Tsonga still depend largely on a subsistence economy. The main economic activity is agriculture practiced by women. In South Africa the diet includes home-grown crops, goat meat, chicken, occasionally beef, game and wild fruit. In Mozambique fish also forms part of the diet. Women grow cassava, grain sorghum, and maize as a staple food. They also grow other vegetables and fruit—just enough to satisfy their own needs. They purchase additional foodstuffs.

Fields are seldom fertilized, but Mozambicans practice shifting cultivation and slash-and-burn. Leaves, berries, herbs and medicinal plants are collected. People make marula beer *(sclerocarya birred)* and lala palm beer *(hyphaene coriacea).*

Commercial Activities. Commercial Tsonga farmers in South Africa grow tomatoes, bananas, mangoes, avocados, pineapples, litchis, oranges, pawpaw, maize, cotton, nuts, and tobacco, mainly for the local market.

Labor migration is important to rural households. Many people in the communal rural areas of South Africa work for local commercial farmers or in the proclaimed towns. Most Tsonga have been in contact with the western monetary system, resulting in some individualization.

In proclaimed towns, government has stimulated industrial growth points and cooperative groups, manufacturing products including fencing wire, sisal mats, ceramics, baskets, and wooden articles. Most industrial products are exported, but some are marketed locally.

The business sector (butcheries, filling stations, printers, nurseries, retail enterprises, transport, catering, and accommodation services) is growing steadily. The Mozambican civil wars have left these Tsonga poor.

Industrial Arts. Women manufacture household articles such as sleeping mats made of grass, different types of baskets, clay pots, and strainers for beer making. The production of household articles from wood, of which the mortar and pestle used to pound maize are best known, is mainly the task of men.

Cultural tourism in rural communal areas in South Africa has stimulated the curio market, resulting in new products. Clay pots of different shapes with handles, wild animals carved from wood and soapstone, wooden pots with lids, and embroidery work on pillows are all new forms of art aimed at the curio market.

Trade. Tsonga women extract salt from salt-saturated soil according to a 1,700 year-old method for sale to other ethnic groups.

Division of Labor. Married women are entitled to arable land where they cultivate crops. Harvesting is usually cooperative. Men clear the land, while children guard crops from birds and animals. Women process crops, prepare food, make beer, collect firewood, carry water, and maintain huts.

Land Tenure. In South Africa, married men must apply to the ward headmen *(ndhuna)* for residential stands and arable land for their wives to tend. The stands are registered by the tribal secretary in the name of the applicant. Private land ownership outside proclaimed towns is impossible. Only the right of use applies to communal areas out of towns.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Tsonga tribes are composed of hierarchical patrilineal exogamic clans (sing. *xivongo,* pl. *swivongo).* Each clan consists of various hierarchical patrilineages. Children always belong to the father's lineage.

Kinship Terminology. There are at least six Tsonga dialects with terminological differences between blood relatives on both parents' sides. Paternal relatives are called *vakweru*—"those with us," "in our home." These include the father's sister, *hahani.* The father is called *tatana.*

The term *makweru* ("my brother") is also used to indicate first and second cousins who have the same paternal grandfather or great-grandfather, and maternal cousins, particularly the mother's sister's children. The mother (and her sisters, mothers in the second degree) is known as *mamona.* The mother's brother *(kokwana/malume)* is not a father. *Kok*wana* has three meanings: paternal grandfather, all the ancestors on the father's side, and all maternal male relatives.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Those who want to marry must be competent to do so—the bride and groom must reach puberty (in Mozambique and for some South African Tsonga people, this includes puberty rites). The groom must have his own income. There must be voluntary concurrence between the two family groups involved. A father can no longer negotiate a marriage without his child's consent or refuse consent without valid reasons. Marriage goods are delivered by the groom's father to the bride's father. The bride is transferred to the bridegroom's family. Couples commonly marry according to indigenous law and civil law. Church weddings are also fashionable.

Clan exogamy is practiced. As a second wife, the first wife's younger sister or wife's brother's daughter is preferred. Patrilocal residence after the wedding is traditionally preferred, but is no longer common after three months for older sons. The youngest brother must stay to look after his parents and inherits his father's homestead.

Divorce is agreed between the parties (the families, not the individuals) concerned. Only if the parties are unable to reach an agreement does the case go to a higher indigenous public court on appeal. Divorce terminates the parties' reciprocal duties of support. The wife's father retains the marriage goods if the husband caused the divorce, but has to return them if the wife caused the divorce. A divorced woman again becomes subject to her father's guardianship.

Domestic Unit. The basic household consists of husband, wife, and children, functioning as a separate local unit with specific reciprocal obligations.

Polygyny still occurs, but is declining among the younger generation. In Mozambique and South Africa, polygynous families occupy one homestead, or kraal. The different households in a homestead are ranked according to the order in which the various wives were married. The first wife is normally the principal wife.

Inheritance. Only the head of a homestead's estate is specified. General kraal property is separated from house property belonging to different wives' houses.

The eldest son of the principal wife normally inherits the bulk of general kraal property (cattle, ploughs, etc.), with smaller portions going to the principal heirs of the lesser households. The basic rule is that the widows and unmarried children of the deceased must be assured of continued support. House property must eventually be inherited by the sons of that house. Women are not entitled to inherit.

Socialization. No two children in a family have the same status. The ranking differences between children in a polygynous family are determined by sex, age, and the mother's rank. All boys are senior to all girls. Fathers concern themselves mainly with educating boys while mothers focus on girls.

After the age of seven, boys look after their fathers' goats. Boys hunt birds and small game, and play games, increasing their knowledge of plant and animal life through direct observation. At puberty, some rural boys undergo initiation (no longer among all Tsonga tribes), where they are educated about tribal history and the duties and responsibilities of a married man.

At the age of six, girls undertake small tasks, increasing in number as the girls grow older, including sweeping the homestead, fetching water, gathering wood, hoeing, and cooking. Between the onset of puberty and her daughter's marriage, the mother informs her of her sexual responsibilities, explains the taboos to which a girl or woman is subject, and trains her to be a good wife.

The introduction of formal education has had a considerable influence on the way Tsonga parents educate their children, widening the range of knowledge available to children but also making it difficult for children to carry out their traditional duties.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The smallest tribal social unit is the nuclear family where authority rests with the father. Polygynous and extended families (married man with married brothers and/or married sons and their dependents) are larger social units. Other social units are lineages that can in turn be grouped into clans, descendants of a common progenitor in the distant past. There is a lineage and a clan hierarchy within a tribe.

Political Organization. The hereditary chief *(hosi)* is generally the most senior member of the most senior lineage and clan within the tribe. He has to be appointed (by the ruling family council), trained, and inaugurated as chief. In South Africa, the tribal chief is also statutorily recognized. If he has not yet reached maturity when his father dies, a paternal uncle is normally appointed as regent.

The chief must rely on the personal advice of his senior relatives and of the tribal council (a closed council consisting of ward headmen, the senior relatives of the chief, and experts) . Tribal chiefs perform statutory, tribal, and ritual functions (the allocation and utilization of tribal land, administration, maintaining law and order, and settling disputes brought to his court on appeal from the ward headmen *[tindhuna]* of the different wards).

For administrative purposes the total tribal area is divided into a number of smaller administrative units or rural villages or wards (pl. *miganga),* designated by the chief-in-council, with the tindhuna appointed on ability. The ndhuna is responsible for allocating land, collecting taxes, and settling disputes in the ward or rural village *(muganga/malayini).* He also represents the inhabitants of his ward on the tribal council. He is assisted by his family members and specific functionaries.

Social Control. All figures of authority among the Tsonga have the right to administer law in disputes between individuals. A distinction can be made between family trials and trials in indigenous public courts (the courts of the ward headmen and the tribal chief). The same legal principles are used as the norm in all trials.

All trials are first heard in the family court. If the matter cannot be resolved, the case goes on appeal to a ward court, and from there to the tribal court. Only if the case cannot be resolved in the tribal court will the matter be referred to a (western) magistrate's court. The family, ward, and tribal courts can only deal with private cases; all criminal cases must be referred to the national or western court system. The aim in these trials is always to bring about reconciliation between the conflicting parties rather than to inflict punishment.

Conflict. The most important causes of conflict between ethnic groups are land issues and competition for scarce natural resources (primarily water and grazing). Intergroup conflict is resolved by strategic royal marriages and alliances, while intragroup conflict is resolved by the indigenous court systems.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Tsonga believe in a supreme being, *Shikwembu,* who created humans. He is not directly worshiped. The central theme in Tsonga religion is belief in and veneration of the spirits of the dead. A distinction is made between family (maternal and paternal) and alien ancestral spirits. The wishes of the ancestral spirits are generally revealed by means of divination after illness, misfortune, or dreams. The homestead of every senior family head has a platform that serves as an altar *(gandzelo)* for sacrifices (at the behest of a diviner) of food and beer to the family spirits.

Spirit possession occurs when the ancestral spirits call someone by means of symptoms of body pain, often in the legs. An alien spirit may also possess the person. The possessed person goes to a spirit medium for initiation and training as a spirit medium. Initiation is directed at accommodating the possessing spirit rather than exorcising it.

Of the Tsonga, 29 percent belong to Protestant or Roman Catholic churches and 13 percent to the Zionist separatist churches. A further 9 percent belong to the Pentecostal and Adventist churches. Of the remaining population, 48 percent do not belong to any church. More women than men

belong to a church. Despite affiliation to various Christian denominations, many continue to hold traditional beliefs.

Religious Practitioners. Magic is used for evil purposes *(vuloyi)* by evil sorcerers *(valoyi)* to harm the community. Conversely, magic is applied to the advantage of the community by the traditional practitioners *(tin'anga;* sing. *nanga)* who are usually both specialized herbalists and diviners.

Diviners consult the ancestral spirits using their divination instruments, especially the *tinholo,* a set of bones, to reveal the cause of misfortune and to determine what action (usually rites, sacrifices, or the use of potions) must be taken to rectify it. Healing prescriptions by a spirit medium are given while in a trance.

The eldest man in the family acts as priest when sacrifices are made to the ancestral spirits. When an illness is caused by the ancestral spirits in the lineage of the mother, the child's mother's brother (kokwana/malume) acts as priest.

Ceremonies. At birth a baby is cleansed and shown to his father before receiving a forename from the grandfather (if it is a boy) or grandmother (if it is a girl). The name is announced about a month after the birth. No special ceremony is involved.

In South Africa, initiation rites symbolizing the reaching of physical maturity and assimilation into the tribe have fallen into abeyance for both Tsonga boys and girls.

Cultural festivals feature traditional dances, choirs and drum majorettes, and speeches. Festivities may conclude with a sacrifice at royal graves.

Arts. Women make pottery—utilitarian objects bartered for food products or sold to tourists. There are Venda influences, and pots are increasingly decorated with shop-bought paint. Most women make grass mats to be used as sleeping mats or to sit on during the day. Tsonga women's beadwork does not convey messages, but indicates the status of the wearer.

Men make artistic but practical objects such as wooden bowls, calabashes, baskets, winnowing baskets, musical instruments, and mortars and pestles for pounding maize. Near towns, enamel basins and bowls have largely replaced wooden bowls, but most homesteads still pound maize, except people who stay near mills.

Medicine. The Tsonga believe that all phenomena, including humans, have particular power qualities. Such magical properties can be transferred to humans by taking potions or using amulets made of the parts of plants or animal organs in which the magical property resides. The people use western hospitals and clinics as well as diviners.

Death and Afterlife. Purification ceremonies are required from the family at various stages after the death. The official period of mourning for spouses is one year, during which period sexual intercourse is prohibited. Men are usually buried in the cattle-kraal and an ox is slaughtered to convey the deceased man's soul to the realm of the ancestral spirits.

Ideas about the afterlife are very closely related to views about life. Humans consist of a physical body *(mmiri)* which is discarded when one dies, and two non-material attributes (the *moya* and the *ndzhuti).* The moya is a general human attribute, associated with wind or breath, and enters the physical body at birth and leaves it at the moment of death. The ndzhuti is an individual personal attribute associated with a person's shadow or reflection and with the specific character of that person. Both attributes continue to exist after death, so that the spirits of the dead *(swikwembu)* not only have general human characteristics, but keep their individual characteristics as well.

For other cultures in South Africa, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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C. C. BOONZAAIER

Tujia

ETHNONYMS: Tujia (Mandarin Chinese), Bizika (Tujia)

Orientation

Identification and Location. *Tujia* means "local families" in Mandarin. Before the 1950s *tu* (local, native, bumpkin) and related terms referred to people whose ancestors had immigrated before the speaker's ancestors had. ``Outsiders" referred to later arrivals. In the early twentieth century locals were considered Han, in contrast to the Miao, who also live in the area in large numbers. However, outsiders and Han historical documents also derogatorily referred to locals as "barbarians" or "trash." In 1957, in China's national ethnic identification project, Tujia became an officially recognized minority category. An unrelated group was labeled Tu.

Most Tujia live in central China in the Wuling mountainous region at an elevation of 1,640 to 6,500 feet (500 to 2,000 meters). This area divides the Sichuan basin from the plains of the middle Yangtze River. Many Han and Miao and some Dong also live there.

Demography. In the national census of July 1990, there were 1,771,004 Tujia in Hubei Province; 1,794,855 in Hunan Province; 1,076,529 in Sichuan Province; 1,045 in Guizhou Province; and 37,026 in other areas, for a national total of 5,725,049. In that year the Tujia were the eighth largest ethnic group in the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Linguistic Affiliation. Throughout the twentieth century most Tujia spoke Southwest Mandarin. There is a Tujia spoken language—with northern and southern dialects but no writing system—that is classified as being on the Tibetan side of Sino-Tibetan. In 1986 linguists estimated that 170,000 people spoke the northern dialect and 3,000 to 4,000 spoke the southern dialect. The northern dialect zone includes the Qing River in Hubei, the Youshui River in northwestern Hunan, eastern Sichuan, and southeastern Guizhou. The southern dialect zone, with a quarter of the northern zone's population, includes the Wu River in Hunan.

History and Cultural Relations

Tujia are descendants of soldiers, farmers, laborers, and exiled convicts who were forced to migrate to this region over two millennia. The earliest known immigrants came in the first millennium B.C.E. from Chu, Qin, and Han, states whose peoples are considered ancestral to modern Han people. The earliest immigrants also included Ba peoples (a multiethnic confederation) who are not considered ancestral to Han. Many forced migrations occurred during the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911), both before and after Tujia areas were brought under direct imperial administration in the eighteenth century. Large-scale Han immigration also occurred in the 1930s during the Sino-Japanese war. Repeatedly, descendants of the earlier arrivals found themselves with local status compared to later immigrants. Much intermarriage occurred.

Officially, the Ba are Tujia ancestors, based on historical, archaeological, and linguistic research. Evidence of tiger worship especially suggests continuities between the Ba, two branches of the later Man, and the more recent Tu. Although most scholars view the Ba as the primary ancestors of the Tujia, they continue to debate other ancestors. Two millennia of multiethnic interaction make specifying origins difficult.

Tujia have long had a reputation for being clannish, violent, and prone to feuds and rebellion (see, for example, Tujia author Congwen Shen's writings). Some forced migrations of Han represented attempts to bring in a population that could be ruled more easily. Since 1950 Tujia have fit easily within the largely Han-run governmental system.

Settlements

Larger settlements cluster around rivers and in basins, but many settlements are in rugged terrain. Although the people living there were poor in 1996, the numerous elaborate sarcophagi and mausoleums showed that once it had been wealthy. Historically, the poorest settlements consisted of wooden and/or mud-built extensions to small caves or a series of houses within vast caves. The PRC government has periodically moved people from caves to houses, but some poor families prefer caves because they are cooler in the summer and warmer in the winter. Before 1949 many Tujia lived in tile-roofed wooden houses with a central room surrounded by a kitchen and secondary rooms. Some houses were raised, providing space for pigs, cattle, and latrines underneath. Tujia architecture was well known for a special form of wooden house, which is shared with several other southern minorities, that projects over the ground or water on several logs. Later, wood became scarce. By the 1990s, most homes were poured concrete structures.

Economy

Subsistence. Before the eighteenth century Tujia utilized a mixed subsistence pattern of shifting slash-and-burn agriculture, hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tujia areas became integrated into the larger regional commercial economy after coming under direct imperial administration. Tujia increased the scale of rice farming and largely replaced hunting and fishing with animal husbandry. The eighteenth-century introduction of New World crops (maize, potatoes, and sweet potatoes) supported a population boom. Modern farming technology arrived in the 1970s. Hybrid seeds, chemical fertilizers, and pesticides increased crop yields by pushing out many "unwanted" animals and plants from the agroecosystem. In the 1990s modern technology was used alongside older practices such as the use of night soil.

Commercial Activities. The oldest known item of trade was salt. An ancient stone road winds north through the Wuling Mountains to salt-producing centers near the Yangtze Gorges. Under imperial administration commercial activities increased dramatically. By the early twentieth century, and probably well before that time, the Tujia economy was entirely commercial. Farm families consumed some of what they produced, but most arable land was used for cash crops. Cloth, household goods, and many food items were largely bought in markets.

Industrial Arts. Since the eighteenth century, Tujia areas have exported mountain products, especially tung oil, timber

and charcoal, tea, lacquer, mushrooms, and medicinal herbs. Opium farming was a big business in the 1920s and 1930s, as was tobacco farming after 1949. In the 1990s police were concerned about illegal drug production there.

Trade. Historically, the major trade routes were rivers. The Yangtze, one of China's most important rivers, flows through the northern Tujia area. Several rivers and their tributaries connect Tujia areas throughout the Wuling Mountains to each other, to Han areas, and eventually to the Yangtze River. These rivers were still used for transportation in the 1990s, though rail and truck transport became more important after the 1960s. China's Three Gorges Dam project will affect these river systems. Air transport came in the 1990s, but most people could not afford it.

Division of Labor. Although women had extremely low status in the early twentieth century, most people experienced relatively little division of labor on gender lines. Women, like men, did heavy agricultural labor. Consequently, before its demise in the mid-twentieth century, foot binding was done later, less compactly, and less permanently for most women than it was for elite women. In the 1990s near urban areas, women and elderly men generally farmed and young men usually performed wage labor or ran small business ventures. Most domestic labor was women's work. In urban families both men and women generally earned wages.

Land Tenure. Before direct imperial administration, few sedentary landlords existed. Afterward, intensive sedentary farming supported a large landlord class. Tujia were both peasants and landlords. Since 1949 the PRC government has changed the farmland policy three times. In the early 1950s lands formerly owned by landlords were allocated to farmers. In the late 1950s all farmland became collectively held by communes. By doing agricultural work and other kinds of labor, families earned points that determined the distribution of food and other goods for consumption. In the early 1980s farmland was reallocated to individual households. National policy gave managerial authority to households, but ownership remained with the state.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Clans have long been important among the Tujia. Most Tujia men know their genealogical history and the clans they were related to patrilaterally. Before 1949 clans might worship ancestors together or provide schools for junior males. After 1980 Tujia often used kinship networks to accomplish social, economic, and political goals. However, clans do not appear to have had the strong corporate character found among lineages in southeastern China.

Kinship Terminology. Following Han custom, most men born before the Cultural Revolution (1967-1976) had a generational name shared by all the men in a generation. Individual Tujia men meeting for the first time could use it to locate their relative positions within the branches of a clan. In the 1990s some families began to use generational names again.

In the Tujia language kinship terminology may be of the Eskimo type. Nuclear family terms are distinguished from those for other relatives: The same terms are used for the father's father and the mother's father, and patrilateral and matrilateral cousins are referred to by the same term. However, no definitive classification has been published.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Reportedly, before the eighteenth century, Tujia selected their spouses freely and courting involved singing and dancing. Only the approval of a wizard *(wushi)* was necessary for a match. Han influence, however, led to arranged marriages controlled by parents, often for financial gain. Bride-price was frequently greater than dowry.

Like Han, most Tujia marry, and did so at least throughout the twentieth century. Before the practice was outlawed in 1950, child betrothals were common. Many women had their feet bound as girls after their future mothers-in-law sent the binding cloth as a gift. Girls usually were raised in their natal families and transferred to the husband's family after puberty. Some very poor families practiced a form of *tongyangxi* marriage, sending a daughter to be "adopted" by her future husband's family a few years before the wedding. In the 1990s many young adults consented to arranged marital introductions.

Immediate postmarital residence was primarily virilocal throughout the twentieth century. However, many couples reported setting up a neolocal residence later, depending on finances and the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relationship. A few men who reported arranging their own marriages set up independent residences.

Divorce was reportedly rare throughout the twentieth century except immediately after China's 1950 Marriage Law, which allowed for the easy dissolution of earlier arranged marriages. Remarriage after such divorces and after the death of a spouse was common.

Domestic Unit. The elite in the early twentieth century reportedly preferred married sons to live with their parents until after the birth of their first child; the family form thus cycled between nuclear, stem, and occasionally joint families. Among the poor, domestic needs for labor and the cost of setting up an independent residence could lead to a complex household structure. Many people who set up nuclear residences moved to urban areas, where they could more easily support themselves. In the 1990s people with sufficient means lived in nuclear households.

Inheritance. Although Tujia were culturally influenced by Han, their inheritance system was significantly different. Han sons usually inherited equally or had preference given to the oldest son. Among Tujia the youngest son often inherited most or all of the property. Older sons received an inheritance share when they left the family home after marriage, but parents kept enough property to support themselves and their younger children. Younger sons who remained in the family home to care for elderly parents and ancestral tablets inherited what their parents had kept. Among poor people, what youngest sons received amounted to most or all of the originally held property. By extension, the youngest branch of a clan generally held its ancestral tablets. In the 1990s people still expected youngest sons to care for their parents, though it was not clear whether those sons could still expect to inherit most of the property.

Socialization. Women were and are primarily responsible for child care. Like Han, Tujia strongly prefer sons, some-

thing that can be seen in educational patterns. Even in the 1990s, not all families could afford to educate their sons. Nevertheless, most students were boys. This male bias is much more visible in rural areas and at higher educational levels.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. For Tujia—as for many Han—patrilineal clan ties, landlord-tenant relations, and gender were probably the most important factors organizing social stratification before 1949, though Tujia had comparatively weak parental authority. In the early 1950s the PRC government classified people according to their former economic status: for example, as rich, middle, or poor peasant. These rankings determined social stratification until after the Cultural Revolution. In Tujia areas the government classified individuals by ethnic group in the early 1980s, but from that time through the 1990s ethnicity had little effect on most people.

Political Organization. The Yuan dynasty (1206-1368) brought Tujia under imperial rule. Indigenous or local rulers *(tusi)* had absolute authority over their Tujia subjects but were required to pay tribute to the emperor. Imperial officials arbitrated conflicts that often arose between local rulers over control of land and peasants. The imperial court used armies led by these rulers to suppress rebellions by Miao and Yao minorities.

In the early eighteenth century Tujia areas came under direct administration by the Qing bureaucracy. Officials who were trained in the Han Confucian system and had no local family ties were appointed for a specified term and were accountable to their bureaucratic superiors.

Although the first Tujia-Miao autonomous prefecture was established in Hunan in 1957, nationwide political upheavals put ethnic autonomous administration on hold. The early 1980s saw the establishment of one more Tujia-Miao autonomous prefecture (in Hubei) and nine autonomous counties. In accordance with PRC law, the majority of officials in these autonomous areas are Tujia or Miao.

Social Control. Before the eighteenth century, known social control lay in the hands of indigenous rulers. Enticements to bring new lands under cultivation included exemptions from tribute. However, the penalties for lawbreaking could be severe, including castration. Under imperial administration, primary social control apparently shifted to clan leaders. Rules made in the clan hall applied to all clan members. After 1949, clan halls were abolished and the new socialist government took over social control.

Conflict. Ethnic conflicts are historically unknown among Tujia, probably because they were distinguished as an ethnic minority only in the 1950s. Local conflicts took the form of clan feuds, household or territorial conflicts, and fighting with bandits. Clan feuds reportedly were a problem as recently as the Cultural Revolution.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. According to historical documents written by Han, ancestors of the Tujia worshiped mountains, stones, trees, and especially white tigers. A legend from a northern Tujia dialect zone told of an ancestor's soul becoming a white tiger and needing sacrifices of human blood to protect his descendants.

In the early twentieth century religious practices fit largely within the Han folk religion, especially in northern Tujia dialect areas. Local variants included the Wu magical tradition and the worship of a trio of deities whose surnames (Peng, Tian, and Xiang) derive from historical indigenous rulers. Worship of white tigers (one benevolent and one malicious) persisted in southern Tujia dialect areas through 1949. Folk healers *(tulaoshi)* specialized in warding off calamities by the malicious spirit. In the early twentieth century Western Catholic and Protestant missionaries made some converts.

All religious belief was suppressed during the Cultural Revolution. People did not begin to publicly conduct religious practices again until after 1980.

Religious Practitioners. In the early twentieth century two types of religious practitioners were particularly important: wizards (wushi or *duangong* in Mandarin, *tima* in Tujia) and Daoist priests. Wizards primarily treated the living, providing supernatural and sometimes herbal remedies for illnesses and other troubles. They also conducted expensive multiday rituals honoring ancestors. At the New Year some wizards traveled house to house to extort money by threatening to leave harmful charms. Daoist priests primarily conducted funerary rituals to send spirits of the dead to the afterworld. Although banned in the 1950s, many wizards and Daoist priests continued practicing until the Cultural Revolution. In the 1990s people again hired elderly wizards trained before 1949, though usually not Daoist priests.

Ceremonies. Perhaps the only ceremonies practiced by all Tujia were bridal laments—songs sung before marriage by groups of young women—but these ceremonies were shared with local Han. In some areas young men also gathered formally to sing before a wedding. Ceremonies mentioned as distinctively Tujia include celebrating the lunar new year earlier than the Han, ancestral ceremonies including a special hand-waving dance, an annual grave-lighting ceremony, and some death rituals. In the 1990s the state encouraged the celebration of some festivals, but no single festival was celebrated by all Tujia.

Arts. Lauded Tujia arts include architecture, music, and weaving. Folk songs follow locally variable formulas, including impromptu exchanges and even tricks. Woven craft goods include cloth as well as bamboo and rattan baskets.

Medicine. Before 1949 and since 1980 some religious practitioners have served as healers. Herbalists, following Han traditional medicine, have provided treatments for centuries. Scientific medicine arrived in urban areas in the twentieth century and has slowly expanded into rural areas.

Death and Afterlife. Like Han, Tujia made ancestral tablets before the Cultural Revolution. However, not every person had a tablet, and there was no belief that an ancestor without a tablet would have to beg in the afterworld. Tablets were not believed to house a spirit. They could be written without religious ceremony by any literate person and were handled without ritual precautions. Through the 1990s spirits were not thought to remain at graves or to be potentially dangerous to the living, so graves were commonly placed within villages and adjacent to houses.

The famous Tujia "dancing funeral" was limited to a small region and dancing only occurred for an elderly person with surviving children. Women and sons of the deceased never danced. Elsewhere, people hired professional musicians to play and sing. In some areas, descendants visited the grave annually for three years, bringing special paper banners that provided a place for souls to hide from the arrows shot at them by ghosts.

For the original article on Tujia, *see* Volume 6, Russia and Eurasia/China.

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Tumbuka

ETHNONYMS: Tumbuca, Tombucas, Matumbuka, Tambuka, Atimbuka; subgroups: Yombe, Nthali, Wenya, Hewe, Phoka, Kamanga, Henga

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Tumbuka consists of a congeries of peoples distributed over an area of about 11,000 square miles (28,500 square kilometers) in the northern regions of Malawi and Zambia. During the nineteenth century their territory was bounded to the south by the Dwangwa River, to the north by the North Rukuru River, to the east by Lake Malawi, and to the west by the valley of the Luangwa River.

The main groupings consist of the Yombe, Nthali, Wenya, and Hewe (sometimes identified as an extension of the Kamanga) and the Phoka, Kamanga, Henga, and Tumbuka. The Tumbuka cluster is bounded to the north by the Nkonde peoples, to the west by the Fungwe and Nyika, to the south by the Ngoni and Senga, and to the east by the Thonga. The southern Nkonde, Fungwe, Nyika, Thonga, and Senga sometimes are counted as Tumbuka, and some segments of the Ngoni are Tumbuka-speaking.

There is great variation in the altitude and climate in the areas inhabited by the Tumbuka. The altitude ranges from 500 feet (153 meters) in parts of the Henga valley to 7,000 to 8,000 feet (2,134 to 2,439 meters) in parts of the Nyika Plateau. The rainfall pattern is bimodal, with the most rainfall occurring from November to May. Average rainfall during the wet season varies from 33 inches (84 centimeters) in Mzimba District in Malawi to 49 inches (124 centimeters) in the Nyika Plateau. This wide variation in elevation and rainfall creates a variety of ecological zones with highly fertile agricultural regions in valleys, on plateaus, and along the banks of rivers and less fertile zones of sandy loam soils in parts of Muzuzu and Mzimba districts in Malawi.

Demography. In 2001 the population of the Tumbuka was estimated at a little over 2 million. During the British colonial period the Tumbuka were concentrated primarily in four districts in the northern region of Malawi and two in northeastern Zambia. In 1921 their population was estimated at 110,267 in northern Malawi, and by 1945 their numbers had increased to 114,542. From the 1987 census their numbers may be estimated at well over *200,000.* In 2001 the number of Tumbuka living in Malawi was estimated at *662,000,* with *406,000* living in Zambia. Another million Tumbuka-speaking people are said to reside in Tanzania and other central and southern African countries, a legacy of labor migration. Historically, however, the Tumbuka have been concentrated in the Malawi districts now known as Rumpi, Chitipa, Karonga, Nkhata Bay, and Mzimba and the Zambian districts of Isoka and Chama.

Linguistic Affiliation. Tumbuka is the language spoken by the congeries of peoples known as the Tumbuka. It is a central Bantu language in the Niger-Congo family. Historically, there were three main dialectical forms: Henga, Kamanga, and Phoka. Tumbuka is closely allied to Thonga, Fungwe,

and Nyika but is distinct from Cewa (Chinyanja). Through extended contact with the Cewa and Ngoni to the south and the Nkonde to the north, it has incorporated many Cewa, Ngoni, and Nkonde words and phrases. With a long history of labor migration and mission schooling, most Tumbuka men are fluent in a number of Bantu languages as well as English. Many men speak Chilapalapa, a lingua franca used in the mining regions of southern Africa. Women with six or more years of schooling are also fluent in English, the national language of Malawi and Zambia.

History *and Cultural Relations*

The history of the Tumbuka peoples spans more than two centuries and may be divided into four main periods. The first period consists of the years before 1780, when the region was sparsely populated by small clusters of shifting cultivators and hunters. The second period began, as accounts would have it, with the arrival of a small band of ivory and iron traders under the leadership of Mlowoka ("he who crossed over"). The traders crossed Lake Malawi from the east between 1780 and 1800 and established themselves as rulers, imposing a new political order of centralized government on the Tumbuka. Mlowoka established his rule at Nkamanga, which became the central kingdom under the Chikuramayembe (``the bringer of hoes") dynasty, with rulers being selected from the ruling royal clan, the Gondwes. By the time of his death, Mlowoka's authority extended over a large area from the Songwe River in the north to the Dwangwa in the south. His fellow traders also founded their own chiefdoms throughout the region under their own royal clans. They imposed new customs and modes of cultivation using iron hoes and engaged in long-distance trade.

The third period began in the mid-1850s with the invasion of the Ngoni, an Nguni people from South Africa; the defeat of the Nkamanga; and the subjugation of most Tumbuka chiefdoms. Domination of the region by the Ngoni lasted until the British defeated them and established their own rule during the first decade of the twentieth century. The British restored the line of the Chikuramayembe dynasty in 1907. The fourth period extended from the domination of the British South Africa Company and British colonial rule until Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia became the independent African states of Malawi and Zambia in 1963 and 1964, respectively.

During colonial rule only minor investments were made in developing the Tumbuka-speaking regions. Colonial documents described the region as the "dead north." The north became the principal source of cheap migrant labor for the developing urban areas of central and southern Africa. However, the Tumbuka-speaking peoples had the advantage of attending mission schools as early as the 1880s and were among the most highly educated Africans in the region. Throughout central Africa they were included in the designation "Nyasa," a term that referred to their educational accomplishments and occupational achievements.

Settlements

Historically, there has been variation in the settlement pattern of the Tumbuka peoples. A general pattern was for people to live in villages or dispersed domestic units. The villages consisted of clusters of rectangular thatched houses of agnatically related households. Each household had its own circular thatched granaries, kitchen, and bathhouse. There were also boys' houses *(Mpara)* and girls' houses *(Ntanganini)*.

During the period of cultivation, households often dispersed to their farming areas, residing in circular or rectangular wattle-and-daub thatched houses. Each domestic unit had its own farms and elevated circular thatched farm granaries. Households with cattle had their own kraals.

The settlement pattern has remained much the same, with some houses being constructed of brick with steel-framed glass windows and zinc roofing.

Economy

Subsistence. The Tumbuka are primarily small farmers who raise crops such as maize, millet, and beans, the main staples of the diet. They also grow cassava, rice, a variety of pumpkins, vegetables, and fruits such as bananas and oranges. Historically, maize was grown along the alluvial plains of rivers by *Dumbo* cultivation (along the banks of rivers), using hoes. Ox-drawn plows were introduced during colonial rule. Millet was cultivated through slash and burn agriculture, a practice known as *citemene.*

Women have been the main cultivators and the mainstay of the rural economy. Each married woman has her own farms and granaries and is supposed to provide for her children with the help of her husband. Since the Ngoni period, households have kept cattle and other livestock. The responsibility for caring for them falls to the males of the household.

During colonial rule, large numbers of Tumbuka men became labor migrants and households became increasingly dependent on the labor of women and the remittances sent home by men working for wages. With the declining economic opportunities for wage employment in the urban areas during the 1980s and 1990s, Tumbuka men returned to the rural areas, relying increasingly on agriculture and local sources of wage employment.

Commercial Activities. During the period of colonial rule the British introduced cash crops such as tobacco, coffee, cotton, and hybrid maize. Those crops were sold on the open market and to government-controlled marketing boards. Thus, there were opportunities for local wage employment, but the primary source of money to pay for domestic necessities (salt, soap, cloth, and metal pots and pans) and meet social obligations such as children's school fees and marriage payments came from labor migration. The men went off to the mines and urban centers of southern Africa and returned with goods, which they kept for themselves, gave to relatives, used as bride-wealth, and sold to others.

Since independence tobacco, hybrid maize, coffee, and cotton have been the main cash crops. The Tumbuka still rely on remittances from labor migration, but the opportunities for employment have lessened because of the declining economies of Malawi and Zambia.

Industrial Arts. In the precolonial period the Tumbuka produced much of what they consumed and used. They made bark cloth, pottery, reed baskets and mats, leatherwork, and iron tools. Much of this industrial production was replaced by commercially produced items during the period of colonial rule. The Tumbuka acquired useful skills from their mission-

ary schooling, such as masonry and carpentry, enabling them to enter urban job markets. They also used those skills to build local brick houses, schools, and dispensaries.

Trade. Before British rule the Tumbuka engaged in local and long- distance trading of ivory, skins, guns, steel knives and spears, and cloth. The trade extended to and beyond Lake Malawi to the coast and involved Arab and Swahili traders. During colonial rule they were part of the trade in used clothes. Traders would buy candy and other items, exchange them for maize and millet, and transport those crops to the Congo, where they would be traded for bales of used clothes. The clothes would be brought back and sold in the local markets. Since independence, crops have been traded in local markets and cash crops (tobacco, hybrid maize, millet, coffee, and cotton) have been sold to marketing boards and local and international traders.

Division of Labor. The Tumbuka practice a strict division of labor based on gender and age. The main domestic tasks involving the household are undertaken by the female members. Those tasks involve cleaning, fetching water and firewood, cooking, mending, and caring for children. Women engage in agricultural activities such as hoeing, planting, weeding, harvesting, and preparing food for storage and eating. Men help prepare the maize and millet fields; build and repair houses, granaries, kitchens, and bathhouses; take care of the livestock; and hunt and fish. They are the main traders and are expected to seek wage employment to provide household items, meet social obligations, and pay taxes. Women may earn money by making and selling millet beer and baking. Since independence many have actively engaged in commercial farming. With advancing age, the demands on older women and men decrease and they retire to their own small vegetable gardens, *cipa.*

Land Tenure. Land tenure varies in different regions. Historically, in its simplest and most general form, the chief and his royal agnates were the "owners of the land." This right was delegated to village headmen, who would allocate it to the heads of resident domestic units. The household head assigned land to his married sons, who then would assign fields to their wives. The picture becomes more complex depending on whether the headman was a commoner or a senior member of the royal clan. Ultimately, rights to the land were invested in the chieftainship. The Yombe and sections of the Kamanga provide examples of this pattern. More complicated patterns of land tenure developed among Tumbuka who adopted Ngoni customs and practices.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Most Tumbuka are organized into dispersed exogamous patrilineal descent groups (agnatic lineages) whose members trace descent from a common ancestor from a specific locality. Lineages are parts of clans that have the same clan name. Although lineages are exogamous, that is not always the case with clans.

Kinship Terminology. The kin terms of the Tumbuka have elements of the Omaha type of terminology in that the unity and solidarity of the lineage are recognized. The unity of generations is demonstrated by the fact that the men of the father's generation are called father and the men of the father's father's generation are classified as grandfathers or elder siblings, exemplifying the principle of the unity of alternate generations. The father's brother's children are classified as either brother or sister, and the father's sister's children as cousins. The mother's brother's children are called cousins, and the mother's sister's children are called brother or sister.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage customs and practices vary. The most general form begins with courtship, the negotiation and partial transfer of bride-wealth, the marriage ceremony, and the delivery of the bride to the residence of the groom and his immediate agnates. The marriage negotiations take place between the agnates of the bride and those of the groom, usually with the mutual consent of the couple. The central marriage payments may be made in cattle and money. Tumbuka custom allows for polygyny. Divorce traditionally was primarily an option for the husband, but in the 1990s it was a right claimed by women and often accorded to them by local courts. Since the major Christian denominations, such as the Presbyterian Free Church of Scotland and the Catholic Church, forbid polygyny and as a result of Western education, polygyny has become less prevalent. Western education and diminishing economic resources have also affected the prevalence of taking multiple wives. Sororal polygyny and window inheritance persist as widely practiced customs.

Domestic Unit. There is variation in the structure, composition, and size of domestic units. In general, they consist of linked households that are based on a three-generation extended family based on an agnatic core of male kinsmen. It is not uncommon for the male household head to be away working as a labor migrant. Among the Yombe the size and composition of domestic units have remained much the same since the 1960s, but this may change in the Uyombe chiefdom as well as among other Tumbuka peoples as men fail to leave home and others return from urban areas after failing to find wage employment.

Inheritance. Inheritance and succession are patrilineal. Lineage property such as cattle is inherited in the male line through a generation of brothers in order of seniority. Once the males of the generation have died, lineage property goes to the senior member of the next generation. There is, however, much leeway for contestation since many factors unrelated to age and sometimes to order of birth in polygynous families may contribute to the establishment of seniority. Succession to social positions may not always follow the pattern of inheritance. When a man dies, his wife is entitled to select his successor from his generational agnates, who include his brothers (real and classificatory) as well as his grandsons. Many Christian women select their oldest son and thus come under his authority, abrogating the rights of the husband's brothers.

Socialization. Children are cared for by their parents, siblings, and grandparents. In the past, at the age of about five to seven years, boys and girls took up residence with their peers and older youths in boys' houses and girls' houses. In the 1990s those houses consisted of only a small number of friends living together. Their size has been affected by the fact that many young boys and girls attend boarding schools.

Children and youths circulate freely between households, extended kin units, schools, and religious organizations, all of which contribute to their socialization.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Historically, most Tumbuka peoples were organized into small agnatic descent groups. Those descent groups had their own structure of kinship and ritual authority based on the seniority of older men. Women were subordinate members in their own descent groups and those into which they married. The arrival of Mlowoka and his band of traders did not disrupt those basic units but incorporated them into chiefdoms based on a centralized authority. The territorial framework consisted of the chief and his advisers and councils, subchiefs, and village headmen. The Ngoni incursions disrupted this pattern of authority, especially among the Kamanga. The rulers fled, and the Ngoni absorbed young men into their military regiments.

With British rule there was a resurgence of Tumbuka ethnic identity, a movement led by the emerging elite educated in Christian missions. The territorial system was restored. However, the newly educated elite entered the occupational structures created under colonial rule, becoming skilled artisans and craftsmen, school teachers, clerks, minor civil servants, religious leaders, and politicians. They founded schools and new religious organizations such as the Jordan and National churches. They went as labor migrants throughout eastern, central, and southern Africa and established themselves as leaders in ethnic, regional, and occupational associations. They became a force in Central African history, participating in the founding of the Malawi Congress Party in Malawi and the United National Independence Party in Zambia.

Political Organization. In the precolonial period the powers and authority of Tumbuka chiefs varied from chiefdom to chiefdom. Among the Kamanga congeries (including the Nkamanga, Hewe, Yombe, and Ntaliri chiefdoms) it would seem that chiefs had considerable judicial and ritual authority over the land and their subjects. They were the "owners of the land" with rights over its basic resources. They were entitled to ivory, skins, and other valued commodities. They had their own courts (Mpara), where they tried cases and settled disputes. They offered prayers to their lineage ancestors for the well-being of their subjects. However, the arrival of the Ngoni disrupted the structure of local authority and the ability of chiefs to rule.

Under British rule, patterns of chieftainship were restored and chiefs became Native Authorities, part of the structure of colonial administration. The Tumbuka chiefdoms were reorganized. Chiefs were selected from royal clans recognized by the British. They were in charge of courts and at the center of an administrative structure that included councils, court clerks and assessors, and chiefdom clerks and messengers. They were responsible for governing their people and to British authorities. They were minor administrators in the British colonial hierarchy. Chiefdoms were ordered into districts under district commissioners. In 1945 district boundaries were redrawn to reflect more accurately the British understanding of Tumbuka ethnic distributions. Independence did not eliminate chieftainship as an institution or fundamentally transform these chiefdoms in Malawi or Zambia. The Tumbuka still retain their ethnic identity.

Social Control. Disputes may be arbitrated within four main frameworks: domestic, kinship, territorial, and religious. Disputes related to household affairs, such as arguments between cowives, usually are settled by household heads. If arbitration is unsuccessful and the dispute relates to kinship, it may be heard by lineage elders. Disputes between villagers are heard by the village headman and, if he can not settle them, may be brought to the chief for arbitration. Disputes involving misfortunes may fall to ritual authorities such as lineage elders, diviners, and prophets for explanation, arbitration, and remediation. The local court hears civil cases related to property, debt, divorce, and marriage payments.

Conflict. The history of Tumbuka chiefdoms is one of a series of conflicts. Two stand out as the most significant: warfare against Ngoni raiders and the nationalist struggle against the British, which involved extensive civil disobedience.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Tumbuka religious beliefs fall within two main frameworks: the traditional and the Christian. The cultural elements of the traditional religious framework include a belief in a distant god (Leza/Chiuta) and in the power of ancestors and witches. Before British rule Leza was thought to be the supreme being, who created the world and everything within it. Once he had created the world, he withdrew from it, leaving human beings to manage their own affairs. The ancestor spirits of descent groups were the ones who affected the affairs of the living and communicated with Leza. Witches were believed to affect human affairs. The use of witchcraft involved special knowledge and the use of medicine to produce the desired effect. The advent of Christian missions beginning in the 1880s introduced a new inventory of spirits that became part of the Tumbuka field of religious beliefs. Although most Tumbuka are Christians, traditional religious forms remain part of their beliefs, providing explanations for their fortunes.

Religious Practitioners. The heads of agnatic descent groups, political authorities, diviners, and prophets are an integral part of Tumbuka religious beliefs and practices and are important for delineating the structures of social and ritual authority. Within the framework of the ancestor cult heads of descent groups perform rites to their ancestors to assure the well-being of their agnates. Village headmen and chiefs are also expected to make offerings for the welfare of their subjects. These customary practices are, however, on the decline, and many Christian Tumbuka have ceased to engage in them and do not believe in their efficacy. The belief in the powers of diviners *(ng'anga)* and prophets *(ncimi)* has persisted and is an integral part of the social structure. Diviners and prophets provide medicine for the afflicted and protection from witchcraft.

From the 1880s through the 1910s the Free Church of Scotland Presbyterian founded mission stations throughout the regions inhabited by the Tumbuka. The Tumbuka accepted Christianity. With this long experience with Christianity, most Tumbuka are Christians and belong to churches staffed by African preachers and ministers.

Ceremonies. There is no single ceremony shared by all Tumbuka that defines them as a people. Agnatic groups and chiefdoms may have their own individual ceremonies. An example is Vinkakanimba Day, an annual ceremony to recognize the founding of the Uyombe chiefdom in Zambia. Other Tumbuka chiefdoms have similar ceremonies commemorating their founding. The founder is believed to have been a member of Mlowoka's party of traders who crossed Lake Malawi. Most ceremonial occasions occur at critical points in the life cycle of individuals, domestic units, and agnatic groups. The most common ceremonial occasions are related to the birth of children, marriages, and deaths.

Arts. Tumbuka artistic expression is found in head ties, hair styles, necklaces, and bracelets. It also is represented in the decoration of houses, the making of baskets, and the design of pottery. The Tumbuka recognize the art and aesthetics of storytelling, preaching, and other forms of verbal communication.

Medicine. The Tumbuka rely on a number of sources for medicine and treatment. There are the traditional medical and ritual healers. The healers include herbalists, diviners, and prophets who know about the medicinal properties of a large number of medicinal plants. They may treat different diseases and afflictions, ranging from the common cold to spirit possession *(vimbuza).* Although most Tumbuka seek the services of these healers, they also rely on Western medicines and practices, and frequent dispensaries and hospitals.

Death and Afterlife. Death requires an explanation. It may be due to natural causes, witchcraft, or an angry ancestor spirit. When a person dies, the corpse is buried in a grave about 4 feet (1.2 meters) deep. The grave is considered to be a house with a special room for the deceased. The face of the corpse is carefully directed toward the locality from which his or her clan is believed to have originated. The period of mourning begins immediately after the burial and requires the confinement of the deceased's relatives. The day after the burial senior agnates return to inspect the grave for signs of witchcraft. Once the period of mourning is over, rites of purification are undertaken. Senior agnates may return to the grave and take the spirit of the deceased back to the house. Other rituals may be performed that transform the spirit into an ancestor. Ancestor spirits are believed to be close to their agnates and to affect their affairs. Many Christian Tumbuka follow these burial practices and accept the beliefs associated with them. They also believe in the Christian concepts of an afterlife involving heaven and hell and the day of judgment and resurrection.

For other cultures in Malawi and Zambia, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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GEORGE CLEMENT BOND

Tuscarora of North Carolina

ETHNONYMS: Croatan, Barbarous Indians

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Tuscarora are one of the original Six Nations of the Iroquois. Their name comes from the native term *skaru:re,* which means "the People of the Shirt" or "the Hemp Gatherers." The Tuscarora League in North Carolina consisted of at least three constituent groups: the Katenuaka, or Kau Ta Noah, which translates as "People of the Submerged Pine trees"; the Akawaentcaka; and the Skuaren or Skah-roh-reh (Tuscarora). The Tuscarora live in Robeson County in the southeastern part of North Carolina. The major river in Robeson County, the Lumber River (originally Drowning Creek), flows northwest to southeast, feeding into various swamps, including the Big Marsh, Big Raft, Richland, Burnt, and Back swamps.

Demography. The bands keep tribal rolls confidential, and therefore exact population figures are unavailable. Estimates place the population between 1,500 and 3,000.

Linguistic Affiliation. Tuscarora is part of the Iroquoian linguistic family group, which also includes Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca. Cherokee also is in this group, although the Cherokee are not members of the Six Nations. Those who belong to the Confederacy refer to themselves as *Haudenosaunee* or *Hotinonshonni,* which means "People of the Longhouse."

History and Cultural Relations

One *of* the first Europeans to make contact with the Tuscarora was John Lawson, who was hired in 1701 by the king of England to explore the interior of what was then called Carolina. Lawson traveled up the Neuse River and mentioned meeting the Tuscarora in his report. At that time the Tuscarora numbered around five thousand and occupied the entire

Carolina piedmont, extending from southern Virginia into the northern part of South Carolina. Also in 1701, Nathaniel Batts entered the region to trade, bringing with him metal pots, steel traps, knives, metal axes, guns, and, soon thereafter, liquor. In 1707 a smallpox epidemic devastated the Tuscarora. Overall, epidemic diseases would claim more lives than would warfare.

Traveling regularly between western New York and North Carolina to trade, some Tuscarora settled in Pennsylvania after receiving the governor's permission. However, European colonists began to encroach on their land and kidnap and sell the Tuscarora into slavery. In 1710 the Tuscarora petitioned the colonial governor of Pennsylvania to protest the taking of their lands and the enslavement of their people. The governor ignored the request, and in 1711 war broke out. Certain villages tried to prevent the war, but a leader known as King Hancock sent out warriors to attack the colonists.

The Tuscarora had formed a confederacy with various small tribes throughout the coastal part of North Carolina, and at first they were too powerful for the colonists. They attacked and massacred over two hundred Swiss colonists who had settled on Tuscarora land between the Neuse River and Pamlico Sound. In early 1712 Colonel John Barnwell arrived from South Carolina at the head of thirty white militiamen and some Yamasee, Cheraw, and Cherokee warriors. They attacked the Tuscarora's main village of Fort Narhantes and slaughtered all its inhabitants, who at the time consisted only of women, children, and elderly people. Joined by 250 North Carolina militiamen, Barnwell continued on to the village known as Fort Hancock on Catechna Creek, where they faced a formidable force of Tuscarora warriors. The battle lasted ten days, and 1,400 Tuscarora were killed and 1,000 were enslaved. To this day Catechna Creek has great significance for the Tuscarora. Although a treaty was signed, war broke out again the next year and the Tuscarora lost a thousand people during the three-day battle at Fort Neoheroka.

In 1715 another treaty was signed, and the remaining Tuscarora were placed on a reservation along the Pamlico River in Hyde County near Lake Mattamuskeet. Other survivors slowly migrated north, eventually joining the Seneca and Mohawk nations and becoming one of the little brothers of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. In 1717 King Tom Blount and his people, who had not gone to war, were granted land on the Roanoke River in Bertie County.

The North Carolina colonial government failed to protect land rights on the Tuscarora Reservation, and much of the land eventually ended up in the hands of white leaser's, forcing the Tuscarora to join the small groups that were migrating north. The migration occurred over a ninety-year period between 1713 and 1803. Some of the Tuscarora settled among the Oneida in villages along the Unadilla and Susquehanna rivers and among the Seneca along the Genesee River. According to the archaeologist David Phelps of East Carolina University, 645 families and five chiefs moved into the area of Hoke County and later into Robeson County, North Carolina. Many of them took Christian surnames that were common around the area of the reservation, such as Locklear, Jacobs, Oxendine, Chavis, Maynor, Lowrie, and Cumbo.

In 1732 Henry Berry and James Lowrie received land grants from King George II of England on Lowrie/Back Swamp, east of the Lumber River. For a hundred years the Tuscarora lived quietly in the area of Robeson County. During that period the ancestors of the Tuscarora of Robeson County lived by small farming. Because of their limited education, few Tuscarora had proper title to their land. However, some did own title to their land, voted, held office in the county government, and fought in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

In 1835 the North Carolina state constitutional convention was called on to address the question of disenfranchisement for persons of color (this term was applied to anyone who was not white, including Indians). Once disenfranchisement went into effect, it caused many people in the area of Robeson County to lose their land. In 1868 the state gave the Indians rights to their land in the state constitution.

In 1885 the state gave the Indians the name Croatan, and two years later it established the Croatan Indian Normal School (today the University of North Carolina at Pembroke). From 1888 until the 1930s the Indians of Robeson County petitioned the government for control of and funds for their schools. In the 1930s a group of Indians from Robeson County voiced their opposition to the name *Croatan.* Those people felt that the name denied them their true cultural identity and instead wanted to be recognized as Siouan. Some families among the Tuscarora of North Carolina were descended from a Siouan-speaking people, the Saponi, who were part of the colonial-era Tuscarora Confederacy. At the same time another group favored the name Cheraw, a group that gave birth to the people who today are known as the Lumbee.

In 1935 John Pearmain from Washington, DC, conducted a survey of Robeson County Indians. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) sent Doctor Carl Seltzer to conduct a study known as the "Recognize 22." Seltzer's study determined that 22 of the 220 people tested were full- or half-blooded Indians. Today all the Tuscarora trace their genealogy to one or more of the Recognize 22. Although this set in motion the process leading to tribal recognition and sovereignty, it would be decades before that was achieved.

The Tuscarora fought against the idea that they and the Lumbee were the same people. This issue came to a head during the late 1960s and early 1970s as the Indian schools of Robeson County were being forced to integrate. The Tuscarora clearly wanted to be separated from the Lumbee and began to study the Siouan history of North Carolina more closely. It was then that they discovered that the Siouan once had belonged to a confederacy of smaller tribes ruled by the Tuscarora Tribe of North Carolina. When families begin to go deeper into their genealogies and the migrations of their families, they discovered that many of them could trace their lineages back to the traditional homelands of the Tuscarora.

In 1956 Congress enacted the Lumbee Bill, recognizing the Cheraw tribe as Lumbee but denying them tribal sovereignty. The Tuscarora continued to press for their own autonomy and cultural identity. On 26 May 1961, a meeting was called to adopt "Barbarous" as a tribal name and to organize all the tribes of eastern North Carolina, which would be known as the Barbarous Indians. The name came from Indian records that identified the people of the southeast as "Barbarous Indians." In spite of the wide interest in tribal sovereignty, the effort died because of a lack of leadership.

In October 1972 the American Indian Movement (AIM) came to Robeson County as part of the "Trail of Tears" cross-country caravan to Washington, DC, seeking justice for Indian concerns. Many of the North Carolina Tuscarora joined the caravan and were present at the BIA takeover. AIM helped organize the Tuscarora into a more effective political group and movement.

Settlements

The Tuscarora live in western Robeson County, North Carolina. Their two major communities are Prospect and Union Chapel.

Economy

Subsistence. In the past, all the Tuscarora farmed. Only *30* to 40 percent of households farm in the early twenty-first century, although most families still maintain gardens—for some a matter of pride—to grow food for household consumption.

Commercial Activities. Farmers grew corn, cotton, and tobacco to sell. Tobacco historically was a profitable crop that helped improve the tribe's standard of living. Some contemporary Tuscarora run their own businesses in automobile maintenance and construction.

Industrial Arts. The Tuscarora are renowned carpenters, and many are also involved in heavy and light construction, such as tying steel and drywall work.

Trade. In the precontact period, the Tuscarora were well known as traders and had an extensive trade system with other tribes up and down the east coast from upstate New York into the southern states. Before colonial contact trade items consisted of corn, beans, pumpkins, squash, and bear and deer hides. Among trade items, one of the most valued was the seashells used to make wampum.

Division of Labor. The Tuscarora were originally swidden cultivators and hunters and gatherers. In Robeson County in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they became farmers. Today the Tuscarora work in farming, small businesses, factories, and professional occupations.

Land Tenure. The Tuscarora history of land tenure is one of dispossession, beginning with the loss of their original territory, then their reservation land, and finally their privately held land after disenfranchisement in the 1830s. However, the 1868 North Carolina constitution restored their land rights. As of 2002 70 percent of the Tuscarora own their land, while 30 percent rent or sharecrop. Land is seldom sold to outsiders.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The people of the Six Nations are a matrilineal society divided into clans that are represented by various animals. The seven clans of the Tuscarora are the Bear, Turtle, Wolf, Beaver, Sand Turtle (or Eel), Deer, and Snipe. People born into the same clan are considered relatives and are forbidden to marry one another. Children are born into the mother's clan. This system ensures that a child is born with an identity.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terms are based on the matrilineal clan system, in which all the members of the same generation refer to each other as brother or sister and those in different generations call each other father, mother, son, and daughter, or grandmother, grandfather, grandson, and granddaughter. Implicit in the use of these terms was the social responsibility normally associated with those family roles.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. In the Tuscarora marriage ceremony the couple pledge their love to each other, their nation, their clan, the immediate family, and their creator. The spouses exchange a basket of food, which is both a spiritual and a physical symbol of nourishing each other. The parents of the couple must state that they believe the spouses are ready to commit themselves to the marriage.

Domestic Unit. The longhouse is both a ceremonial and a spiritual gathering place for the Tuscarora. It is built of wood with a wooden floor and contains two fireplaces toward the center with a space between them. Benches line the walls. Women enter from the western door, and men enter from the eastern door. Clans have specific areas in which they sit. Clan mothers and clan chiefs sit in the place of honor. A thanksgiving address is often given before each ceremony, dance, or political gathering. The thanksgiving address acknowledges the creator, the ancestors, women, men, children, plant life, the animal kingdom, water, and the sky. After the thanksgiving address the purpose of the gathering is announced, usually by a clan mother or a spokesperson for her. The longhouse also has a symbolic meaning that the people should take with them the teachings of the longhouse wherever they go.

Socialization. Traditionally, wintertime was a period for telling legends and moral tales to the young. In the 1800s Native Americans set up their own school system separate from those of Americans of African and European descent. Those schools started in the churches and later were partially subsidized by the state. When the federal government enforced integration in the 1960s and 1970s, the state recognized the autonomy of the local school system for Native Americans only.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Local Indian identity was strictly maintained. A "blood committee" of elders verified each person's tribal affiliation. Strangers were ostracized until their full background was known. Children were not allowed to play with children they did not know. The two main community institutions were the church and the school. Membership in both depended on the elders' acknowledgment of a person's authentic bloodline.

The "Red Man's Lodge" was a secret society that governed the Siouan Indians. The Mohawk came down in the 1930s and 1940s to help the Siouan set up their longhouses, which among the Iroquois served as ceremonial and governmental centers.

Political Organization. Clans are governed by a clan mother, who is often the oldest living female. Two *sachems* (councilmen) represent a clan at the Tribal Council. Clan

mothers' nominate candidates to be sachems, who are then elected by the clan members. A sachem can be replaced if the clan mother feels he is not upholding the customary law known as the "Great Law of Peace" *(Kaianerekowa)* and is neglecting his responsibilities to the people. He is given two warnings; upon the third and final warning he is "dehorned," deer horns being a symbol of authority.

The major bands of Tuscarora in North Carolina are the Tuscarora Tribe of North Carolina, the Tuscarora Nation of North Carolina, the Eastern Carolina Tuscarora, and the Kau-Ta-Noah Tuscarora. The Tuscarora of North Carolina are members of the National Congress of American Indians. The 1980s saw the beginning of a movement to form a confederacy with the Tuscarora of New York and the Six Nations, which has yet to be realized.

Social Control. The "Great Law of Peace" contains over a hundred articles *(kowa)* that regulate social conduct, including funeral ceremonies; the treatment of unruly persons; the raising of children; behavior toward one's spouse, mother-in-law, and other kin; and the responsibilities of leaders. If anyone feels that the Great Law of Peace is being violated or threatened, he or she can sound an alarm by stating his or her concern at a council meeting.

Conflict. In the course of their history the Tuscarora have had conflicts with colonists, plantation owners, Lumbee Indians, and the state government. The Tuscarora Wars (1711-1715) were fierce and devastating for the Tuscarora, who fled north to find refuge among the Iroquois Confederacy and south to the marshes of southeastern North Carolina. During the Civil War, Henry Berry Lowrie became a folk hero as he and his gang raided plantations in the region until his disappearance in 1872. On March 23, 1973, Sachem/ Chief Howard Brooks held a public meeting without paying Lumbee officials the required fee. A standoff developed, and Brooks was arrested for incitement to riot. A total of fifty-eight Tuscarora were arrested, and Brooks was given a one-year sentence. Most of the other cases were thrown out of court. In February 1988 two young men entered *The Robesonian* (the Robeson County newspaper office) and padlocked the doors. Those young men wanted to draw attention to the drug and murder problems in Robeson County, including thirteen unsolved murders. The young men demanded that the governor look into the possible connection between the Robeson County Sheriff Department and the murders. The governor agreed, and the two men surrendered to the authorities. They were convicted and eventually served time in jail.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Like many Native American nations, the Tuscarora have no word for religion. They consider all aspects of life as being religious in nature. To the native peoples one's spiritual life should be so closely connected to one's daily routine that there is no separation between daily activities and spiritual affairs. Therefore, everything becomes a spiritual act.

The two major Christian denominations among the Tuscarora are the Native American United Methodist Association (NUMA) and the Burnt Swamp Baptist Association. Both denominations were founded locally. The Prospect Church is the largest NUMA congregation in the country. NUMA is part of a regional association, the Southeast Jurisdiction of Native American United Methodists.

Religious Practitioners. Sachems lead the longhouse ceremonies. The churches have their own Native American pastors.

Ceremonies. The Green Corn Ceremony celebrates with song, dance, and food the corn harvest. The ceremony is an acknowledgment of the Great Creator and offers thanks for being allowed to live until another season of celebration.

In the Midwinter Ceremony, also known as the stirring of ashes, the fire in the longhouse is allowed to go out. The ashes are considered to be a medicine and have healing powers. When the new fire is made, it is a symbol of the rekindling of a person's spirits and traditions. It is also a tine for interpreting dreams, holding healing ceremonies, settling disputes, and coming together as one in the longhouse.

The Strawberry Festival is a celebration of the harvest of wild strawberries. It is a rite of spiritual cleansing and physical purging. A drink made of strawberries is offered to all the people to spiritually clean them. Invitations are often sent to other members of the Six Nations to attend the celebration in the longhouse. The ceremonies and the Great Law bind the people of the Six Nations together. To be part of the Six Nations entails more than being a member of a confederacy; it is a spiritual pledge to be one people. Even though the Tuscarora of North Carolina have not been officially adopted into the Six Nations, they take part in their ceremonies.

For the original article on Tuscarora, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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DEREK LOWRY

Uzbeks

ETHNONYMS: The national and eponymous ethnonym is Ozbek. Uzbek is used by non-Uzbeks and Ozbek is the term used by Uzbeks themselves.

Orientation

Identification and Location. Uzbek or Ozbek becomes increasingly common after the middle of the fifteenth century. As a term first used for political-cum-ethnic distinction, it referred to the nomadic warriors associated with Shaibani Khan and the Shaibanids. These were a Turkic people who went on to conquer much of modern Uzbekistan. Their power was eclipsed early in the sixteenth century, and from then until the nineteenth century, the term Uzbek or Ozbek rarely crops up. Literally, the term translates as "Master of the Self." Today's sense of being "Uzbek" is largely a twentieth century creation of Soviet-style modernity. There are Uzbek populations in all of the modern Central Asian countries in addition to Afghanistan and western China.

The country of Uzbekistan contains deserts and mountains, with most of the population concentrated in the east and south. The major mountain ranges are part of the chains of the Tien Shan and Alai, found mostly in Uzbekistan's north and northeast, and south. There are lesser chains, such as the Nurota, in arid central Uzbekistan. Scenic alpine landscapes characterize parts of Tashkent and Samarkand provinces, as well as Uzbekistan's Ferghana valley provinces. Most of Uzbekistan is inhospitable to farming; approximately 11 percent of the land is arable, and much of this land requires extensive and intensive irrigation works for profitable yields.

Demography. Uzbekistan had one of the highest population growth rates of all the former Soviet republics, eclipsed only by Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. Notable population declines occurred during the Civil War period (1917-1924) and Collectivization through World War II (1929-1945). Although these are significant chunks of time, the overall historical trend in the twentieth century has been rapid population growth with birth rates exceeding 2 percent per year. At the outset of Russian colonization in the historic population centers of today's Uzbekistan, the overall Central Asian Uzbek population was between three and four million. Census figures for 2000 show that in this nation-state of about twenty-four million, almost 75 percent of the population is ethnically Uzbek, so there are probably sixteen to seventeen million Uzbeks in Uzbekistan today.

Linguistic Affiliation. The overwhelming majority of Uzbeks speak Uzbek, known as *Ozbekcha* to Uzbek speakers, which became a standardized literary language through the amalgam of Tashkent, Samarkand, and Ferghana valley dialects in the 1920s. The Uzbek literary heritage, however, dates back to the fifteenth century Chaghatay language. Modern Uzbek is a Turkic language, part of the larger Altaic language family, and includes much Persian vocabulary and grammar along with long-established Turkic linguistic patterns. It is classified as an eastern Turkic language associated with much older dialects of Chaghatai and Kipchak, terms still used as ethnic and linguistic markers. Modern Uzbek shares closest linguistic affiliations with Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Turkish, and Turkmen. There are regional dialects, including those spoken in Tashkent, the Ferghana valley, Khorezm (in the west), and the southern dialects of Kashka-Dario *(dario* means river in Uzbek) and Surkhan-Dario. Perhaps the most distinct regional dialect relative to all other Uzbek-language speakers is that of Khorezm, which is much closer to modern Turkish and Turkmen.

History and Cultural Relations

Although primordialism remains a very popular approach to theorizing ethnic history within Uzbekistan, the evidence indicates that Uzbek ethnic history shows great fluidity and a good deal of what one might call reconstructive surgery. There is no question that the Uzbeks have a pastoral nomadic Turkic heritage, and that Eurasian nomadic peoples, such as the Huns, Turks, Uighur, and Mongols form a part of the historical waves of Turkic invaders. However, Uzbeks also trace their ethnic origin in part to settled, agrarian Iranic, or Persian-speaking peoples. Over the past two millennia, modern Uzbek people's ethnic make up has involved the cross-fertilization of Chinese, Turks, South Asians, Iranians and Arabs, and even western Eurasian peoples. For at least five centuries, the people loosely grouped as today's Uzbeks have balanced farming and pastoralism with much merchandising and trading traditions associated with urban centers, such as Tashkent, Urgench, Khiva, Andijon and Kokand.

The increasing trend among Uzbeks since the nineteenth century has been towards intensive agriculture. Uzbekistan's history has not been characterized by any period of Uzbek unity or of an Uzbek state, but more by the existence of independent principalities or kingdoms, including those of Bukhara, Khiva, Kokand, and Tashkent. The current borders of Uzbekistan, finally worked out only in the mid-1920s, do not correspond to the limits of any former Uzbek territory. Since political independence in 1991, Uzbekistan's relationships with neighboring countries has been defined by tension, especially with Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan. Relations with Kazakhstan have been strained also. To its south and southwest, Uzbekistan had downright hostile relations with Taliban Afghanistan, and more or less normal relations with Iran and Pakistan. The Uzbeks of Afghanistan, who mainly live in the country's north, constitute a very large proportion of the Northern Alliance forces, the latter led by a very prominent Uzbek general, Rashid Dostum. Until late 2001, however, official ties between Uzbeks of Uzbekistan and Afghan Uzbeks were not particularly strong. Despite the inter-ethnic tensions between the Han Chinese state and its western Turkic peoples, the independent Turkic nation-states of Central Asia enjoy cordial

and productive working relations with the People's Republic of China.

Settlements

Because much of Uzbekistan's territory comprises deserts and semi-deserts, it only makes sense that the biggest population centers are in oases and their surroundings, and in valleys. Since the best water-fed areas are in the north, east and south, the greatest population centers are in those areas, with the notable exceptions of Nukus, Urgench-Khiva, and Navoii in central Uzbekistan. Tashkent, Samarkand, Namangan, and Bukhara are the largest Uzbek cities, and the water supplies of each of these cities are fed by glacial rivers, including the Syr Dario and Zeravshan. In Uzbekistan, any settlement above 30,000 is classified as urban or a city. While new villages and settlements were an ongoing process of the twentieth century, perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Soviet Central Asian settlements is their overall connection to larger centers through the construction of road, railway, airport, telephone, and telegraph systems. These systems have served to bring even Uzbekistan's most isolated locales in much better contact with regional and republican centers after World War II in comparison to neighbors such as Pakistan or Afghanistan.

Somewhere between 65 and 70 percent of Uzbekistan's population remains rural, and most of these people are settled on collective farms, some of which cover thousands of acres with farm populations reaching anywhere from 6,000 to 15,000 on average. In other words, the collective farms each comprise a number of villages, villages that were often settlements long before the imposition of Soviet power. The farms are slowly being broken up, but they are still the prevailing settlement pattern throughout the rural country. Historically, they serve the peasant locales with general stores, post offices, police stations, infirmaries or polyclinics, mills, machine and appliance repair shops, teahouses, and a mosque or two. Sometimes a collective farm might have its own weekly market, a *bozor* (bazaar), but one is much more likely to find rural residents visiting slightly larger regional settlements once a week to shop for necessities, everything from soap and shoes to spare parts and school supplies.

In the cities of Uzbekistan one finds ubiquitous examples of the well known Soviet-style apartment blocks, huge and fired brick behemoths, although many have decorative touches on the outside including colorful murals and concrete geometric designs over windows, created to reflect a Central Asian flavor. In the countryside there are also occasional examples of smaller-scale block-style housing. The vast majority live in single or extended family dwellings, the latter known as compounds. In Uzbekistan a typical rural family dwelling contains anywhere from four to sixteen inhabitants. Uzbeks are not particularly concerned with the outward appearance of their houses, though most are whitewashed or blue-washed and contain corrugated roofs. The houses are rather square and the flat area under the corrugated slanting roof material is usually used to store hay, vegetables, and firewood. Universally, housing materials in the countryside are wattle and daub, utilizing mud for bricks and finishing with an underlying framework of wood. In many regions of the country, especially central and western Uzbekistan, houses are redolent of the Native American southwest with an adobe style look. In the summertime, one often sees people sleeping atop their flat roofs. People covet fired bricks and quality wood, but they are in very short supply in Uzbekistan, especially in the post-Soviet era thanks to the loss of a centralized system of supply.

Economy

Subsistence. Most urban Uzbeks buy their own foodstuffs from markets and shops, although nearly all Uzbeks keep garden plots even in the cities both for fresh fruits and vegetables as well as for winter canning purposes. Even in the cities, people often keep chickens and sheep or goats. In the countryside everybody grows food, although it is very rare that people grow enough to be self-sufficient, even if they produce enough of a particular type of fruit, legume, nut, or vegetable. Therefore, all Uzbeks spend a significant amount of time shopping for their foodstuffs, even if this means just visiting the rural marketplaces. Poverty has increasingly become a factor of rural life, with well over 50 percent of the rural population living under the official poverty line. Still, nearly all transactions involving food are monetary ones. Barter is practiced but usually between or among local enterprises, so these tend to be large-scale transactions; an example of which may be diesel fuel for wheat or flour. Many rural residents, and increasingly urban residents, try to sell their own food products, craft items, or imported items. Petty trading has become the main means of survival for the mass of the Uzbek population.

Commercial Activities. Since 1991 Uzbekistan has slowly emerged from its second world status as part of the great socialist superpower to a kind of grudging market-type economy. The leadership of Uzbekistan embraces capitalism officially, but has made it difficult for low-level entrepreneurship to emerge. The government has hampered privatization of agrarian enterprises while refusing to make its currency, the *som,* convertible and refusing to free prices on staple goods, such as dairy, bread, and cottonseed oil.

As well as being an agricultural population, Uzbeks have long been associated with trading and merchandising, so along with the increase of petty trading, many Uzbeks are shopkeepers and craft manufacturers. The largest commercial enterprises center on cotton productivity, oil production, and gold mining; cotton farming involves the great mass of the peasantry, but it is very poorly remunerated.

Because of the Soviet command-administrative structure, most of Uzbekistan's industrial base was geared more toward the production of raw materials than finished goods. Independent Uzbekistan has worked hard to establish its growing industrialization, including the opening of food industry enterprises, automobile manufacturing, clothing and textile manufacture, glass factories, oil refineries, and porcelain factories. Industrial manufacture for internal consumption includes cotton, silk, wool, fruit and vegetable processing, glass, furniture, oil, cement, brick and porcelain enterprises. Uzbekistan's major industrializing export productivity centers on gold, cotton, marble, some oil, and some light foods industries.

Industrial Arts. Uzbek crafts include metal working, woodworking, textiles (cotton, silk, and wool), and instru-

ment making. Uzbek craftspeople are also renowned for their applied crafts, including tile painting and gypsum carving.

Trade. Uzbeks trade actively on the individual and group level and in local as well as international contexts. In the farming communities these items include meat, bread, tea, kabobs, watermelon, figs and pomegranates. Many peasants journey to large towns and cities to increase their trading networks, bringing everything from robes, knives, and skullcaps to honey and horses. The articles of trade are locally produced foodstuffs, handicrafts, and tools and inventory needed for agricultural work.

Over the past decade many young and enterprising Uzbeks have traveled abroad in groups, forming small networks of international traders. They often travel to Istanbul, Moscow, and Bangkok to trade in such goods as old silk textiles, knives, dried fruits, and tea sets. Many are also engaged in the lucrative sex trade.

Uzbeks have practiced overland trade for centuries and newly independent Uzbekistan continues older traditions of trade with the Chinese, Indians, and Iranians along with a newer orientation to western countries, such as Turkey, Germany, and the United States. Cotton exports help engage trade with Pakistan for sugar and Germany for pharmaceutical goods and transportation vehicles.

Division of Labor. The Soviet system allowed all men and women to collect a pension from their state jobs by age sixty. Nevertheless, able-bodied elderly Uzbeks are involved in all manner of work, if they so choose, but are especially valued for their childcare services and work around the home, including tending to gardens and animals. Older women continue to cook, make handicrafts, and clean, whereas elderly men still do plenty of work around the house involving repair and building. Children are expected to begin carrying out chores both in the home and in the fields from the age of five or six, and they often undertake light assignments with the help of older siblings; in general, such divisions are exactly those reproduced by sex later in life. Gender roles are rather strictly defined in Uzbekistan. Women's work is undervalued but more demanding on the whole and includes housework, cooking, childcare, milking, baking, drawing water, laundering, and doing the bulk of cotton sowing and harvesting. Men are responsible for much of the agricultural work associated with irrigation, gardening work, bringing animals to pasture, the driving and operating of machinery, all tasks associated with carpentry and home repair, and rural shopping. There is some overlap here in terms of gender roles, but by and large the divisions are rigid. In rural areas, one often encounters professionals hard at work at least around their own homes, but rarely in the fields, since their education and training has lifted them above their peasant status. Local officials often use their leadership and administrative status to avoid manual labor; however those who have earned their positions of agricultural expertise do spend more time working directly with peasants.

Land Tenure. Land tenure remains one of the hardest areas to discuss meaningfully. The reasons for this have mostly to do with the Soviet past of expropriation of nearly all lands and pastures as state property. The state ownership of all means of production, including real estate, means that many people have little or no knowledge of pre-1920s land tenure practices. Historically, land, animals, and inventory formed a part of state lands, the lands of religious endowments, and those owned by individuals who passed their holdings on to their children, so that land tenure followed inheritance patterns based on a mixture of Islamic law and *adat* (local custom). Pastoralists historically inherited usufruct rights to pastures and water sources, but only animals were passed down as owned property. Even during the socialist period, some livestock was inherited, but the use of pastures was radically altered according to collectivization principles.

On the cotton collectives, many people have a sense of land ownership, and many elderly people are well aware of who owned which lands. Overall, pre-Russian conquest land tenure in Uzbekistan appears to have been extremely stratified; the vast majority of peasants were nearly landless. Since the 1990s, land privatization has begun, but very slowly and unevenly; there seems to be little hope that people with old titles to lands will have them returned to their families, especially in the rural areas. Renting land is now possible, as is selling houses, but this does not mean that an individual actually owns the land, or that his or her children can inherit it according to pre-Soviet practices. In a country with scarce productive land and burgeoning population, the land tenure issue will likely remain difficult and unsatisfactory to most for a long time to come.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Uzbeks in various regions of their country are to greater and lesser degrees patrilineal, and this is reflected both in marriage patterns and social roles. Pastoralist Uzbeks are able to recount five to seven generations on both sides, but this is rarely the case among urban and farming Uzbeks.

Historically, Uzbeks have featured a clan and tribal division among the patrilineages. It is said that at one time there were more than one hundred Uzbek tribes, including the Naiman, Qipchoq, Noghai, Kungrat, and Ming. Fieldwork in central Uzbekistan provides evidence that many shepherds are capable of discussing their tribal affiliations, but few demonstrate any ability to discuss the precise meanings and structures of tribal organization. Political analysts commonly talk about the tribal affiliations with regard to state politics, but one must be careful about appropriating anthropological terminology here, for what the analysts really mean is that Uzbekistan's politics follow close regional alliances that are not necessarily patricians in the anthropological sense. In neighboring Kyrgyzstan, for example, discussion of clannish politics is much less metaphorical.

Kinship Terminology. Uzbek kin terminology recognizes age differences within generations, so there are distinct terms for older and younger brothers, as well as for older and younger sisters. Strangers always apply either sibling-age ranks or generational terms to one another, as if all people are related by consanguineal ties; thus anybody on the street becomes, for example, *aka* (older brother) or *singil* (younger sister) or *amaki* (father's brother) or *hola* (father's sister). Terms such as father and mother are also used, as are son or daughter when strangers of vastly different ages engage in conversation. Separate kin terms apply to father's brothers and sisters

and mother's brothers and sisters, and there are separate sex-marked terms for affinal relatives. There is a cousin terminology, employing terms such as *jiian* and *togha/hola bache,* but people often refer to their first cousins on both sides as brothers and sisters, although they use the terms mentioned above when describing the actual relationship.

The term *bolalar* (children) is often used by a man to refer to his entire nuclear family, including his wife; she is thus subsumed under the general term "children."

Marriage *and Family*

Marriage. As Muslims, Uzbeks see marriage as a central and necessary part in the life of an individual. Polygyny was allowed under Islamic shari'a but later banned by Soviet power. Since independence (1991) there has been a slow return to unofficial polygyny, but polygynous unions are rare. In cities the average age at marriage tends to be in the early twenties, and in the late teens in the countryside. Because of Uzbekistan's precipitous economic decline since the late 1980s many young people are deferring marriage until they can accumulate money. This is the case for both men and women, as both parties must bring money, goods, and gifts to the union. In Uzbekistan, *qalym* (bride-wealth) must be paid by the groom's side to the bride's family, and she brings household goods and clothing to the union. The emphasis in marriage is on the uniting of families, and certainly people look to strategic aspects of their future affinals, including professions of the family, education level, and whether or not they are townsfolk or villagers.

Uzbeks typically arrange marriages. The newly married couple takes up either a patrilocal or virilocal residence. Historically, the extended patrilineal family—a set of parents, their married sons and grandchildren—all live within a compound. Uzbeks also feature a stem family, meaning that the youngest son eventually retains ownership of the house after his older brothers have established new residences. In the postwar period there has been a greater increase toward nuclear or small extended family housing arrangements, and one may expect this trend to continue in both cities and villages.

Domestic Unit. A typical extended family unit often lives in a house of four to six rooms with a separated enclosed kitchen, sleeping rooms, and a central guest room. Families typically eat and sleep separated by sex, except for children. Most domestic units surround an inner courtyard where the family normally eats and sometimes sleeps when the weather is warm. In villages, running water and gas are generally absent, although almost all have had electricity since the early 1960s.

Inheritance. Traditionally, Uzbek inheritance was androcentric, with little or nothing going to daughters in terms of land, homes, or livestock, save in the form of movable property for her wedding. In fact, daughters are seen as a financial drain because families should begin to save for their wedding parties and wedding gifts from the time they are born. Youngest sons often received the lion's share of real estate and livestock, although inheritance rules show some flexibility and often depend on the individual family. Although not strictly practiced or enforced, the typical pattern has been one of ultimogeniture, an institution long observed among Turko-Mongolian peoples.

Socialization. Women are expected to be primary caretakers of children, with a heavy reliance on grandmothers and female relatives and friends. Uzbek children grow up often with a large number of relatives and neighbors watching out for them.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Uzbeks pride themselves on their respect for authority and age, and, as a result, young people tend to be very deferential toward those older than themselves, and people in general act deferentially toward those with responsible or professional status, including politicians, local leaders, doctors, and scholars. When meeting someone for the first time, shaking hands or hugging and exchanging pleasantries are very important. Until recently, social stratification only really existed between people associated with professional and political positions and those from the more common orders. Since the mid-1990s economic stratification has intensified, and economic class stratification has divided people from one another in ways that have been experienced for about three generations. Moreover, certain categories of individuals, such as Khojas and Sayids, have always been accorded special respect because of their long associations in Islamic history through education, leadership, and descent from the Prophet Muhammad. Such people continue to have leadership positions in society, and this can be seen through matching their surnames, i.e., Khojaev or Mirsaidov, to their professions.

Political Organization. Uzbekistan officially presents itself as a parliamentary democracy, and in fact it is officially a multi-party state, but in practice the People's Democratic Party and the Uzbek Supreme Council/Parliament act as one, and most of the advanced leadership is a holdover body from the Communist Party. The three to four political parties are little more than pocket parties who support the decisions of the president and his inner circle. The leadership of Tashkent is challenged not so much by ideological opponents as by regional interests. Elections are held, but the choices are little better than what existed under Soviet rule. Intense debate as a part of wide decision making processes affecting the country are virtually absent, and rule proceeds in a very top-down manner.

Social Control. Uzbeks are conflicted over matters of pluralism, religion, and women's rights. The lack of democratic freedoms or of a vibrant civil society sector may have pushed certain groups toward violence as a means toward expressing grievances and accessing power. Some terrorism has occurred, targeting the Uzbek leadership and law enforcement officials since 1997, with apparent links to the repression of Islamic groups. In general, the terrorism has led to massive repression not merely of Islamists but also of ordinary Muslims and human rights advocates. The Uzbek government strongly supports a secular society with the Soviet rights for women maintained. An assault on women's rights, if one can call it this, only comes from small pockets of radical religious organizations and does not characterize the vast majority of Uzbeks.

Crime has been on the rise for years as economic conditions worsen, and the police deal very harshly with suspected criminals. Stiff jail terms and capital punishment are meted out at will.

The closest institution the Uzbeks have that reflects the idea of civil society is the *mahalla komitet*, or neighborhood committee, whose roots long antedate the USSR. Nevertheless, these neighborhood watch and welfare organizations often have ties to the state, so they have at various times served more as a repressive institution of the state than one of civil society. Since Uzbekistan became independent, however, they have played a greater and more independent role in asserting the needs and interests of small-scale groups. They play a pivotal role in resolving domestic disputes, petty crimes, and social welfare complaints. In the countryside, conflicts increasingly devolve around ideas of ownership and territoriality with regard to cultivated fields and pastures. When conflicts result in assaults or murder, then the police are called in.

Conflict. During the 1990s and through the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Uzbekistan's state military has been involved in skirmishes with Islamists (those who use the Islamic faith to advance political causes violently and nonviolently), the Kyrgyz and Tajik authorities, and most recently, in Afhganistan in conjunction with the United States assault on the Taliban and al-Qaeda.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The overwhelming majority of Uzbeks are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi rite (one of the four major schools of Islamic jurisprudence). There are also many Uzbeks who adhere to a Sufistic variant of Islam, including those associated with Naqshbandiia and Yassawiia, Central Asian Sufi orders dating to the medieval period. There are also indigenous Jewish and Christian populations, but they are small and shrinking.

In the territory of Uzbekistan, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Christianity also existed and antedated Islam. In general, Uzbeks are tolerant and respectful of other faiths. The official position of atheism, espoused by the Soviet Union, has left a strong impact of skepticism and agnosticism among members of the older generations. Since the 1980s there have been growing tendencies of Wahabism, Hizb-ut-Tahrir, and Taliban-style Islam among the young. It is hard to estimate what percentage adhere to these very extremist religious orientations, but it is probably in the tens of thousands.

In many parts of Uzbekistan, people mix normative Islam with pre-Islamic beliefs, including the power of amulets, water sources, and sacred places. In fact, one finds shrine worship spread throughout Central Asia. Many Uzbeks are having to relearn Islam since practicing religion was strongly discouraged during the Soviet period.

Religious Practitioners. Uzbekistan has several levels of an officially recognized Muslim leadership, recognized foremost in the mufti of Tashkent. In the other cities, there are officially recognized mosques, but throughout the country vast numbers of practicing Muslims do not strongly associate with the official mosques, but with their own independent mosques and their local imams (religious leaders akin to priests). Among the Sufi orders, there are *pirs*, who lead groups in religious practice and Sufi rites. In the villages the *mullos* (part-time religious leaders) are the religious authorities, but often they are not formally schooled practitioners, merely people with an avowed spiritual direction. They increasingly preside over lifecycle events such as weddings and male circumcisions.

Ceremonies. Uzbeks observe the major Muslim holidays with increasing frequency, including Ramadan, and the Eids (or Hants), marking the end of the fast, and days of remembrance for deceased relatives. They also celebrate important rites of spring that antedate Islam, especially Navruz (Irano-Turkic New Year). Pre-Islamic beliefs that have merged with Islam often take the form of ceremonies in which women attempt to become pregnant or pray for ill relatives. Then the family may make a pilgrimage together to a holy shrine, including a sacred spring or to the supposed site of the tomb of a saint. Uzbeks try to make the haj, but may go to Samarkand or Bukhara instead of Mecca as a substitute.

Lifecycle events, including weddings, births, deaths, circumcisions, and birthdays are all marked by ceremonies including feasting and extended family and neighborly visiting.

Arts. Uzbeks have long been associated with literary creativity, especially poetry, including epics. In addition to the development of renowned nineteenth and twentieth century literary forms, including the novel and short story, Uzbeks may be proudest of their "Shakespeare," the fifteenth century litterateur, Mir Alisher Navoii. Music, including the famous *maqqam* style (known in Persia and Northern India), singing, and dancing are highly developed expressive forms, varying significantly from east to west in the country. Carving in wood and gypsum, tile work, textiles *(hon atlas* tie-dyeing and *suzani* production), and the painting of their own dwellings are beloved forms of both high art and folk production.

Uzbeks do not concern themselves much with Islamic prohibitions on representing nature and living things, although geometric designs are also prominent and beautifully represented in carving and other forms of ornamental architecture. Nature motifs are commonly found painted on the walls and ceilings of people's homes.

Medicine. Although most Uzbeks rely upon modern medicines to cure illness and disease, the collapse of the Soviet system and the attendant development of poverty brought about renewed interest in folk medicines, especially herbal remedies and homeopathic solutions. Uzbeks are strong believers in balancing the humors, in which diet and food combinations play a very important role. For intestinal ailments, for example, people may suggest salt in vodka, and for general pain, a bit of opium, when available, in tea. A strong and growing belief in folk remedies happily coexists with reliance on modern medicines, and the influence of the former has grown during the past decade.

Death and Afterlife. With regard to death, Uzbeks generally have Muslim funerals. They adhere to the notion of heaven and hell, believing that there will be a Judgment Day for all the deceased. In practice, people host family and neighbors for several days after someone has died at home, although a body is often buried the day of death or the following day, after having been ritually washed and wrapped in a shroud. Gathering and feasting is vital to the ritual. Men usu-

ally take the funeral pallet to the cemetery, friends help dig the grave, and a mullo or imam says prayers before the burial. The deceased's head is laid in the ground to face Mecca. Days of Remembrance *(Haiit* in Uzbek) follow on set days for years after a person has died. These include visitations and feasts at the home where the person lived.

For the original article on Uzbeks, *see* Volume 6, Russia and Eurasia/China.

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RUSSELL ZANCA

Venda

ETHNONYMS: Vhavenda, Bavenda

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Venda traditionally occupy an area in and around the Soutpansberg Mountains in the northeastern section of South Africa's Northern Province, close to the borders with Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The name *Venda* refers to both the people and the territory they inhabit. The eastern boundary of this region is formed by the Kruger National Park on the border of Mozambique. To the south is the Shangaan cultural group. The western boundaries are formed by agricultural farmlands and cattle ranches owned by English- and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans as well as areas inhabited by the Northern Sotho. To the north is the Limpopo River, the international boundary with Zimbabwe, where many Venda people live under six chiefs in the southern and central parts of that country.

Venda is located between 22° 15" and 23° 45" S. and 29° 50" and 31° 30" E., with a height of 787 to 4,592 feet (240 to 1,400 meters) above sea level. The Soutpansberg mountain range stretches in an east-west direction for approximately 94 miles (150 kilometers), with the eastern half breaking up into three parallel ranges with fertile valleys between them. The main rivers are the Nzhelele, Mutale, Mutshindudi, and Luvuvhu, all of which drain into the Limpopo. The northern section between the mountains and the Limpopo River is hot and arid. Parts of the central zone as well as the area to the south of the Soutpansberg range have a hot, humid subtropical climate with high rainfall and are suitable for agriculture and the growing of subtropical fruits. Winters are mild and generally frost-free. Prevailing winds are from the east, frequently shrouding the mountains in clouds. Violent thunderstorms come from the west.

Demography. In 1935 it was estimated that there were about 160,000 Venda people living in South Africa, with an unknown number residing outside that country. In 1979 the population of Vendaland was 360,000, with an estimated 150,000 Venda living elsewhere, mostly migrant workers in the major industrial cities of South Africa. The 1996 census indicated a total of 758,200 persons, but there are no recent estimations of the number of Vhavenda outside South Africa.

With the dismantling of the apartheid system and the repeal of discriminatory legislation that started in 1989 and was completed in 1994, the way was opened for an increase in migratory labor to the industrial centers and major cities in South Africa.

Linguistic Affiliation. The spoken language is called Tshivenda and is in the Bantu branch of the Niger-Congo language family. The language has strong links with the Shona language but uses many words derived from Sesotho. For many years it was thought that the Venda had borrowed words from their Sotho neighbors. However, linguistic and archaeological evidence suggests that Tshivenda originated from two different early Shona language dialects that moved into the Soutpansberg Mountains around 1200 C.E. and again around 1450, where they mixed with an early proto-Sotho language.

The language makes much use of metaphors and symbolism, the context of which remains even when Venda persons speak English. When a man says that he is going to ``climb the mountain," the listener must judge whether this is meant literally or figuratively. If it is figuratively meant, the speaker is going to see a chief.

History and Cultural Relations

The Venda are not a homogeneous ethnic group but consist of numerous clans that settled in the Soutpansberg area at various times over the last six hundred years. Oral traditions refer to numerous migrations, mainly of small clans or parts of clans whose names have counterparts among the Karanga. Three major migrations took place. Two of them (the Vhatavhatsinde and MaKkwinde groups) occurred early, and on entering the Soutpansberg area, the migrants found that it was occupied by people calling themselves VhaNgona. The third migration was that of the Singo clan, whose members became the unifiers and rulers of all the people living in and around the Soutpansberg area in approximately 1720. Many of the documented traditions relate to the customs and history of this clan, and it is only since 1985 that smaller clans have spoken openly about an alternative history.

From excavations and research done in the Soutpansberg region, the Limpopo Valley, northeastern Botswana, and the modern state of Zimbabwe, a more complicated his-

tory and cultural development going back to 900 C.E. can be reconstructed.

Between 900 and 1300 local communities in the area surrounding the junction of the Shashe and Limpopo rivers, where South Africa, Botswana, and Zimbabwe meet, developed a trade network with Arab-Islamic traders living along the African east coast, exchanging ivory, hides, and gold for glass beads, cloth, and other goods. At first trade was tentative, but it increased dramatically, changing an agropastoralist lifestyle into one dominated by trade. Initially, the local people measured wealth and status by the number of cattle, sheep, and goats a person owned, but over time this changed, with livestock being replaced by the possession of exotic goods acquired through trade as a status symbol.

During that period three capital towns developed in the Shashe-Limpopo Valley, each larger than the previous one, culminating in Mapungubwe, the capital of a kingdom stretching from the Soutpansberg Mountains in the south northward to the Matopo Hills near Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. At the time of Mapungubwe (1220-1300) a system of divine kingship developed in which the royal family became physically separated from the commoners by living on top of an elongated hill with steep cliffs and a limited number of routes to the top, all of which were guarded. Neatly built stone walls were constructed at this site. Between 1933 and 1940 a royal burial ground was excavated, containing skeletons buried with golden beads, bangles, and other ritual ornaments, including the well-known golden rhinoceros.

When Mapungubwe ceased to exist, the center of power for the region moved to the Masvingo area in modern Zimbabwe, where the extensive walls of the Great Zimbabwe (an ancient state) settlement were built around 1300. Here the trade links were extended and the system of divine kingship was magnified, with the king living on top of the Acropolis hill. The royal area was divided into several enclosures that were used for meeting visitors of high rank and for veneration of the tribal ancestral spirits and rainmaking. Ivory and gold were the main trade commodities and were not made into figures or figurines for exchange purposes. The ancient Zimbabwean state collapsed around 1450 with movements away from Great Zimbabwe to the north, west, and south. The westerly and southerly migrations are important in Venda history.

The southerly migration into the Soutpansberg resulted in communities erecting small Zimbabwe-type settlements that relate to the Vhatavhatsinde and MaKwinde groups.

The westerly movement away from Great Zimbabwe led to the rise of the Khami state in the Matopo Hills. While settlement layout and interpretations were the same as in Great Zimbabwe, the building style changed from the large, high walls characteristic of Great Zimbabwe to smaller, lower, more highly decorated stone walls and terraces. After about 1500 new trading partners appeared on the scene—the Portuguese and Dutch—who broke down the centuries-old networks that had been maintained by the Arab-Islamic traders. Portuguese documents record the customs prevalent at the time and show that the system *of* divine kingship was still entrenched. Portuguese chronicles refer to a walled settlement known as Danangombi, northeast of Bulawayo, where around 1690 a struggle for succession led to the breakaway of two members of the royal family and their followers. Oral tradition among the Karanga speaks of one group moving northward while the other group went south.

The second group was the Singo, who moved across the Limpopo River around 1700 and settled in the Nzhelele River valley, where they moved into an existing village, enlarged it, and named it Dzata. This became the capital, where the different clans living in the mountains were united for the first time under a single ruler. This state of affairs lasted for about sixty years, until the death of the legendary leader Thoho-ya-Ndou (Head of the Elephant). A war of succession ensued that has divided the Singo to this day.

Under the former white nationalist government of South Africa, Venda was developed as a homeland that gained its "independence" in 1979 and continued to exist until 1994, when under the newly elected democratic government all discriminatory laws were repealed; the Venda then reverted to being part of South Africa.

Settlements

Attacks by marauders in the first part of the nineteenth century changed settlement patterns. Most chiefs and headmen relocated their villages from the low-lying regions to areas high on the mountain slopes, directly under cliffs. For protective purposes the chief's residence was located at the highest point of the village under the cliffs, royal households were placed immediately in front, and the houses of the commoners spread out lower down and in front. This pattern continued well into the 1900s, when diminished hostilities and new forms of government administration allowed the return of villages to the valleys; the old ones under the cliffs gradually became deserted.

Villages are built around the *musando,,* or royal residence. Adjacent to the musanda is the public meeting place *(khoro)* where visitors are met and court meetings, dances, and other social events are held. Houses are traditionally wattle-and-daub constructions with thatched roofs. Several houses are linked together with mud brick walls and arranged around an open central courtyard with a central fireplace where the family sits in good weather. Traditionally, homesteads were partitioned off by hedgerows, wooden palisade fences, or stone walls. Most of the older settlements are reminiscent of miniature Great Zimbabwe ruins with their walls, stones steps, passageways, and terraces.

Since the 1950s and in particular since 1979, development has brought changes to the villages. Villages are accessible by vehicle, with a network *of* dirt roads linking most of them. Two tarred roads traverse large sections of Venda, and since their construction in 1978 and 1984, villages along their lengths have expanded dramatically, with many people moving away from the remote areas for better access to public transportation and job opportunities.

Modern building materials have replaced traditional ones in many instances. Customary homesteads are being replaced by houses of Western design, and settlement layout favors a grid system instead of the haphazard arrangement of the past. Most villages have access to electricity, piped water, and telephone communications.

Economy

Subsistence. Most households in the villages maintain gardens during the summer months to grow the staple crop, maize. Other crops include pumpkins, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, sorghum, and finger millet, with the latter two grains frequently used to make beer. Vegetable gourds *(marankas)* are grown for use as containers, scoops, or spoons. Communal land, which is held in trust by chiefs and headmen, may be used for summer crop production if permission is given. After the first and subsequent rains, women gather the new leaves and flowers of certain plants to be used as a vegetable relish *(maroho).* There are fruit trees in most gardens; the most commonly grown fruits are mangoes, papayas, avocados, bananas, and plantains.

Commercial Activities. Commercial irrigation farms have developed on a small to medium scale along many of the rivers; on those farms, vegetables are grown and orchards of mangoes, avocados, litchis, and citrus flourish. Tea is well suited to the climate and soils of the eastern mist belt of the Soutpansberg Mountains, and around 2,200,000 pounds (1 million kilograms) of tea is produced annually for blending with imported Ceylon teas. Informal markets exist in the main towns and along the major roads where women sell fruit and vegetables that are produced in Venda or come from the neighboring Levubu commercial farms. Animal husbandry was traditionally limited but is on the increase, with many royal families building up large herds of cattle and goats.

Tourism is becoming a major currency earner, and the unique culture of the Venda and the beautiful scenery are attracting many overseas visitors. The early Zimbabwe-style stone-walled archaeological sites are particularly popular with tourists.

Industrial Arts. Woodcarving, traditional pottery, baskets, and beadwork are the main Venda handicrafts and are sold locally to tourists or sent to the major cities in South Africa, where there are large markets for these items. Mat weaving by hand using traditional motifs is commercially practiced. The traditional brightly colored clothing of Venda women has become a home industry in many villages.

Division of Labor. As a general rule, women work with clay and soil and men work with animals and wood, but there are exceptions, such as women collecting firewood as part of their domestic duties. Hand hoeing of land in preparation for planting and keeping the land clear of weeds are the work of women, but in commercial operations the mechanical preparation of land by means of cattle-drawn plows or tractors is a man's job, as is crop spraying.

Land Tenure. All land is communal under the trusteeship of the chief, who allocates the use of land in the interests of his community. The fact that these chiefs do not have title deeds to the land that they traditionally claim has led the government to state that such communal land is state-owned and that the state need not pay royalties to the chief and his community for using resources on communal property.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent is unilineal through the male line, with one complicated and rare exception: In cases where a woman has married a wife or wives and children are born (fathered by the spouse's husband or other men she has allowed to sleep with her wives), technically, descent is on the female side. However, in practice the spouse is metaphorically seen as the "husband" because she married the wives and thus is addressed as "father" by the children; descent therefore is still on the "male" side.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology is similar to that in the Iroquois system. The father's sister, however, has a higher status than is customary in that system.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Cross-cousin marriages are preferred but not compulsory, and a young man's choice of a wife may differ from that of his parents. If a girl vehemently dislikes the man to whom she is betrothed, subject to the consent of the man, the betrothal may be broken and other arrangements made. Bargaining, usually through a third person, about the bride-price and marriage arrangements can take a long time.

With more young persons moving to the major industrial towns and cities, traditional marriage practices are diminishing, with young men and women marrying for love. Cross-cultural marriages have become more common.

Polygyny is practiced; the number of wives depends on the wealth and status of the husband. The higher a man's traditional status is, the more wives he can marry. Chiefs and headmen generally are wealthier than commoners, and for them caring for multiple wives is seldom a problem, with headmen having up to six wives and chiefs being entitled to many more. A wealthy commoner may marry more than one wife, as tends to occur with businessmen. Men past the age of fifty frequently take a young woman as a wife to bear children and take care of them in their old age.

An unusual form of marriage occurs when a wealthy woman, normally a headwoman, marries a wife or wives. She usually is already married to a man. Her husband or other chosen men may be the biological fathers of the children who are born, but metaphorically she is the "father" of those children. The children must address her as "father," while her biological children call her their mother.

A new wife is expected to live with her mother-in-law, who teaches her about her husband's likes and dislikes and his family. This continues until the birth of the first child, when she moves into her own house close by. Marital residence thus is patrilocal.

Domestic Unit. A household has one wife and her offspring, who share a single hearth and eat together. In polygynous marriages each wife is given her own house and courtyard, which is physically separate from those of the other wives. The husband has his own sleeping area *(pfamo),* which is usually adjacent to the household of the senior wife, who keeps order among the other wives. The husband's relatives generally live in the surrounding homesteads, and this system gives children access to their aunts and uncles.

Inheritance. Traditionally, all land is communal, under the trusteeship of the chief. However, every man has indisputable rights to the land he occupies and uses. His sons are entitled to the use of his land but may also ask the local headman to allocate fresh portions of land. Movable property—livestock, household utensils, and the proceeds of agri-

culture and trade—passes to the oldest son or, in the case of a polygynous marriage, the oldest son of the senior wife. This son becomes the undisputed head of the family unless he has disgraced himself in the eyes of the family, in which case the son next in line is appointed by the deceased's oldest sister with the consent of his brothers.

A woman may possess property, normally the surplus proceeds of her labors, and may dispose of it freely. Usually in the case of her death, her youngest son inherits. In a polygynous marriage, if the senior wife does not have a male heir, the oldest daughter is recognized as the legal heir but may not become the head of the family; that duty usually passes to her late father's oldest surviving brother. An exception to this practice occurs when a woman marries wives and no male heir is born; then the oldest daughter becomes the head of that family. Brothers may inherit the wives of a deceased man.

Socialization. Infants and children are looked after by their parents and grandparents as well as by uncles and aunts who frequently assume the duties of parents in loco. Children frequently refer to these relatives as their father and mother. Children are introduced to responsibility and preparation for their later roles in life at an early age, with boys being sent out to herd goats at about the age of five and girls accompanying their mothers or aunts to collect water or firewood or caring for their baby brothers or sisters while the mother is working on the land. There is always sufficient time for play after the allotted tasks are correctly done. Corporal punishment is rare.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Positions of traditional leadership are hereditary, passing normally from the father to the oldest son of the senior wife. At the death of the father, it is the duty of his oldest sister *{makhadzi)* to introduce the heir to the family or suggest a new heir if that son proves to be incapable. If the heir is too young to become the head of the family, she fulfills that role as a regent.

The makhadzi of a royal family is frequently one of the main advisers to her brother, the chief. She may act as a regent in his absence or after his death. Her participation in many of the traditional rituals is essential for the well-being and prosperity of the community. For many activities, the chief's younger brother or oldest surviving uncle may appear on his behalf.

Access to chiefs by those who are not family members is normally difficult, and persons with problems have to work their way through a hierarchy of counselors before being granted an audience with the chief. This is a remnant of the system used to guard divine leaders in the past.

Political Organization. After 1910 Venda was governed by the central government of the Union of South Africa (later the Republic of South Africa) under a system of commissioners until it received independence from the South African government in September 1979. Independence was rescinded in 1994, when all homelands and independent states created by the apartheid government became part of the democratically elected government of South Africa.

Venda is divided into thirty-two chieftaincies with different status levels, of which several are disputed, with these chieftaincies having been created in the past for political expediency and the smoother running of an "independent" Venda. Traditionally, the status levels were paramount chief *(khosikhulu)*, senior chiefs, petty chiefs, and headmen. During the black liberation struggle and particularly since the late 1980s, traditional leadership has been undermined by resistance organizations, because traditional leaders were considered puppets of the white nationalist government. Civic organizations developed in many towns and villages and ruled through intimidation. In the early twenty-first century a system of mutual tolerance is maintained between Venda traditional leaders and civic organizations. Villages and towns have been combined to form local councils to deal with issues relating to local government.

Social Control. In the past persons involved in antisocial activities were taken to the court of the headman for minor infringements or to the court of the chief for serious issues, where usually a fine would be imposed. The size of the fine depended on the seriousness of the transgression as well as the numbers of previous offences committed by the accused. Witchcraft usually was punished by death, and murder by banishment or death. When the accused was pronounced innocent, the plaintiff would be fined.

As the concepts of Roman-Dutch law became entrenched in Venda society, many issues were no longer taken to traditional courts but instead were reported to the police. Today a person accused of a serious crime is apprehended, imprisoned, brought to trial, and sentenced, usually with a term of imprisonment. Judicial courts are becoming more sympathetic toward common law, and judgments may be based on fundamental traditional norms and values rather than purely on Roman-Dutch law.

Conflict. Although there is evidence of internecine warfare in the past, physical conflict between clans no longer occurs. However, people seen as opponents have been killed under the guise of ritual murder. Between 1820 and 1850 many raids by BaPedi (Sotho), Swazi, and Zulu marauders took place. The coming of the first white colonialists was met with resistance, including the burning of the first white town in the Soutpansberg region in 1867. Further clashes with traders and government administrators continued until around 1900. Since 1994 many Vhavenda have been dissatisfied with the activities of the predominantly Sotho government of the Northern Province, and periodically talk of creating a separate province occurs.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Although the majority of Vhavenda profess Christianity, there is a strong belief in ancestor spirits and a supreme deity known as Raluvhimba that is equivalent to the Shona deity *Mwali*. This deity is seen in the form of eagles soaring aloft during the day, a shooting star is Raluvhimba traveling at night, his voice can be heard in the thunder, and he is at rest when Tswime Mountain is covered by clouds. During thunderstorms Raluvhimba appears as fire that can never be reached and makes his demands known to the chief in a voice of thunder.

Raluvhimba /Mwali controls the rain. It is an important function of the chief to bring rain through appropriate sacri-

fices and rituals to the tribal ancestors as well as the supreme deity. Some witch doctors also specialize in this activity.

For the average person, good or ill fortune, including sickness, often is controlled by his or her immediate ancestors. When there is trouble or an unexplained death in the family, a diviner *(mungome)* is consulted, the magical divining dice are thrown, and a prognosis is made. In many cases the interpretation will be that one of the ancestors must be appeased, usually through the ritual sacrifice of a black goat for commoners or a sheep for royals at the grave of the troublesome ancestor.

A mungome uses an intricately carved wooden divining bowl *(ndilo)* to discover witches. Belief in witchcraft is very prevalent even among the educated, and although the killing of witches is considered murder, it occurs regularly. When the diviner is unsuccessful, a witch doctor *(nanga)* is consulted. Such witch doctors are thought to have magical powers in addition to divining skills and can place spells on people, who believe that they can die unless they are cleansed by the nanga who cast the original spell.

The taking of human life for ritual purposes has long been part of Venda tradition. Ritual murder is acceptable when it is used to attain peace and general prosperity for families that are plagued by troubles or for the safety and prosperity of the community, the clan, or the Vhavenda nation. It is not acceptable when it leads to personal gain in the form of monetary enrichment.

Religious Practitioners. Other than ministers of the many Christian secular churches, the mungome and the nanga are the main practitioners for the majority of the population. Chiefs, however, also play specific roles, particularly in regard to the tribal ancestors. Heads of households may perform ancestral veneration rituals, using libations of traditional beer at the sacred stones (elongated, highly polished river pebbles) that are planted in the ground with a bulbous plant, *luhomo,* at the rear of the homestead.

Ceremonies. Ceremonies usually are accompanied by chanting, singing, music, and dancing. Rites of passage are important, particularly the passage from childhood into adulthood. They are conducted as a series of initiation ceremonies at the age of puberty for boys and girls. Such ceremonies are separate, except for the final one, the *domba,* in which the sexes come together for certain rituals. Births, marriages, and funerals are ceremonial occasions involving families, but there also are ceremonies to ensure the fertility of the land, good harvests, good rains, and the well-being of Vhavenda society.

Arts. Itinerant musicians known as *zwilombe* travel from village to village and can be found where beer is available. Their songs comment on life in general but frequently are very critical of chiefs and politicians, often voicing what the people feel but are afraid to say aloud. These musicians are considered slightly insane and therefore are protected from retribution. The instruments used are single-string bows with calabashes as resonators and the thumb piano. Groups play a variety of drums, including the large *ngoma* drum with its throbbing bass sound; flutes made from special reeds that must be ritually cut; trumpets made from animal horns; stringed instruments; and rattles that usually are attached to the legs of dancers. The most unusual instrument is the large wooden xylophone *(mbila).*

Most ceremonies are accompanied by dancing. The best-known dances are the *tshigombela* performed by women and girls during the winter months and the reed flute dance of the men *(tshikona),* which is frequently performed to welcome important visitors (including tourists) to villages. The python dance of young women during the domba is well known; the dancers move one behind the other, with the hands resting on the hips of the girl in front, emulating the movements of a snake.

Pottery utensils made by women and wooden utensils carved by men have become curios for the tourist trade. This trade has led to men becoming sculptors, creating a variety of nontraditional sculptures for the lucrative overseas art market.

Medicine. Traditional medicines are made from a variety of plants whose leaves, bark, roots, and juice are used for that purpose. These materials are combined with animal fat, brains, entrails, or genitals. Exceptionally powerful medicine is made by replacing the animal ingredients with ingredients from human beings. Herbalists work only with plants, while witch doctors use all of these ingredients. Modern clinics are found in most villages. When Western medicine does not provide the desired results, people resort to traditional medicines.

Death and Afterlife. The traditional belief is that after death a person enters the world of the spirits as long as he or she has undergone the initiation rites that make persons full members of adult society. The highest status after death is that of an ancestor (when the deceased has had children), and it is usually the ancestor spirits of the mother's family that have the greatest influence over the living. The spirit world generally is perceived as being below, under the ground, in caves, or under deep pools of water such as Lake Fundudzi, where certain clans believe there is a complete village under the water where on a still, dark night the household fires can be seen and singing and dancing can be heard as well as the sounds of cattle and sheep.

For other cultures in South Africa, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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Wampar

ETHNONYMS: Laewomba, Laiwomba, Laewamba, Nambawan Makam

Orientation

Identification and Location. The meaning and derivation of the ethnonym Wampar are not known. The Wampar live in the valleys of the Markham and Wampit rivers in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. The nearest town to their tribal area is Lae. The Rumu River is a natural border to the Adzera in the northwest. The Wampar have settled in nine villages. Five of them are situated along the highway that connects Lae with the highland provinces. South of the Markham four villages are near the road to Wau and Bulolo. Wide areas in the Markham valley are covered with sword grass. Wampar gardens are located in gallery forests along the rivers and creeks and at the foothills of the surrounding mountains.

Demography. The Wampar practiced infanticide before the arrival of missionaries in 1909, after which the population increased rapidly. A 1937 census listed 1,841 Wampar. The official census for 1980 listed 5,150. For the year 2000 the Wampar population was estimated at approximately 10,000, based on the latest census taken in one of the Wampar villages. In 1994-1995 demographic research showed declining fertility. One reason may have been the spread of venereal diseases; another reason was that Wampar women were practicing family planning because they feared that their land would not be sufficient for the coming generations. However, the population has increased because immigration has been more influential than the transition to a modern fertility regime. The increase in the 1980s and 1990s was been caused mainly by migration from the highlands, Sepik Province, and the mountain areas north of the Markham valley.

Linguistic Affiliation. Wampar is an Austronesian language. It belongs to the Markham group within the Houn-Golf family and, together with Musom, Duwet, Nafir, Aribwaungg, Aribwatsa, and Labu, to the subgroup of the Lower Markham languages. There are no dialect differences in Wampar. Pidgin English, the second official language in Papua New Guinea, is gaining importance in the villages. Since 1999 the Wampar language has been taught in elementary schools.

History and Cultural Relations

According to tradition, the Wampar came down the Watut to the Markham valley in the nineteenth century. Probably they drove away other ethnic groups that were living there. In the first years of the twentieth century the Wampar had contact with Lutheran missionaries and colonial officers. In 1909 peace was made between the Wampar, Labu, Lae, and Bukawa under the influence of the Lutheran mission. Wampar relations to the Watut and members of other neighboring groups that have come to live with them since the 1960s have been paternalistic. Some young men were raised as family members and received land from their stepfathers; others have stayed as workers. These immigrants have a status between adoption and employment: they work without payment and are allowed to live and eat in a Wampar household. Others, accompanied by their families, receive pay and/or are given a piece of land to garden. Today migrants from other New Guinea provinces are coming in great numbers into Wampar territory. These immigrants intend to stay, in marked contrast to Wampar migrants, who work for a period of time in cities and then return to their villages. Wampar villages are near the town of Lae with its opportunities for frequent interethnic contact, and the wealthy Wampar are preferred marriage partners. Since the period of peaceful relations with foreigners in the 1960s and 1970s, the situation has been changed to the point where there are plans to drive foreign men out of Wampar territory. In a patrilineal and patrilocal society it is easier to incorporate foreign women married to Wampar men.

Settlements

Before contact one or more related lineages settled in hamlets. The mission and the government encouraged the Wampar to settle in larger villages. During World War I the Wampar dispersed again and lived in small hamlets, but at the end of the war they returned to their villages. Today villages are becoming too large and crowded, and many families are leaving their villages and settling in hamlets near the highway or their gardens.

Economy

Subsistence. The majority of Wampar families maintain gardens that supply bananas, the main staple, and areca nuts for consumption and sale. Coconuts, taro, sweet potatoes, vegetables, corn, onions, tomatoes, pineapples, watermelons, and peanuts are grown in their gardens. Women fish and collect shrimps in the Markham, a more socially than economically important activity. Some men hunt wild pigs, birds, and marsupials. All households keep pigs. The pigs roam free, interbreeding with wild pigs, and return to the households only to be fed. Pigs are important for bride-prices, funerals, and other feasts. The subsistence economy is almost as important as the market economy. Many Wampar work in towns, at the airport, or as teachers or engage in commercial activities. Rice, sugar, tea, bread, biscuits, and canned goods (sardines and corned beef) supplement the diet.

Commercial Activities. The most important commercial activity is the selling of areca nuts in markets along the highway. Copra production once was important but is no longer lucrative, and Wampar now grow cacao instead. Since 1990 many families have been earning money by keeping cattle and poultry. At the end of the 1990s a few Wampar started to plant vanilla.

Industrial Arts. The Wampar do not have any important industrial arts.

Trade. Areca nuts are the socially and economically most important trade good. People from the highland provinces buy areca nuts from the Wampar and sell them in markets in Lae and other provinces. The Wampar are still very well off, but the highlanders are better organized, and there is a feeling that they are getting a bigger share of the areca trade. Sometimes they are able to dictate the prices. Competition

has become harder, and the Wampar have lost their monopoly on areca nuts. The highway offers further possibilities for trade. Some Wampar women cook chicken and bananas or roast meat for sale to customers along the highway.

Division of Labor. Preparing a garden is a work done by the whole household. Men cut the bigger trees or shrubs and women clean the ground. Today bush knives and iron hatchets are used. Traditional digging sticks are seldom used and stone adzes have long been given up. Women weed the gardens, harvest the crops, and carry them to the village or to the market where they sell them. Men wrap the bananas with dry leaves before they become ripe. Today work with poultry (cleaning the chicken houses, feeding the chicken) and the cacao business is men's work. Generally the work for men has become easier in modern times because of iron tools. The work for women has become heavier: cloth (e. g. jeans) has to be washed and more products are sold on markets.

Land Tenure. The main landowning group is the patrilineal lineage. Land is important for its subsistence value and areca palms. Lineages claim areas where their ancestors settled when they came to the Markham valley. Within those areas the spirits of ancestors have special places *(rop).* The male members of lineages own land within those areas. Part of the land was leased to the Department of Civil Aviation, which built the Lae airport on that land. Some lineages sold or leased land to cattle growers, some sold the timber grown on their land. Land disputes have become more common in lineages with many men and with non-Wampar working on Wampar land. Traditionally, sons received land from their fathers and daughters worked in their husbands' gardens. With increasing interethnic marriages this system has changed, and some women married to non-Wampar now receive land from their fathers.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Wampar kin groups are patrilineal. Every Wampar belongs to a clan and a lineage. Clan affiliation has lost importance. Although a patrilineal ideology still exists, kinship tends toward a more bilateral system. One reason is the growing number of interethnic marriages with men from other tribes.

Kinship Terminology. Kin terms are essentially of the Hawaiian type. Within an individual's generation, cross-sex siblings and all cousins are distinguished from those of the same sex.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally, the exchange of sisters is considered an ideal marriage arrangement because it creates close bonds between two lineages. After a marriage between members of two lineages no other marriage between those lineages is allowed for about three generations. Children who have been raised in the same household or family should not marry. Parents arranged marriages, but the consent of the partners was necessary. Polygyny was common before the missionaries came, but today it is rare. When it is practiced, second or third wives come from other ethnic groups. Women have great freedom in mate selection and are expected to be active in the courtship process. If the parents approve, the couple starts living together. A bride-price of pigs, coconuts, and money is handed over later. Today young people meet their partners at high school or in town. Interethnic marriages have become more common since the 1970s.

Domestic Unit. Households are composed of one or more nuclear families, sometimes including foster children or workers from other ethnic groups. Household composition is changing. Living, cooking, eating, and working together are criteria that make the household an important social unit. Part households sometimes cook on their own fireplaces inside a larger household. A part household can consist of a newly married son with his spouse and one or two children. Most households are composed of several houses: separate sleeping houses for nuclear families, a cooking house, and a bachelors' house.

Inheritance. Normally male children inherit the right to family lands. Daughters inherit land rights if they do not have brothers, if they stay unmarried, or if their lineage is rich in land and they are married to a landless Wampar or non-Wampar. None of the children is favored because of birth order.

Socialization. Infants are allowed to do whatever they like except if it is dangerous. Grandparents, parents, and siblings look after them. When they are three to four years old, the intense affection and fondness ends abruptly. After this age children do not get much attention and spend more time with other children and may receive physical punishment. Children can move freely within and between households and are not excluded from the adult sphere. At an early age girls learn in a playful way the tasks of women. Elaborate initiation rites were given up in the 1920s, when the Wampar were baptized.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Traditionally, authority was in the hands of older men in the lineage who were good speakers, could persuade younger men to work for them, and had good relationships to other lineages through marriage. When a big man died, his son took over his position only if he had skills equal to his father's. Within the church hierarchy some big men have positions as *ngaeng tsaru* (church elders), pastors, and teachers. The authority of the elders is declining, and social problems often are discussed before the village courts.

Political Organization. There was no political organization beyond the lineage in precontact times. Since 1975 Papua New Guinea has been independent, and Wampar territory with its local government is under the authority of the Morobe provincial government. Each Wampar village elects a council for the local government and, since 1997, a magistrate for the village court. After the mission concentrated Wampar in villages, pastors and church elders (ngaeng tsaru) became the authorities. Councillors, church elders, and magistrates tend to be former big men of important lineages.

Social Control. Traditionally, older men and women exercised social control within the lineage. Missionaries have introduced regular meetings *(tok nogut)* where problems are discussed and conflicts are resolved. When the parties fail to come to an agreement, the case goes before the village court.

Murders and other capital crimes are brought before a court in town. Gossip has always been a strong means of social control

Conflict. Before the peace established in 1909, intraethnic and interethnic warfare was common. Today most conflicts arise from thefts of garden products and conflicts over land. Landless strangers living on Wampar territory are said to be the main cause of conflict, and crimes often are committed under the influence of alcohol and marijuana. Social change, the decrease of social control by elders, and the absence of new respected authorities are the reasons for this development.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. Precontact religion consisted mainly of beliefs in ancestor spirits *(mamafe).* Mamafe are everywhere, although they are thought to be concentrated in special places. In 1911 German Lutheran missionaries founded the mission station Gabmadzung on Wampar land, and in the 1920s Wampar went as evangelists to the Watut. In the 1990s evangelical sects established small communities on Wampar territory. The Lutheran church has lost its predominance and part of its influence but is still an important social force.

Religious Practitioners. Mediums who had contact with spirits were known. After the time of contact and colonialization cargo ideas developed among Wampar, although with less intensity than in other areas in Papua New Guinea. Mediums fell into trances, and the spirits of the deceased told them that white people would come and bring marvelous goods. These cargo ideas ended in the 1980s with economic success and higher education.

Ceremonies. The delivery of the bride-price, funeral rites, and the end of the mourning period are important ceremonies. Today church ceremonies such as confirmations and the opening of a new church are major events. They are celebrated with a big meal, an exchange of presents, and singing and group dances.

Arts. Polyphonic songs are the most impressive art of the Wampar. They are still sung in church and at mourning ceremonies. Singing and dancing are dominant forms of artistic expression. The Wampar have not developed pictorial or plastic arts.

Medicine. Spirits and sorcery *(oso, opang)* are thought to be the causes of sickness. Healers can discover the kind of sickness and eventually the person who caused it. Ginger is important in this ritual and for curing the victim. In folk medicine "hot" medicine (e. g., nettles) was used against a "hot" sickness such as fever. Medical practices such as bloodletting and the use *of* steam and a range of herbal medicines are known. Western medicine has been added to these folk practices although it has not replaced belief in sorcery and spirits as explanations for sickness.

Death and Afterlife. The dead were buried under the house in precontact time. Near each village missionaries have established cemeteries, following the European model. When someone dies, the whole village gathers to sing mortuary songs. The ceremony is ancestor spirits. The dead person is buried the next day. Close relatives accompanied by a meal. The soul of the dead is thought to leave the body to live with the do not cut their hair and beards for a year. After one year a ceremonial meal is held again, and hair is cut.

For other cultures in Papua New Guinea, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 2, Oceania.

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BETTINA BEER

Wessex

ETHNONYMS: Berkshiremen, Dorsetmen, Hampshiremen, Wiltshiremen, depending on the county of origin; since the nineteenth century Wessexmen has been used mainly in literary works.

Orientation

Identification and Location. The people *of* Wessex were originally (sixth century C. E.) West Saxons (Old English *west*

seaxe). Their descendants still inhabit the southern English counties of Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Dorset, and Wiltshire as well as the western half of Berkshire and the eastern hilly flank of Somerset, an area of roughly 4, 440 square miles (11, 500 square kilometers), 8. 8 percent of the English land area.

The area lies between 50° 30" and 51° 30" N., and between 0° 45" and 3° 00" W. The land consists of rolling chalk downs with clay in the lower areas, which in ancient times were heavily wooded; nowhere does the elevation rise above 1000 feet (305 meters). The tourist attractions include the landscape, the cathedrals of Winchester and Salisbury, and the prehistoric sites of Stonehenge, Avebury, Silbury Hill, and Maiden Castle.

Demography. In 1991 the population of Wessex was about 3, 190, 000, half of which was in Hampshire, with a population density of about 280 persons per square kilometer.

Linguistic Affiliation. The language of Wessex is English, a Teutonic language in the Indo-European family. In King Alfred's time (ninth century) it was the main area for the development of Anglo-Saxon (Old English). In modern times and for several centuries a distinctive dialect has been spoken in each county. All these dialects employ fewer words of Gaelic origin and more of Anglo-Saxon origin than is the case in areas farther west and northwest. Family names are usually of Anglo-Saxon origin.

History and Cultural Relations

The area had a certain cultural unity thousands of years before the establishment of the Kingdom of Wessex. Archaeologists have identified a "Wessex culture" in the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1200 B. C. E.). Some centuries earlier, in the Late Neolithic, the ceremonial sites of Avebury and Stonehenge were constructed on Salisbury Plain. The final phase of Stonehenge was erected by the Wessex culture at the beginning of the Bronze Age. In the Iron Age the Wessex chalk downland was traversed by unsurfaced roadways or ridgeways, including the Harrow Way, which still stretches eastward from Marazion in Cornwall to the English Channel coast at Dover.

During the Roman occupation numerous rural villas with attached farms were built, along with the important towns Dorchester and Winchester (*chester* comes from the Latin *castra*, a military camp). The Romans built another major road that integrated Wessex, running eastward from Exeter through Dorchester, Winchester, and Silchester to London.

The Kingdom of Wessex was established in about 519 CE. when two Anglo-Saxons, Cerdic and his son Cynric, are believed to have conquered the Gaelic-speaking Britons. The kingdom effectively carne to an end with the rule of its last king, Alfred (871-886), whose capital was Winchester and who became the first king of England in 886. The parts of England that were not yet subject to Alfred were under Danish domination, but the influence of the Danes and the Vikings did not much influence the development of the culture of Wessex.

Since Alfred's time dialect and geography have combined to maintain a distinctive subculture. The culture of Wessex has been influenced as much by geography as by history. As a massive, if incomplete, chalk bowl, the land lacks coal or iron and large rivers and thus did not participate in the early phases of the Industrial Revolution. However, Wessex was not cut off from the events of Western European history; its long coastline includes a dozen seaports on the English Channel, and the chalk downs did not create a cultural barrier. The stretches of downland that form the rims of the Hampshire basin (the Dorset chalklands, the Marlborough Downs, Salisbury Plain, and the Hampshire Downs) have been crossed by still traceable highways since Neolithic times.

Settlements

Until the middle of the twentieth century Wessex was essentially a rural area with hundreds of nucleated villages and with the only large cities (Southampton and Portsmouth) located on the southeastern coast. These two cities developed on the edge of Wessex as sites for transoceanic shipping and as a home for the British Navy. Other towns have until recently been small, and the largest ones were essentially cathedral cities with markets: Salisbury and Winchester. Towns such as Andover, Dorchester, Devizes, and Shaftesbury are small and ancient market towns. In the twentieth century Bournemouth became a large seaside resort and cultural center, and Weymouth a smaller one. In the second half of the twentieth century proximity to London changed the character of the more easterly Wessex towns because express trains and express motorways allowed people to work in the capital while "living in the country. " The population of Basingstoke, an old market town, grew from 17, 110 in 1942 to 155, 000 in 2001 as it absorbed surplus population from London.

Economy

Subsistence. The rural economy has always been based on mixed farming, with poultry, pig, and dairy farming prominent at lower elevations and sheep farming on the chalk downs at elevations over 500 feet (152. 4 meters). Horses are kept both for farm work and for riding. At least three-quarters of the land is under cultivation, including permanent pasturage. Wheat, barley, oats, beans, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables are grown. A fairly dense population, much of it living in nucleated villages, has for centuries been employed by the local farmers and landed gentry as farm laborers, plowmen, cowherds, shepherds, cheese makers, game wardens, foresters, and stable hands. Poor villagers have always supplemented their incomes with vegetable patches and sporadic hunting. Rabbits, hares, pheasants, and in earlier centuries deer were hunted by poachers and "protected" by landowners.

Each village typically has an ancient Protestant church with an attached cemetery, a school, a post office, and one or two inns and shops. Large country mansions are common. All traditional houses are built of local materials: limestone in Dorset and Wiltshire and brick and wood in Hampshire, Berkshire, and the Isle of Wight.

Industrial Arts. In the twentieth century individual towns specialized in a wide variety of modern industrial enterprises; Basingstoke, for example, produced trucks, forklifts, steam-rollers, beer, scientific instruments, industrial diamonds, and books. In premodern times the towns were either small mar-

ket towns or small seaports. Their industries and crafts did not serve a world market but made for local needs products such as clocks, watches, cloth, saddlery, canvas, cheese, beer and other household needs, carriages, farm equipment, and ships' chandlery. Until the early twentieth century a variety of specialized crafts were practiced in the villages, such as wheelwrighting, blacksmithing, hedging, stone cutting, weaving, fishing, cheese making, cooperage, charcoal burning, cart making, carpentry, thatching, and cottage building.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The system of kinship relations is not perceptibly different from that in the rest of England.

Inheritance. Children of either sex may inherit property, though in rural areas there is a tendency toward patrilineality. Children take the surname of the father's family, although among the landed gentry a child of either sex sometimes hyphenates the surnames of the father's and the mother's families.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. The rules for marriage are not perceptibly different from those in the rest of England.

Domestic Unit. The typical family is a two-generational nuclear one with neolocal residence. In the late twentieth century one-parent families became common, usually as a result of divorce.

Socialization. The socialization of children is the responsibility of their parents, with a small role played by the church and the police. Children attend school for about eleven years, and some for thirteen years to qualify for college admission. Schools usually are administered by the county. Although it has many exclusive private schools, including the politically influential Winchester College (founded in 1387), Wessex has never had a center of higher education, and anyone wanting a degree had to go "up to Oxford. " In the twentieth century seven or eight new universities were established in towns close to Wessex, along with Southampton (and some even more recent polytechnics).

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Although England often is cited as a rigidly stratified society, contemporary Wessex has considerable fluidity in its stratification. There is a very large urban middle class in Southampton, Bournemouth, Winchester, Basingstoke, and Portsmouth.

Until early in the twentieth century there were several rural-based classes in Wessex. At the top was a small group of hereditary nobles who had seats in the House of Lords and owned large country mansions with extensive attached lands. Below them was a larger class of other landed gentry and newly rich people who usually lacked a hereditary title but could still support the role of a "gentleman farmer" or be successful commercial farmers. These people tended to be cosmopolitan and well educated, with ties to the power establishment in London, army regiments, and the British Empire. An "Oxbridge" accent, horse transport, fox hunting or beagling, tailor-made clothing, and an extensive country manor were characteristic of the upper classes. Below them was a larger class of small farmers, market gardeners, and smallholders who lived off land they either owned or rented but typically had less education. Below them was the largest class, the Wessex peasant of earlier times, who owned little or no land but was a tenant on someone else's farm or a village craftsman, a farm laborer, a sailor, or a worker in a small–town shop. Knowledge about where precisely a family lived, educated its children, and sat in church kept the lower classes "in their place. "

The nobility seem to have fallen on hard times as a result of heavy taxation and "loss of Empire, " and many country mansions have been sold for nonresidential use or destroyed.

Political Organization. Wessex is divided into about thirty-one local districts and roughly twice as many constituencies from which Members of Parliament are elected. At the local level administration is in the hands of elected authorities, primarily the county councils (each county has an administrative capital) but also the district councils and parish councils.

Social Control. English law is observed. The police generally are organized under county constabularies regulated by a committee of local councilors and magistrates. For minor misdemeanors there have long been municipal magistrates' courts, with more serious offences going to county assizes.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The practices of the Church of England and those of other Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church are identical to those in other parts of Great Britain.

Since the Reformation Wessex has been solidly Protestant, with Anglicanism (the Church of England) the dominant faith. There are few Catholics and Jews outside the cities. Several Protestant sects are widespread, including Methodists, Wesleyans, Baptists, and Congregationalists, as well as the more urban Salvation Army. Every village has a church, yet weekly attendance is extremely low (perhaps 5 percent of the population).

Ceremonies. Life-cycle ceremonies of a religious nature are confined to baptism (or christening), confirmation (rare today), weddings, and funerals. Calendrical ceremonies except Christmas are rarely observed.

Until the middle of the twentieth century, on 6 January (Twelfth Night) groups of men would "wassail" apple trees by firing rifles into them. The word implies "good health" for both the trees and the cider drinkers. Afterward the men drank hot mulled cider, called wassail punch, and sang a wassailing song.

Saint Valentine's Day (14 February) was of minor importance in rural areas but usually included games in which girls would discover the identity of their future spouses. Shrove Tuesday, also called Pancake Tuesday, is a time for village merrymaking, street football, and the frying of pancakes. The word *shrove* refers to the confessing of sins, which once was part of the spiritual preparation for Lent. Palm Sunday was devoted to country fairs where games, food, and drink were indulged in. Easter Monday was celebrated by rolling eggs down grassy slopes or by playing other games with

eggs. In previous centuries village feasts called "Church ales" were held at which flat round Easter cakes were baked.

On April Fools' Day (1 April) children engage in a variety of pranks. This widespread festival probably is linked to Lud, a protohistoric Celtic god of humor. May Day is not widely observed today, but in some Hampshire villages a May Queen traditionally was crowned and garlands were paraded. A May King or Jack-in-the-Green was chosen to be covered in leaves, reminiscent of an ancient fertility deity. Villagers celebrated Whit Sunday with a public feast and dancing until the nineteenth century. Whitsuntide plays have long been a feature of this celebration. On Whit Sunday and Ascension Day churches were decorated with branches cut from the woods. Ascension Day was also known as Oak Apple Day because people decorated themselves with oak apples.

The Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Ascension Sunday are called Rogationtide, a time when boys would go around literally beating the boundaries of the parish with sticks (and thus memorize their location). Many places had a Midsummer parade and a bonfire on 4 July, the eve of the old Midsummer's Day. Dancing took place, and giant effigies were sometimes carried in parades. Salisbury still has such an effigy, 12 feet high. Lammastide (formerly 12 August) was an occasion for sheep fairs until early in the twentieth century. Saint Bartholomew's Day (24 August) and Saint John's Day (29 August) were noted for fairs at which lambs were sold. Michaelmas (originally 10 October, now 29 September) was one of the last occasions for fairs. Michaelmas fairs were commonly held on hilltops, far from human settlements but close to the sheep. Shepherds' fights with cudgels were a regular feature of some of these fairs. Hallowe'en, or Punkie Night, is not widely celebrated. Bonfires and childish pranks are reserved for Guy Fawkes' Night (5 November), which marks the capture of a Catholic plotter against Parliament in 1642.

The Christmas season is the traditional time for mumming plays that may have originated in the Roman Saturnalia. Christmas trees are not traditional, as are holly and mistletoe, which are associated with woodland sprites and kissing, respectively. Yule was originally the name for the two months before and after the winter solstice. Yule logs, Yule cakes, and the hog's head are parts of the festivities that have survived since pre-Christian times.

Arts. Two of England's greatest novelists, Jane Austen and Thomas Hardy were from Wessex. Austen (1775-1817) lived and died in Hampshire, and Hardy (1840-1928) in Dorset. More ethnographically informative nonfictional accounts of rural life were penned by Mary Mitford in Berkshire, Gilbert White in eastern Hampshire, and Maud Davies (1909) and W. H. Hudson in Wiltshire. The image of the hardworking, self-sufficient, but unlettered Wessexman owes much to the works of these writers.

Although folklorists have recorded the folk songs of Wessex, those songs are seldom performed. By the nineteenth century the decline of country fairs led to a decline in folk music. As church organs became more common, village bands became less necessary, and singing in public houses (inns) was equated with rowdyism.

Medicine. Folk remedies may still be used in rural areas, but Wessex is covered by the National Health Service. Numerous local hospitals, clinics, and a system of visiting nurses make health care universally accessible.

Death and Afterlife. The afterlife is not much discussed by the general public, and the Anglican Church is vague about what follows death. Most funerals are conducted by a minister or priest, and burial normally occurs within a couple of days of death at a village churchyard or a municipal cemetery.

For other cultures in England, *see* List of Cultures by Country in Volume 10 and under specific culture names in Volume 4, Europe.

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PAUL HOCKINGS

Xhosa

ETHNONYMS: Xhosa speakers, Cape Nguni, Southern Nguni, South Eastern Bantu

Orientation

Identification and Location. Xhosa-speaking people live mostly in the rural and urban areas of the Eastern Cape Prov-

ince in the Republic of South Africa. The rural area covers the region stretching from the Umtamvuna River in the east to the Great Fish River in the west, the Indian Ocean in the south, and Lesotho and the Gariep River to the north. Xhosa regions outside the Eastern Cape Province include the rural areas of southern KwaZulu-Natal and urban centers such as Johannesburg (Gauteng Province) and Cape Town (Western Cape Province).

Annual rainfall ranges from 20 inches (500 millimeters) inland to 55 inches (1, 400 millimeters) on the coast. The natural vegetation varies from open grassy plains on the high interior plateaus to dense forest growth along the coast, in the larger river valleys, and along the mountain ranges.

Demography. In the 1996 South African census, 7, 196, 118 people indicated that isiXhosa was their native language. This accounts for 17. 9 percent of the South African population— the second largest language group in that country. In the Eastern Cape Province 83. 8 percent of the population is Xhosa-speaking.

Linguistic Affiliation. IsiXhosa forms part of the south-eastern zone of the Bantu language family. Both words and sounds (especially the "clicks") have been borrowed from the Khoesan languages. The vocabulary also shows some borrowing from English and Afrikaans.

History and Cultural Relations

The name *Xhosa* presumably is derived from a man named Xhosa who was the chief during the later part of the fifteenth century or the early part of the sixteenth century. The first known contact with Europeans was with the survivors of a series of shipwrecks on the east coast in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including the *São João* (1552) and the *Stavenisse* (1686). It is generally accepted that the Xhosa formed part of the wider group of indigenous Bantu-speaking people of South Africa with origins in East Central Africa. From there they moved in waves to southern Africa, with the Xhosa-speaking people moving down the east coast until their movements were curtailed by environmental conditions and the eastward movement of European settlers after 1652. Those settlers, like the Xhosa, were migratory stock farmers, and stock theft and reprisal raids were common on both sides. After 1778 when the Dutch governor, Van Plettenberg, declared the Great Fish River to be the boundary between "Black" and "White, " various colonial administrations tried to create similar boundaries in South Africa.

Calculations indicate that by about 1500 the Xhosa had already been in present-day South Africa and by about 1700 had occupied the majority of present-day Eastern Cape Province. However, archaeological research indicates the presence of both pastoral and horticulture farmers by about 600 on the Eastern Cape coast. They probably were among the predecessors of the Xhosa. In the present-day Eastern Cape Province the Xhosa carne into contact with the Khoe and the San. Intermarriage took place, and trade relationships were maintained.

After nine border wars with European settlers and the British colonial administration, the annexation of the territory of the Xhosa was completed in 1894, and that region was incorporated into the British Cape Colony. The migration of Xhosa-speaking people to white-owned farms and to towns started during the first half of the nineteenth century. The "National Suicide" of the Xhosa (1857), the development of the diamond fields near Kimberley (1870s) and gold mining in the Witwatersrand (1886), and industrialization in the rest of South Africa had a strong impact on the rate of urbanization. During the later stages of apartheid in South Africa the Xhosa-speaking people were divided into two "independent" homelands: Transkei and Ciskei. Those areas again became part of the Republic of South Africa in 1993.

The first Christian missionary who made contact with the Xhosa was Dr. Van Der Kemp of the London Missionary Society (1799). Missionaries from the Wesleyan Methodists, the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian), the Moravians, and the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Dutch Reformed churches followed. Those missionaries founded schools in the Eastern Cape and provided the first Western medical services. They also were responsible for the development of Xhosa as a written language and medium of communication; the first written grammar of Xhosa was completed in 1833 by the Reverend W. B. Boyce.

The indigenous Bantu-speaking people of South Africa are collectively known as the Southern Bantu among anthropologists. The Southern Bantu group consists of the Nguni, the Sotho, the Venda and Lemba, the Changana Thonga (also in Mozambique), the Herero-Ovambo (Namibia), and the Shona. The Nguni can be subdivided into the Cape Nguni, the Natal Nguni, the Swazi, the Ndebele, the amaNdebele (Zimbabwe), the abaKwagaza, and the Angoni (Malawi). The Cape Nguni are subdivided into the amaXhosa (Xhosa "proper"), abaThembu, amaMpondo, amaMpondomise, amaBomvana, and amaXesibe, along with fugitive groups such as the amaBhaca and amaMfengu. These subdivisions can be further broken down into smaller chiefdoms that were formed largely because of disputes regarding succession. The assimilation of Khoe people entailed the incorporation of certain cultural elements, especially in regard to animal husbandry.

Settlements

After the introduction in 1949 of the "Rehabilitation Scheme" the scattered settlement pattern of kin groups was altered to a village structure. These villages form administrative units, and each village has its own grazing area and arable land. Most villages have a primary school and a shop and are linked by gravel roads to each other and to main roads. Each household has an allocated residential plot, and various styles of buildings are constructed. The thatched roofs of the round mud houses are increasingly being replaced by corrugated iron, and square and rectangular mud or brick houses with corrugated iron roofs are becoming common in the rural areas. Homesteads with round houses usually have at least two of those buildings on a plot. The extra houses are used for cooking, storage, sleeping space for older boys, and accommodations for married sons and their spouses. Each household has its own cattle corral built in front of the house. In areas without a piped water system, water is stored in tanks or fetched from nearby dams, bore holes, or streams.

Economy

Subsistence. In the rural areas mixed farming consisting of horticulture and animal husbandry is practiced. Depending

on the availability of arable land, each household has access to a field ranging from 2. 1 acres (0. 86 hectare) to 8. 5 acres (3. 43 hectares) or a small garden as part of the residential plot. chief's and headmen usually receive larger tracts of land that range between 15 acres (6 hectares) and 32 acres (13 hectares). Maize (the staple), sorghum, wheat, barley, beans, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, gem squash, cabbage, carrots, tomatoes, and tobacco are grown. The soil varies from sandy to sandy loam, and a few areas have clay and alluvial soils. Soil depth ranges from 6 inches (15 centimeters) to 6. 6 feet (2 meters) (alluvial soils next to riverbeds). The main implements are ox-drawn plows and metal-bladed hoes. Cows and goats are eaten on special occasions related to the life cycle and religious ceremonies, and sheep, pigs, and chickens provide meat for household consumption. Commodities not produced locally, such as coffee, tea, sugar, canned food, cloth, clothes, utensils, and furniture, are bought with the earnings from migrant labor in urban areas or the proceeds from the sale of skins and wool to local traders or at shops in nearby towns.

People living near the sea or rivers catch fish and crustaceans and mollusks. Roots, bulbs, berries, wild fruit, and herbal plants are gathered to supplement the diet. Occasionally small game may be hunted.

Commercial Activities. As a result of development efforts a number of irrigation schemes were initiated in which small farmers were resettled to produce pineapples, citrus fruit, coffee, and tea for commercial purposes. Government policy regarding land redistribution favors commercial dairy farming, wool production, and agriculture on a larger scale. In some areas handicrafts are manufactured for the tourist market.

Industrial Arts. Mats, baskets, beer strainers, brooms, utensils made from calabash, beadwork, pipes, knobkerries, walking sticks, wooden yokes, whips, and leather harnesses are made mostly for personal use. Some people are regarded as specialists in these crafts and may manufacture these items for others. In areas near major roads some of those items may be sold to tourists. Sleds are made from forked tree trunks to transport goods. Wooden mortars and pestles and grinding stones are made for the grinding of grain.

Division of Labor. In general, men tend to the livestock and clear virgin land for horticulture and women do the household chores (cleaning, preparing and serving food, washing clothes, fetching water and firewood, and caring for children) and work in the fields or gardens. After the introduction of ox-drawn plows, men became more involved in horticulture by tilling the soil and planting the crops and women did the weeding. The whole family is involved in harvesting. Boys who do not attend school herd the livestock and chase birds when the crops ripen. Girls care for younger siblings and help their mothers with their chores. In areas close to the sea men, women, and children harvest marine resources. In urban areas the division of labor is less prescriptive, but women still do the household chores.

Land Tenure. There are three systems of land tenure—permission to occupy, quitrent, and freehold—in the rural areas. Land is regarded as the property of the tribal group and is held in trust by the chief. A person who wants residential and/or arable land must apply through his or her local headman, and depending on availability, land is allocated. After payment of the required fees, the land is registered at the local magistrate's office in the name of the person to whom it is allocated for that person to use in accordance with the rules applicable to the particular type of land tenure system.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Descent is patrilineal. Exogamous patricians *(iziduko)* are the most important kin groups. A variety of clan names are derived from the names of founder members, animals, and plants. The clans are noncorporate groups, and individual members may support one another in times of crisis and during ceremonies related to the life cycle and sacrifices to the ancestors. Closer relatives who have the same clan name *(isiduko)* are called *imilowo* (equated by some researchers to lineages) and are more deeply involved in the daily lives of individual members. In earlier times a group of imilowo would form a corporate group with a leader *(intloko yemilowo).* The father's sister (*udadobawo*) plays an important role in the lives of her brother's children. At ceremonial occasions the children of sisters *(abatshana)* are included as imilowo. In urban areas neighbors often are included as imilowo. Kinship does not have the same importance in urban areas that it does in rural areas.

Kinship Terminology. Kin terms are a variation of the Iroquois type. However, the mother and the mother's sister are not referred to with the same term, and the mother's sister's children are referred to by different terms than are the father's brother's children.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Traditionally, marriages were arranged by fathers, but their wives and imilowo were consulted. Even very young children were promised to each other by their fathers. The Recognition of Customary Marriages Act of 1998 tries to harmonize the common law and indigenous law. The act not only recognizes customary marriages but drastically changes the institution to bring it in line with common-law marriages. Consent by the marriage partners is now required. Marriages can be contracted according to customary law or solemnized in a church or magistrate's court, or there may be a combination of those practices. Courting must take place in secret, and traditionally young girls were inspected by older women to assure their virginity. This practice has been abandoned because of pressure by missionaries.

In courting and in marriage the rules of exogamy are strictly applied. Not only are unions between people sharing the same patrician name forbidden, this prohibition is extended to people with the clan names of their mothers. Men must go through the initiation ceremony and be circumcised before they are allowed to marry. Bride-wealth *(ilobolo)* in the form of cattle is transferred from the man's family to the family of the woman. This creates ties of goodwill between the two families, transfers the right to the woman's fertility and thus the children from the union to the husband's group, and serves as compensation for the loss of the woman's labor in her parental home. In at least 90 percent of marriages in urban areas this practice is still maintained. Polygyny is practiced and is recognized under the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act of 1998. A woman's father is expected to provide her with household utensils and furniture such as a bed-

room or lounge suite. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, but because of restrictions on the size of residential plots in rural areas this custom is in force only for a certain period of time, after which a son is allowed to start his own household. Often the youngest married son will remain in the household of his parents. In urban areas the accepted practice has become neolocality, but patrilocal and matrilocal postmarital residence are common in urban areas because of economic factors.

Marriages are stable in rural areas, and problems between husband and wife are dealt with by their respective imilowo. Reasons for divorce mostly involve the neglect of one partner by the other. Before the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act of 1998, customary marriages were terminated with the permission of the respective imilowo if the imilowo believed that reconciliation was not possible. If the man is at fault, the bride-wealth is forfeited; if the woman is at fault, her father must return at least one head of cattle to signify the termination of the marriage. The Recognition of Customary Marriages Act attempts to unify divorce procedures for customary and all other recognized marriages, and termination is under the jurisdiction of the provincial high courts. The death of a woman terminates the marriage, but according to customary law, the marriage does not end when the husband dies. The levirate is not practiced but it is expected that, if possible, the woman will still bear children for the deceased. A person who is acceptable to the deceased's imilowo will become the woman's lover and fulfill this function. The imilowo are responsible for caring for the widow and her children.

Domestic Unit. Households are defined by sharing a cooking area and eating together. The ideal is that married sons will stay with their parents in patrilineal extended families. However, as a result of a shortage of land and restrictions on the size of residential plots, the tendency is away from extended families and toward nuclear families. A married man will stay for some time with his parents and then try to secure his own residential plot. In the case of polygyny a man can settle all his wives on one residential plot or acquire a separate residential plot for each one.

Households in urban areas consist of nuclear families extended by married and/or unmarried relatives and tenants. There is a fairly high incidence of matrifocal families, often extending over four generations.

Inheritance, According to customary law, a man's oldest son or, in cases of polygyny, the oldest son of the main wife is his main heir and successor. The right to land normally is transferred to the name *of* the main heir in the case of quitrent and permission to occupy. Land in freehold can follow the customary pattern or be inherited in accordance with a will. The main heir also inherits the livestock, plows, tractor, car, houses, household utensils, and furniture, and these items are regarded as house property. The widow has the right to use the property if the main heir is still a minor. The main heir also inherits his father's debts. Each son inherits something from his father because during his lifetime the father earmarks livestock for each of his sons and that livestock will be handed over to them when they marry and start their own households. His clothes are distributed among his sons, and his pipe and accessories are given to one of his brothers. In cases of polygyny, the wives are assigned to different houses and the oldest son from each house is the main heir in that house. As a rule daughters do not inherit anything from their fathers. A man can draw up a will and divide his property among all his children. When a woman dies, the household utensils that she brought to the marriage remain part of the property of her house. Her husband may determine the distribution of her clothes and ornaments among her daughters, and her pipe and accessories are given to the husband's oldest sister.

Socialization. Depending on their age, children are raised by their fathers, mothers, older sisters, grandparents, and other close relatives. From the age of about eight years boys in rural areas are assigned tasks such as herding small animals, and their fathers teach them the tasks assigned to men. Girls are drawn into the realm of household chores, and their mothers teach them the tasks assigned to women. Obedience to both parents is expected and can be enforced through corporal punishment. Respect must be shown to all older people. Nine years of compulsory schooling forms an important part of the socialization process in both rural and urban areas.

Boys are initiated at the age of approximately eighteen years. This involves circumcision and seclusion for at least three weeks, depending on how long the wounds take to heal. During this time they are subject to restrictions regarding their movements and food and are taught the proper way to behave as adult men. This custom is practiced in urban areas as well, although increasingly males are circumcised in hospitals. The corresponding ceremony for women (the *intonjane)* takes place during a girl's first menstruation. This custom has fallen into disuse in many rural areas and has acquired the character of a fertility rite as married women who have difficulty becoming pregnant are sent back to their fathers' homes to undergo this rite.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Status is determined by age and gender. Men have a higher status than women according to indigenous law. This is changing because of the impact of the Bill of Rights included in the Constitution of South Africa. Although no formal age groups or age sets exist, men and women occupy different status positions during their life cycles that are determined by their age stage and/or marriage. These groups assemble separately during ceremonies and are served different portions of meat from sacrificial animals, and beverages are served to them in different containers. Succession to political office in rural areas is determined by male primogeniture. Important visitors and dignitaries such as chief's, headmen, ministers, priests, and government officials occupy a place of honor during festivities and ceremonies.

In rural areas work groups are organized to help with agricultural and construction activities. Funeral societies, Christian denominations with societies for men and women *(iimanyano),* the Zenzele women's organization, sports clubs, choirs, school committees, soil conservation committees, local branches of political parties, and trade unions exist in rural and urban areas.

Political Organization. The Black Land Act of 1913, the Black Administration Act of 1927, and the Black Trust and Land Act of 1936 revived the position of chieftainship, which

had practically come to an end after the final annexation of Xhosa territories in 1894. The Xhosa have 6 paramount chief's (some people maintain that they must be called kings) and 115 chief's. A paramount chief plays more of a ceremonial role, while a chief *(inkosi)*, as the head of a tribal authority *(ingunyabantu lesizwe)*, is responsible for a tribal area. All tribal areas are incorporated into municipalities as part of the local governing system.

A chief occupies the position because he is the firstborn son of the main wife of the previous chief. The main wife is the one who was chosen for the chief by the tribe. In the tribal areas the chief's and their councilors *(amaphakathi)* are responsible for administration and the maintenance of law and order. Each tribal area is divided into administrative units *(iilali)* under the leadership of an elected headman *(isibonda)*. These headmen also act as the chief's councilors. Each headman has a council *(inkundla· kwasibonda)* consisting of the heads of households *(abaninimzi)* in his administrative unit. They are responsible for administration, law and order, allocation of land, and the application of regulations regarding land use in the administrative unit. The chief has an elected chief councilor *(umandlali gaga)* who is also the chairman of the chief's executive and tribal councils. He serves the chief in a close advisory capacity.

Social Control. Conflict arises from the infringement of people's property rights through theft and damage by humans and animals; the infringement of a man's rights over his wife and children through rape, adultery, the impregnation of unmarried daughters, and elopement; violation of privacy and defamation; assault; murder; and accusations of witchcraft. Punishment can take the form of fines in money and/or livestock or corporal punishment for young men and boys, and reparation is given in the form of money and/or livestock. In rural areas the imilowo try to settle conflicts between relatives. If one of the parties is not satisfied with the outcome, he or she may take the matter to the headman's court (inkundla kwasibonda), and from there the matter can be taken to the chief's court *(inkundla yesizwe/ inkundla yakomkhulu)*, where cases are tried according to customary law, subject to restrictions imposed by national legislation involving the jurisdiction of courts. An aggrieved party may appeal to the magistrate's court, which usually is in a nearby town.

In urban areas conflict is solved at the individual level or through the law enforcement agencies of the state. However, there are also illegal "people's courts" in which residents take action against culprits, often in violent ways.

Conflict. Before the annexation of the Xhosa territories conflict with other groups mostly involved access to territory and rights to grazing. Livestock raids were common and still cause violent intertribal conflict in rural areas. Most of the time this conflict is settled through the intervention of the state's law enforcement agencies.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. People adhering to the traditional religion, Christians, and those practicing a syncretism of the two religious traditions are found. There is not a sharp division between traditionalists and Christians. Christians have traditionalist relatives and cooperate with traditionalist neighbors in all community activities, including deliberations in the courts, schools, and prayer ceremonies in times of drought.

Traditionalist Xhosa believe that a supreme being called uQamata or umDali created the world and maintains the cosmos. Another term used to refer to this deity is uThixo, the word that is used in the Xhosa translation of the Bible. After the creation he was no longer directly concerned with the human world, and therefore no prayers or rituals are directed to him. There is no retribution in the life after death for misdeeds committed on earth. It is believed that the creator was the first ancestor and that he therefore is accessible through the ancestral spirits *(izinyanya)*. The ancestral spirits receive their power and preparation from him. The belief in ancestral spirits forms the central part of the traditionalist religion, and the ancestors are believed to control the day-to-day affairs of people.

There are four types of spirits: the spirits of the kinship group; tribal spirits, who are deceased chief's; foreign spirits who are deceased, who may have special meaning to people; and the river people, who are the spirits of persons who disappeared in rivers or the sea. Spirits reside in the vicinity of living people, close to the cattle corral. Certain animals are linked to the ancestors; elephants, lions, leopards, snakes, crocodiles, otters, and bees are important in this regard. Ancestors often appear in the form of these animals. Each clan has its own animals of importance, but this is not a form of totemism. When a person dreams of such an animal, it is a sign that the ancestors are trying to make contact with that person. The spirits show displeasure with people by causing illness and plague and killing livestock. To ensure the goodwill of the spirits it is necessary to present them with libations and sacrifices.

Witchcraft is practiced by people *(amagqwirha/ abathakathi)* who are believed to have contact with malevolent powers and can take the form of causing misfortune and death through poisoning, directing lightning, and the use of familiars such as the lightning bird, *uthikoloshe* (a little man whose outward appearance is described in various ways), snakes, baboons, frogs, wild cats, the jackal-buzzard, and a resurrected deceased person. Accusations of witchcraft often are directed against married women as outsiders to the kin group.

After the first missionaries made contact with the Xhosa in 1799, missionary societies founded 25 mission stations during the nineteenth century. Each mission had a number of outstations, and by the end of the nineteenth century there were few areas where the gospel was not preached. More than 60 percent of the Xhosa are Christians.

Religious Practitioners. The diviner *(igqirha)* and the herbalist *(ixhwele)* differ in their training and in their functions in society. A diviner is called by the ancestral spirits. That person contracts the *intwaso* sickness and is troubled by dreams, pain, hot flushes, and convulsions. More women than men are called, and often there are several diviners in a kin group. A qualified diviner will diagnose the cause of an illness, and a person must be initiated as a diviner for approximately one year under the guidance of a qualified diviner. Diviners normally are consulted to determine the causes of diseases, accidents, death, and the origin of witchcraft. There are generalist diviners, specialist diviners, and rainmakers. Herbalists are not called by the ancestral spirits and obtain

training through apprenticeship with a qualified herbalist. Herbalists are consulted for the treatment of people who are affected by witchcraft, protection against witchcraft, cures for diseases, and the provision of medicine that will ensure prosperity. Diviners and herbalists practice in urban areas as well as rural regions. Many people are both diviners and herbalists.

The head of a household officiates when a sacrifice needs to be made by his household. When the wider kin group is involved, the intloko yemilowo officiates; the chief officiates *if* the sacrifice concerns the tribe as a whole.

Prophets in the African Independent Christian Churches also play an important role in healing activities.

Ceremonies. Offerings in the form of livestock to the ancestral spirits are made during rites of passage in the life cycles of individuals. They also are presented for thanksgiving for national, tribal, and family successes; propitiation in cases of death, chronic sickness, epidemic disease, and offences against customary laws and taboos; and supplication in times of privation, poverty, and drought. Offerings containing crops are made to thank the ancestors after the harvest and form part of the sacrifices made at river pools for the river people. Libations in the form of beer or liquor may be made whenever a person drinks those beverages.

Arts. Traditionally, patterned pottery was manufactured and widely used. Mats, beer strainers, and baskets are woven from grass, and beadwork has become an artistic tradition. Decorated ceremonial clothes are made from different types of cloth, and women knit and crochet with various types of wool and yarn. Traditional musical instruments include musical bows, drums, and trumpets made from the horns of animals. Diviners use drums to accompany their dances. The main type of musical expression is singing, usually accompanied by dancing. Choir singing is a popular form of musical expression in both rural and urban areas. Jazz and "township music" have a large following in urban areas. The first book in Xhosa appeared in 1824. Since that time numerous books, articles, newspapers, and journals have been published, many of which have been translated into English.

Medicine. Therapeutic practices include cutting, sucking, massage, purgatives, and the provision of amulets made from animal and plant parts and beads. Medicines are made from dried bark, leaves, roots, and bulbs ground into a fine powder. Medicine is mixed with water and drunk or smeared onto the affected part of the body; it also can be carried on the body in a small container. Some herbalists have divining spirits that help them execute their duties and make the presence of those spirits known to the ancestral spirits. Many "Muti shops" that sell indigenous medicines exist in urban areas. Clinics and hospitals in rural and urban areas provide scientific medicine to patients. Often one type of medicine is reverted to after the other type has been used if the person is not satisfied with the outcome of the first treatment.

Death and Afterlife. Death is ascribed to witchcraft and sorcery, natural causes, and the will of God. The spirit of a deceased household head is believed to continue to live as an ancestral spirit. By law, all corpses must be buried in a cemetery, and this has had an influence on the belief that a household head should be buried in his cattle corral, a person who was struck by lightning or who drowned should be buried where the corpse was found, and babies should be buried under the wood pile. A death causes impurity, and any person who has come into contact with a corpse must be purified through the washing of his or her hands. Funerals are important occasions, and relatives and friends make an effort to attend. Graves are covered with branches from thorn trees to prevent animals from damaging the grave and to prevent sorcerers from digging up the body and changing it into a familiar. There are different types of tombstones in both rural and urban areas, and they are ceremonially unveiled. Burial societies play an important role in rural and urban areas, and their members provide one another with material and moral support.

For the original article on the Xhosa, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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Yao

ETHNONYMS: Ajawa, Ayao, Mujao, Wahiao, Wayao

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Yao live mainly in three countries: Mozambique, Malawi, and Tanzania. They are part of the Bantu-speaking population of East and Central Africa and are believed to have radiated outward from a

homeland in the hilly region of northeastern Mozambique. Somewhere in what is now the Niassa Province of Mozambique, to the east of Lake Malawi in the mountainous area between the Lujenda and Luchelingo rivers, there is said to be a hill named Yao (the word is the plural form of a noun meaning "treeless hill"). It is from this region that the Yao, who took their ethnonym from this place of origin, moved in a series of migrations beginning in the eighteenth century to their areas of later settlement. They now live in a broad band stretching from the Shire Highlands in southern Malawi through the hills of Mozambique, to the east of Lake Malawi, and into the southern part of Tanzania, on the southeastern edges of the Great Rift Valley.

Demography. It is difficult to estimate the total number of Yao because of the lack of census data from all three countries on ethnic or linguistic affiliation in the postcolonial era. The proportion of the total population of Malawi (or Nyasaland, as it was previously known) who self-identified as Yao remained at around 15 percent during the colonial era. The population of the entire country was around 11 million in the year 2000, and so, assuming no major changes in the proportion of Yao since 1945 (the last census to include ethnic affiliation), as many as 1, 650, 000 persons in Malawi could be Yao. There were never large numbers of Yao in Tanzania, and since the civil war in postindependence Mozambique has made it difficult to arrive at accurate estimates of the population of ethnic groups in that country, it is perhaps best to assume that the total number of Yao in the year 2000 was between 1. 5 and 2. 5 million.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Yao language was classified as P. 21 in a Yao group that includes Mwera, Makonde, Ndonde, and Mavia. This group forms part of the Eastern Bantu languages in Guthrie's widely accepted classification of the Bantu languages.

European missionaries, who were the first to record and study the language, found Yao to be dissimilar from many of the surrounding languages. They also found that by comparison with some of the other languages in the region, there was very little variation in dialect: The Yao spoken near Lake Malawi differed very little from that spoken near the East African coast. They concluded that this resulted from the disposition of the Yao to travel, bringing all the parts of the group into frequent contact. This view was supported by linguistic research conducted around 1960.

The lack of variation in the Yao language may have been partly due to the fondness for travel of its speakers, although it could also indicate that their dispersal from their homeland was relatively recent. It is possible that by the conclusion of the twentieth century there was more perceived variation among speakers of the language, which may have to do with a further time lapse and the difficulty of crossing international borders.

History and Cultural Relations

The story of the Yao begins with a hill. This hill is the home of the tribe and its place of origin, and it is the beginning of Yao history in more than one sense. Nothing is known of the people who came to be known as the Yao before their dispersal from the hill. The story of the hill and of an early state of tribal integrity is an important component of the identity of the Yao.

There is a tendency to speak of the hill Yao in a matter-of-fact way, as though there really were such a hill in northern Mozambique, but there is no record of any European traveler or missionary having identified the hill.

The word *yao* is a plural form of *chao,* a treeless place, usually a hill. However, the word chao is not used to describe the hill that is the home of the tribe—it is the plural form that is used in this context. Therefore, the hill Yao may in fact be more than one hill. The hill from which the Yao take their name thus is neither a real hill nor a merely mythical entity. The moment it is approached, it dissolves into the myriad of hills and mountains in the region. It seems likely that the term "Yao" simply means "hill people"—those who come from the hills.

The history of the Yao in the sense of a narrative of events can be reconstructed only after their dispersal from the hill. There are ten subtribes or sections of the Yao, each of which took its name from the place to which it moved after the dispersal from the hill Yao. The movements and transformations of these groups can be traced in the records of travelers and missionaries as well as in Yao accounts.

At the end of the eighteenth century the Yao emerged as the main means of the transport of goods between the interior of East Central Africa and the coast. By the early nine-teenth century there was a well-established trade in ivory and slaves between the Yao and the East African coast at Kilwa. There is, however, little indication of the situation of the Yao in the interior until the arrival of David Livingstone. He encountered the Yao first as slave raiders on the upper Shire River in the course of the Zambesi expedition of 1859, but his most illuminating descriptions of the Yao come from the journals of his trip up the Rovuma in 1866. On that journey he passed through several Yao chiefdoms and with the assistance of two Yao boys was able to collect a great deal of information about the people he saw. Coming toward Mwembe, the town of one of the most powerful Yao slaving chief's, Livingstone found that the trade with the coast was so well established that it was difficult to interest the people in his goods.

The Yao chief's who participated in the slave trade turned their attention to the Nyanja to the south of Lake Malawi around the middle of the nineteenth century. The parties of Yao slavers Livingstone had met in 1859 were the vanguard of a general movement of the Yao southwest toward the Shire Highlands. Sometimes fugitives, sometimes raiders, groups of Yao were moving into what is now southern Malawi in a large-scale invasion.

The dominance of the Yao in this region was due to their contact with the coast, involvement in the slave trade, and access to and skill in using firearms. It is apparent that by the middle of the nineteenth century the Yao were organized into autonomous chiefdoms, some of which were stronger in a military sense than others and all of which were quite mobile. However, it is not clear how long this state of affairs had persisted. It has been suggested that their involvement in the slave trade led to an enlargement of the significant political unit from village to chiefdom. This is plausible but difficult to verify. However, the fact that none of the chiefly dynasties that were prominent at the end of the nineteenth century ex-

tended back for more than a couple of generations may indicate that these chiefdoms were relatively new.

There was no central power, no "paramount chief, " but a series of more or less powerful chief's, sometimes in alliance and sometimes in opposition, like a group of warlords. The authority of the chief's appears to have rested largely on their ability to conduct trade with the coast and to muster men and slaves for that trade.

Despite the competition between chiefdoms, the Yao had a well-defined identity. They regarded themselves as Yao and were clearly distinguished in a political and economic sense from other people in the region despite the disunity within their own ranks. They were traders and slavers, the followers of powerful chief's, and unmistakable in those roles whether settled or on the move. Where they had settled among the Nyanja near the lake, their villages were visibly different. The Yao seem to have quickly established their dominance over their neighbors wherever they moved in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Virtually every description of the Yao from that time, including those of the missionaries, who often found themselves in opposition to the Yao chief's, emphasizes their political dominance and evident superiority over the other people in the region. Their involvement in the slave trade and contacts with the coast appear not only to have given the Yao political and economic advantage in the region but also to have led to the development of a sort of tribal chauvinism.

There were linguistic and cultural differences that tended to set the Yao apart from their neighbors and appeared to have unusual uniformity across the various Yao sections and chiefdoms. The view that the Yao, although dispersed and fragmented into sections and chiefdoms, were united by their language and culture into a "nation" was taken up by British colonial officials in their attempts to find suitable agents of indirect rule several decades later.

In 1891 a British protectorate was declared over the territory then known as Nyasaland (modern Malawi). Harry Johnston, the first commissioner of the protectorate, initiated a series of campaigns against the Yao chief's to end the slave trade. His forces met with resolute opposition and suffered casualties and defeats at the hands of the Yao slavers. It was not until the end of 1895 that the last Yao chief was defeated and the slave trade was terminated in the protectorate.

It was an advantage toward the end of the nineteenth century to be a Yao in southern Nyasaland, since the Yao chief's and their followers had a virtual monopoly on trade links with the coast. Even after the end of the slave trade the Yao tended to be regarded and treated as the dominant African group in the region.

The Yao maintained a clear sense of cultural identity throughout the colonial era in Malawi, Mozambique, and Tanzania. This was mainly a consequence of their conversion to Islam, which set them apart from other groups, especially in Malawi. The period after independence was not positive for the Yao. In Mozambique they were caught up in the civil war, and in Malawi they were marginalized by the new regime. Their fortunes improved in Malawi with the election in 1994 of a government headed by a Yao Muslim.

Settlements

Yao villages tend to be strung out along a road or a path, and nearly all the villages have a mosque. Houses and mosques are usually built of pole and daub and are rectangular in shape. Most houses are thatched, while mosques may have an iron roof and a variety of architectural ornaments. Village mosques are often painted decoratively according to the taste of the builders. Village dwellings tend to be clustered into little groups surrounded by fruit trees—mango, papaya, and banana—with gardens of maize, cassava, rice, or sugarcane farther afield.

Economy

Subsistence. Villagers grow grain (maize or rice), vegetables (onions, tomatoes, cassava, and cabbage) and fruits such as mango, papaya, and banana. Very few Yao possess livestock of any sort with the exception of a few goats or chickens.

Many villagers who live near the lake depend on fishing to supplement their diets and incomes. A prerequisite for fishing is access to a dugout canoe, a net, and a lamp, since the favored method of catching the tiny *usipa* fish is to lure shoals of them to the side of the lake at night. Other fish, including *chambo* (tilapia) and *kampango* (catfish), are caught using larger nets, but catches are small and many Muslims refuse to eat catfish because the fact that it has no scales makes it forbidden food.

Those who have gardens and fields close to the lake are able to grow rice as well as maize and cassava, but very few people grow enough of the staple crops to feed themselves for the whole year and have to purchase extra grain.

Commercial Activities. In the colonial era the Yao were favored as soldiers, servants, cooks, and tailors. They are well known throughout southern Africa as tireless travelers in search of work in the mines or in industry or commerce.

Industrial Arts. The Yao who live by the lake are accomplished canoe builders and fishermen. They are skilled at weaving mats used for drying fish, making earthenware pots, and sewing.

Trade. In the precolonial era the Yao were notorious as traders in slaves and ivory. More recently they have tended to deal in cloth, fish, and crops such as cotton, tea, and tobacco.

Division of Labor. The main division of labor is between men and women. Men are generally responsible for fishing, agriculture, and most trading activities; women take care of tasks related to the maintenance and running of the household, such as fetching water and wood, cleaning, and cooking.

Land Tenure. Village headmen have the right to allocate fields and gardens to newcomers. The right to work the land is inherited through the female line.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. The Yao are matrilineal and are organized around a system of sorority groups known as *mbumba*. The sorority groups are normally constituted in relation to a man who is often the oldest brother *oí* the sisters.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Marriage is generally matrilocal and is transacted without the exchange of significant bride-wealth or a large dowry. Divorce is common and is not difficult to accomplish. The position of husbands is subject to the tensions that are characteristic of many matrilineal societies.

Inheritance. Property and titles usually pass from men to their sisters' sons or in some instances from older to younger brothers.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The central social unit is the village, which is organized around matrilineal kinship and sorority groups.

Political Organization. There is no central authority or institution of kingship in Yao society. For two centuries political organization has been structured around a series of chief's and subordinate village headmen. In the colonial and postcolonial eras the appointment of chief's and headmen usually had to be ratified by the central government.

Conflict. In the period of expansion and slave trade there was a great deal of conflict and competition between Yao chief's and their followers. The powerful slaving chief's were known to take slaves not only from groups such as the Nyanja but also from weaker Yao groups. The Yao were feared and respected in the region for their courage and skill in warfare, and after being defeated by the British, they were favored as recruits in the colonial forces. In the colonial era conflict was often resolved by the splitting of villages or groups. This practice has become less common as a result of growing population density. A serious challenge to the postcolonial regime in Malawi that occurred shortly after independence in 1964 (the "Cabinet Crisis") was led by a Yao. The armed revolt was crushed by forces loyal to the government backed by British troops.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Yao are often distinguished from other groups in the region by their conversion to Islam. However, this did not occur until the end of the nineteenth century, and there is still a considerable residue of pre-Islamic beliefs and practices among many Yao. Ancestors continue to be venerated, and the name of the founding ancestress of a lineage is remembered and referred to by a term meaning "the trunk of a tree." There has been a significant influence of Sufism on the practice of Islam among the Yao, and there appears to be a large degree of convergence between traditional Yao and Sufi practices. The Islam of the Yao is regarded as flexible and tolerant of local beliefs and customs.

Religious Practitioners. Yao Muslims have several categories of religious leadership. The most senior leaders are referred to as sheikhs and are often members of a Sufi order. There are also teachers and lower-order Muslim practitioners called *mwalimu* (from the Swahili word for teacher). There are ritual specialists known as *amichila* who are appointed by a chief to officiate at initiation rituals for boys.

Ceremonies. The Yao have initiation ceremonies for boys and girls as well as for young women. The initiation for boys includes partial or total circumcision and involves the production of a series of pictograms that are part of a complex system of esoteric knowledge and ritual. The initiations have for many years incorporated elements of Islamic practice and symbolism and were not disapproved of by even very devout Muslims until the emergence of reformist movements toward the end of the twentieth century. Most of the significant Muslim festivals are observed by the Yao, and the performance of *dhikr* (or *sikiri,* as the Yao refer to it) is often a feature of ceremonies. This central ritual of Sufi Muslims around the world has become the core of Muslim practice in the region, and it remains the key component of Islamic ritual for many of the Yao. Yao followers of Sufism perform sikiri on occasions such as *ziyala·* (the founder's anniversary), funerals, weddings, and other festivals. Although the Yao sikiri is usually performed by a group of young men, it does not exclude other Muslims who may be present, except on occasions, such as funerals, where men and women are segregated.

Arts. The most highly developed art form among the Yao is the system of pictograms used in initiations. They are large and intricate designs that are modeled on the ground and outlined with flour so that they make an extraordinary spectacle on a moonlit night.

Medicine. The Yao are famous as healers. Most villagers have a large body of knowledge of local medicinal herbs, and healers travel far and wide to gather potent plants and ingredients. There are practitioners who make use of the Islamic scriptures in various ways for divination or healing.

Death and Afterlife. The Yao believe that they will join their ancestors after death. Many also believe that they will be raised and judged on the last day as prescribed by Islamic doctrine. There seems to be little sense of contradiction between these two notions of the afterlife, which are held simultaneously by most Yao Muslims.

For other cultures in East and Central Africa, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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ALAN THOROLD

Yuchi

ETHNONYMS: The Yuchi refer to themselves as *Tsoyaha* (Offspring of the Sun), but this name is not known to their neighbors. In Eastern North American languages a local version of Yuchi is used. Early historical sources contain variations of the name "Chisca. " Yuchi and Euchee are alternative spellings used by the Yuchi.

Orientation

Unless described as moribund, the features of Yuchi culture and society described here should be considered to have been vital during the period 1990-2000.

Identification and Location. The Yuchi live in portions of Creek, Tulsa, and Okmulgee counties in the state of Oklahoma. Lacking recognition by the U. S. government as a separate tribe, the Yuchi were incorporated in 2001 within the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. Prior to the 1830s they lived in autonomous towns throughout southeastern North America. At the time of their removal to the west most Yuchi towns were along the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. At contact with Europeans, the Yuchi were concentrated on the upper and middle Tennessee River.

Demography. The size of the Yuchi community is difficult to calculate because in the absence of a federally recognized tribal government a modern census has not been undertaken. Knowledgeable community members and ethnographers estimate a late twentieth-century population of about five hundred people actively participating in Yuchi community life, drawn from a population of two thousand to three thousand people with Yuchi heritage.

Linguistic Affiliation. The Yuchi language is a linguistic isolate. Suggestions of linkages at a deep level to the Siouan language family have not been demonstrated and are increasingly in doubt. About ten speakers were fluent in Yuchi at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

History and Cultural Relations

In the colonial era the Yuchi ranged widely in areas north of Spanish influence. At contact they were neighbors of Muskogean-, Algonquian-, and Cherokee-speaking populations. After that time they were regular congeners of the mobile Shawnee, with whom they remain allied into the early twenty-first century. As allies of the English, the Yuchi participated in expeditions aimed at destroying Spanish missions. During the early settlement of Georgia the Yuchi assisted the English colonists, particularly the Salzburgers, who settled in the 1730s near their town on the Savannah River. In the later 1700s the Yuchi relocated into western Georgia and Alabama, where they increasingly participated in the alliance of autonomous towns that came to be known as the Creek Confederacy. Before being forced west of the Mississippi River to Indian Territory in the 1830s, many Yuchi people moved into Florida, where they became Seminoles.

Settlements

Since their arrival in Indian Territory the Yuchi have lived in three major settlements in the northern part of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. Each of these communities has a town square and is led by a traditional chief. The easternmost settlement, known as Duck Creek, is south of Bixby, Oklahoma. South of the city of Bristow is the settlement known in English as Sand Creek in the western part of Yuchi territory. At the center of Yuchi country, near Sapulpa, is the largest settlement, known as Polecat Town. Polecat Town is viewed as the Yuchi "mother town" from which the other towns derived.

Economy

Subsistence. In the traditional economy of the Yuchi, women were the primary farmers and men hunted and assisted in the preparation of fields and during the harvest. After removal both men and women participated in agricultural activities. Subsistence farming continued to be widely practiced into the twentieth century, but after World War II it was reduced to supplemental gardening.

Commerical Activities. Before the American Revolution the Yuchi were involved in the colonial deerskin trade, through which they obtained European manufactured goods. In the early twentieth century many Yuchi worked for wages on the larger farms of their nonnative neighbors. After participating as soldiers and factory workers during World War II, Yuchi men and women remained in the cash economy, working in both blue- and white-collar jobs.

Industrial Arts. Traditional but now moribund industries included pottery, plaited basketry, finger-woven textiles, and carved wooden tools. The Yuchi continue to construct ancestral styles of buildings at their ceremonial ground sites, where dances and ceremonies have motivated the continuing production of traditional musical instruments and clothing.

Trade. In the colonial era, prepared deerskins were the most important trade item produced by the Yuchi. In the American era, the fur trade diminished in importance and the Yuchi participated marginally in commercial agriculture.

Division of Labor. At a symbolic and everyday level the Yuchi share a general Woodland regional pattern in which men and women participate in a complementary and reciprocal division of labor. In this traditional system women are associated with farming and the domestic world of home and town; men are associated with hunting and the undomesticated spaces beyond the community. This belief underpinned everyday economic activities but was the key to Yuchi cosmology and ritual life. Gender relations are characterized by men and women being viewed as equal but different, with the sexes being intertwined in complementary relationships at every level of culture and society.

Land Tenure. Before Oklahoma became a state, land in the Muscogee (Creek) Nation was owned collectively by the nation but individuals had use rights to the land on which they settled. Allotment of land to individual tribal members preceded Oklahoma statehood in 1907. Much of this land base was lost during the twentieth century, but many Yuchi families continue to live on or near the lands (usually reduced in size) that they held before statehood.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Unlike their fully matrilineal Creek neighbors, the Yuchi had a complicated system of kinship groupings. Yuchi men are classified on the two sides of a patrilineal division between chief's and warriors. Unlike other Eastern peoples, this dual division is not predicated on clan membership but on the group to which one's father belonged.

The Yuchi are reported to have had a matrilineal clan system, but in the early twentieth century it seemed to function in only a minimal way, and it ceased functioning by mid-century. There is no evidence that it was ever a dominant institution in Yuchi life. It is likely that in the nineteenth century it was exogamous like the systems of the neighboring Muskogeans. It probably was instituted as a mechanism by which the Yuchi could participate, through intermarriages and in ceremonial events, in the life the Creek Confederacy. Unlike the Creek clans, chief and warrior status determines male eligibility for Yuchi ritual and political offices.

Kinship Terminology. Yuchi kinship terminology does not neatly reflect the widespread matrilineal Crow system that predominates in the Southeast. The distinctive Yuchi ancestral kinship terminology was not used in the 1990s, and the system was only partially documented by twentieth-century researchers. The available evidence suggests that it was a bifurcate merging system with Omaha-type skewing.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Although many twentieth-century Yuchi were formally married by a civil official or a Christian pastor, the less elaborate tradition of marriage was practiced into the twenty-first century. This system entails community recognition of the married status of a couple whose relationship is viewed as enduring and mature. Such couples can separate, but the children remain with the mother. Polygamy disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century.

Domestic Unit. The domestic unit is built around a mother and her children, extending ideally to her husband to form a nuclear family to which other relatives often are added to form a household. Households of three or more generations were and still are common, but the ideal seems to be for a nuclear family to reside in its own home, with the residences of other family members nearby. After the Yuchi moved west, the households within a town settlement became more dispersed, no longer clustering densely around the town square. The older town pattern is preserved in the use of permanent family camps that are constructed around the square for use during ceremonies. These camps typically are led by an elderly couple and encompass three or more generations of extended family members.

Inheritance. Land holdings tend to be divided among all the adult children within a family after the death of a family head. Personal property with emotional significance to the deceased often is interred at the burial.

Socialization. Mothers assume the primary role in raising children, but fathers, aunts, uncles, and, most importantly, grandparents play major roles. In the early twentieth century many Yuchi children attended U. S. government boarding schools, but after mid-century most children were educated with their nonnative neighbors in local public schools. Children participate in family and community activities from a very early age and are assigned responsibilities in ceremonies; thus, cultural knowledge is obtained largely through participation.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. The basic units of social organization are the household, the extended family camp group, and the town within which those units operate. Camp groups represent extended families, but they come together as functional units during town ceremonies. Until the middle of the twentieth century family camps were also an important component of congregational activity among Yuchi Christians, but those congregations no longer camp overnight for their gatherings. Ideally, the town is composed of all the Yuchi families residing within one of the three settlement areas, together with those who, while living outside Yuchi territory, claim descent from a family in the town. In social practice town membership is expressed most clearly through participation in the ceremonies held at the town's square or ceremonial ground. The dual division of men into chief's and warriors plays an important role in organizing participants for town ceremonies, as do the two complementary gender roles.

Political Organization. A male town chief who comes from the chief division and is appointed by his townspeople leads the activities of the local ceremonial ground. He holds this post until death or until he relinquishes it. Because not all Yuchi people participate in the ceremonial life of their towns, not all acknowledge the authority of the chief's, but traditionally the position of chief was both religious and political. Yuchi who do practice the traditional ceremonies and are culturally conservative continue to view the chief's in political as well as ceremonial terms. chief's are assisted in their work by other officers, some appointed on an ad hoc basis and others whose roles are permanent. Among the latter are a town speaker or orator and a committee that advises the chief.

In the late twentieth century several pan-Yuchi organizations were established to advance community goals. The most successful organizations have acknowledged the traditional leadership roles and authority of the town chief's and incorporated them into their structure. This approach is a modern manifestation of the ancient pattern in which the actions of a mother town and its daughter towns are coordinated and their people are allied. Pursuit of federal acknowledgment for the Yuchi people as a whole is an objective of these coordinated efforts.

Social Control. Community membership is defined not only genealogically but also on the basis of participation in collective social life. As Americans and members of federally recognized tribes, Yuchi people can choose not to participate in the Yuchi social world without suffering any sanctions beyond the potential disappointment of their kin. In this context vast domains of social control are the concern not of Yuchi institutions but of the dominant American civil society. Into the early twentieth century town leaders could levy fines and penalties against community members who failed to participate appropriately in community life, but social control since the middle of the twentieth century has been predi-

cated on less formal forms of social sanctions, among which gossip and public opinion are crucial elements. These matters are relevant only to those who engage with the secular and sacred activities of the actively Yuchi population. Despite the weakening of their authority, Yuchi community institutions are highly organized in their everyday functioning. The ability of Yuchi people to withdraw from community life means that those who remain engaged do so because of personal choice.

Conflict. Yuchi cultural ideals hold that interpersonal conflict within the community is to be avoided or at least not expressed in public settings. Because it is embedded in a larger web of relationships—spiritual and cosmological as well as personal and social—conflict serves as an index of collective disharmony and is viewed seriously. Individual avoidance of situations of conflict and quiet mediation by town elders and leaders are Yuchi strategies for dealing with conflicts. As is the case elsewhere in the region, conflict within a town sometimes generated splits in which new settlements were established. Since the middle of the twentieth century persons regularly disagreeing with the mainline of community sentiment often have withdrawn temporarily or permanently from participation in Yuchi collective life. Traditionally, addressing conflicts between the Yuchi and other peoples was the province of the warrior society, which was led by a war chief. At the turn of the twentieth century leadership of the warrior society and concern for external affairs were issues central to the work of the chief's speaker or orator, who sometimes was referred to as the town's "diplomat. "

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The ultimate power in the world generally and in Yuchi life specifically is the "master of breath, " who is the Creator from which the world and its developments derive. Two approaches to understanding subcreation and cosmology are represented in Yuchi ethnography, and both of which were articulated in the late twentieth century. These frameworks can be seen in the specific creation of the Yuchi, in which the Yuchi began as the ancient offspring of the Sun and the Moon. The Sun, as the agent in this part of creation, can be viewed as a manifestation of the Creator or as a fundamental power in its own right, secondary to but ultimately derivative from the Creator. In either view powerful and important customs were provided to the Yuchi in ancestral times, along with an eternal obligation to maintain them. The most important custom is the annual ceremonial cycle, whose performance ensures community well-being and the maintenance of balance in the world. If the Yuchi abandon their ceremonies, the Sun will reverse course in the sky and an end time will come to the earthly world.

Christian Yuchi are associated predominantly with the United Methodist Church.

The fundamental religious practices are calendrical ceremonies that take place during fixed seasons at ceremonial grounds, each under the autonomous direction of a town chief. These ceremonies all are concerned with maintaining community and individual health, expressing thanks for the bounty of creation, memorializing ancestors, maintaining the continuity of Yuchi tradition, and expressing the reciprocal relationships that bind communities together. Ceremonial ground ritual also links a Yuchi town to the other Yuchi towns and those of neighboring groups. This is achieved through reciprocal participation by visiting delegations in the ceremonies of allied towns. In this ceremonial network, the Yuchi towns have long maintained ties with each other and with their allies among the Shawnee, Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, and other groups.

Religious Practitioners. Yuchi religious life is overseen by the town chief's who govern local communities and organize calendrical ceremonial ground ritual. Under the leadership of the local chief, other officials oversee various responsibilities associated with public ceremonies.

Ceremonies. Naming ceremonies and funerals are important life-cycle ceremonies. The main calendrical ceremonies begin in the spring with a series of men-versus-women ball games. These ceremonies occur during the planting season and attract the favorable attention of the Creator, providing the blessing of sun and rain in the proper measure. The spring ball games are followed by a series of all-night "Stomp Dances. " An annual rebuilding of the town square precedes the Green Corn ceremony, which involves both the physical rebuilding of the site and rituals that purify the place in preparation for the upcoming ceremonial. Tied to the corn harvest, the Green Corn ceremony is a multiday event featuring a period of fasting followed by a communal feast. Rituals are aimed at purification before the consumption of the new corn crop. They include a new fire ceremony and the consumption of special herbal medicines, together with ritual dances and speeches. The final major ceremony in the cycle is the Soup Dance, which includes a feast emphasizing male and female roles, during which ancestors return to the world of the living to share a special meal with their descendants. Like other ceremonies, this one incorporates an all-night dance attended by visiting towns.

Arts. The richest domain of expressive culture is associated with ritual. Traditional music and dance music constitute a highly regarded art that shares many features with the broader Woodland musical tradition. Unlike other eastern groups, the Yuchi have never participated in a non-Indian market for traditional crafts. For this reason, industries such as basketry were not converted into arts with a mainly aesthetic function. Yuchi storytelling includes performances of narratives that are important for understanding traditional cosmology and belief, but these performances are not organized tightly into a single epic or cycle. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century clothing styles have become stabilized as a national dress and represent an important part of the visual arts. In the later twentieth century a remarkably large number of Yuchi people began to participate in the contemporary Native American fine arts market, working mostly on relatively abstract paintings and collages with Yuchi and general Native American themes.

Medicine. In the Yuchi medical tradition, plants are fundamental agents for healing and animals and their ghostly counterparts are sources of disease. In this context medicine people are effective because they have been taught ancestral knowledge of diagnosis, together with the plants, songs, and rituals needed to empower and administer medicines. Wellness also involves observing ritual and social regulations. Since the 1970s there have not been any practicing Yuchi

doctors, but the Yuchi have continued to consult traditional healers among neighboring groups. They also have continued to use Yuchi herbal medicines that are known to nonspecialists. In the twentieth century the Yuchi began to rely on scientific biomedicine.

Death and Afterlife. In the afterlife the spirits of the deceased live happy lives, pursuing a traditional lifestyle featuring hunting, gardening, dancing, playing ball, and socializing in a world of abundance. Attainment of this eternal life is not ensured, as it requires that the spirit complete an uncertain journey after death. Funeral ritual is aimed at encouraging the spirit not to linger among the living but to undertake this transition successfully. People who have lived good lives and whose relatives and friends undertake the appropriate funeral rituals are assured a safe passage, but people who have lived destructive lives or do not receive the traditional ceremonies may linger in the world of the living as ghosts, sometimes causing illness or misfortune. There are prescribed moments within the annual ceremonial cycle when the spirits of the deceased return to the community of the living. Ancestral participation in these events symbolizes the continuity of Yuchi culture.

For the original article on the Yuchi, *see* Volume 1, North America.

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JASON BAIRD JACKSON

Zulu

Orientation

Identification and Location. The Zulu are an African ethnic group whose members live mainly in the South African province of KwaZulu-Natal, which lies between the Indian Ocean to the east and the Drakensberg mountain range to the west. The province stretches from the borders of Mozambique and Swaziland in the north to the Umzimkhulu River in the south. This is an agriculturally fertile region, with the summer being a very productive season. The summer season between October and April is warm and rainy, while the winter between June and August is relatively cold and dry. Temperatures are moderate. The Zulu are bordered by the Swazi people to the north, the BaSotho to the west, and the Xhosa and Mpondo communities to the south.

Zulu identity has changed over time. Before the ascendancy of King Shaka, the term *Zulu* referred to only one clan that recognized "Zulu" as its founding ancestor. After Shaka's mission of conquest and consolidation, the term came to refer to hundreds of clans under the control of the Zulu monarchy. After the beginning of British colonial rule of Natal in 1843, Zulu identity became associated with a particular territory, especially the northern part of KwaZulu-Natal Province, formerly known as Zululand. Today Zulu "ethnic" identity is linked to the language and the monarchy.

Demography. It is difficult to determine the number of Zulu people as not all people who speak the isiZulu language can be assumed to be Zulu. KwaZulu-Natal Province is also open to all South Africans, and not all the people who live there are Zulu. According to the South African Statistics 2000 report, in 1996, 9,200,144 people out of the total national population of 40,583,573 spoke the isiZulu language. In 1997 there were an estimated 8,713,100 "Black" people living in KwaZulu-Natal (out of 31,460,970 "Black" people in all of South Africa). It is estimated that among all isiZulu speakers in South Africa, 74.6 percent live in KwaZulu-Natal.

Linguistic Affiliation. Zulu people speak the isiZulu language, which is classified as one of the Nguni languages in South Africa, which include the isiXhosa, isiSwazi, and isiNdebele languages. In southern Africa the Nguni coexist with the Sotho and the Khoisan, who also have their own subdivisions. All these southern African cultural-linguistic groups with the exception of the Khoisan are often classified as Bantu-speaking peoples because their languages have some linguistic similarities of a broad nature compared to other African languages. There is some speculation that this might be the case because of common origins, but this hypothesis is debatable.

History and Cultural Relations

Oral history lists eight kings, including the currently reigning king, Zwelithini Goodwill. Shaka Zulu is often considered the first and most prominent of these kings, particularly with regard to military proficiency and command and the integration and mobilization of smaller "tribes" into a kingdom. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Zulu, like some other tribes with equivalent military capabilities, attempted to subjugate other groups and establish political supremacy.

While this process was going on, the colonial powers arrived on the scene. The British officially annexed Natal in 1845, while the Dutch-German-French descendants locally referred to as the Boers had already begun to colonize the same territory. However, Natal's status as a Boer colony was shaky and short-lived. The Boers later annexed the western part of Zululand in an attempt to form a Boer republic. Brutality and mistrust characterized the relationship between the

colonists and the indigenous Zulu population, with the colonists always having the upper hand. Amid political strife in the 1880s, the Zulu kingdom was weakened by the arrest of the king and by internal conflict. Under what was called the Shepstonian system, the British colonists later divided Zululand into thirteen chiefdoms.

There is a great deal of doubt and uncertainty regarding Zulu history because of its use as a political tool to support apartheid or argue against it and, in the early 1990s, to argue for or against the Inkatha Freedom Party's struggle for Zulu sovereignty. Despite these issues the Zulu have maintained a strong sense of themselves as Zulu by associating their surnames with being Zulu, maintaining a large vocabulary of praise names, and maintaining specific Zulu cultural practices.

Settlements

KwaZulu-Natal is both urban and rural, with Durban as its largest city. The Zulu people in rural areas live in households that contain nuclear family members or in a three-generation household structure. The physical structures are often *rondavels,* circular houses built of mud or concrete blocks and thatched with grass or iron sheets. Rectangular flat-roofed houses made of mud or concrete blocks are as popular as rondavels, but the two forms often coexist, as rondavels are preferred for use as a kitchen or as a house where ancestors are consulted. A common housing structure before the second half of the twentieth century was the beehive hut. These huts were round, strongly woven grass structures with small doors that could be entered only on one's knees. Kitchens often have a hearth that serves as the center of the house.

Urban Zulu people live mainly in townships that were built in the 1950s and 1960s by the government to enforce racial segregation. Townships were residential areas of "Black" people and their families that were close to their places of work in the cities. The government of that time built numerous four-roomed houses that were rented out to people. In KwaZulu-Natal those houses were occupied mainly by Zulu people. With a few exceptions the Zulu are still the main inhabitants of KwaZulu-Natal townships, but the houses are now privately owned.

Since the abolition of apartheid in the early 1990s, some urban areas have become more integrated. In the inner city of Durban the Zulu coexist with people from other parts of South Africa and people from other African countries who have come to KwaZulu-Natal for reasons such as studying, seeking asylum, and seeking employment.

Economy

Subsistence. Before the mid-nineteenth century the Zulu depended entirely on horticulture and raising livestock. Their staple crop was maize, while cattle, goats, and poultry were the most important livestock. Today they eat spinach, pumpkins, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables, which they grow and buy. Although they like meat, many people cannot afford to buy it. Maize, wheat flour, and more recently rice are the main staples.

Commercial **Activities.** A dual economy of subsistence horticulture and a market economy was characteristic of the late nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. This situation gradually changed when the Zulu were crowded onto insufficient land and forced to work for money in order to pay taxes. The Zulu engage in small-scale trading as part of the informal sector to supplement the money that members of the household earn by working in cities and small towns. Few Zulu people engage in serious commercial activities. Professional jobs are the main avenue for economic development. Although horticulture is still practiced in rural areas, there is general dependence on the commercial market for food. Small-scale agriculture merely supplements a family's income.

Industrial Arts. The Zulu people's main economic activities have traditionally been horticulture and tending cattle and goats. The hoe is the main industrial implement, and the grinding stone was an important implement in the house, although its significance has been fading. Historically, the Zulu also engaged in hunting. That is why they make *izagila* (knobkerries or assegais) and *imikhonto* (spears) of tremendous variety and artistic sophistication. Both of these hunting implements were also used in warfare. Sticks and knobkerries also were used in combat competitions organized as part of ceremonial dances. Women made a range of pottery goods used as cooking, storing, and eating utensils. Those utensils are still made by those who have learned the trade and are sold in markets. However, cooking is done mostly in steel pots. Palm woven crafts such as baskets, mats, beer strainers, and vessel lids are made for commercial purposes. Zulu beadwork is now mainly made for tourists and specific ceremonies. In a few places traditional Zulu dress is still worn.

Trade. No major trade was a traditional part of the Zulu culture. However, the KwaZulu-Natal Province is now accessible by sea, air, and road for commercial trade.

Division of Labor. The division of labor within a household is mainly between men and women. Traditionally, men provided economic security for the household, protected the household, led ceremonial activities in the household, and did outside physical tasks such as tending livestock, building kraals, and building new houses. Men regard themselves as providers for their households, and to establish the status of a household head, employment is imperative. Women still do the horticultural activities in rural areas. Women are faced with the day-to-day running of the house, including cleaning, washing, cooking, fetching water, and child rearing. Women also take jobs in order to provide for the family's economic needs, but they have assure that the household routine is done either by themselves before and after work or by someone they employ.

Land Tenure. All land in "tribal areas" is under the control of a "chief who allocates land for residential purposes as well as for cultivation at a household head's request. Historically, "chief's" had full authority over the incorporation of people into their chiefdoms. However, their roles were fully absorbed into the colonial system, in which those roles were reduced to that of a tax collector; their land was taken away from them. The title *chief* is no longer acceptable among these traditional leaders because it evokes their subjugation under colonial rule as the "bossboys" of an oppressive regime. They prefer to be called by the Zulu alternative *amakhosi* (singular, *inkosi).* People who live on farms and work for white farmers also have limited scope to practice

subsistence agriculture for themselves because they work under controls and constraints that relate to their terms of rent and remuneration as farm workers. Urban Zulu dwellers live under various arrangements of rent, private ownership, and rate payments.

Kinship

Kin Groups and Descent. Surnames are a symbol of identity for individuals and families. Surnames include praise names that reflect the interrelatedness of surnames and important occurrences in the history of the Zulu people. People with the same surname once belonged to the same localized clan. At the beginning of the twentieth century this residential pattern changed drastically, but when people with the same surname meet for the first time, for example, at the airport in Johannesburg, they regard themselves as being related. Zulu people observe exogamy with immediate relatives of the mother's kin and with people who have the same surname as their mothers.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, nuclear families were the most common operational units of kin. Children depend on their parents as long as they are not married and are not economically independent. The extended family is important for economic assistance and on ritual and ceremonial occasions. Matrilineal kin are also vital and are expected to appear at important ceremonies involving a daughter or sister's children. Children born to unmarried women belong to the mothers' kin.

Kinship Terminology. Kinship terminology for the nuclear family includes the following terms: *umama* for mother, *ubaba* for father, *udadewethu* for sister, *umfowethu* for brother, *undodakazi* for daughter, and *undodana* for son. This is the terminology sometimes used by people in recognition of their respective ages as they interact. In-laws use the same terms modified to indicate the affinal nature of the relationship. Thus, for a young woman who has married into another household, her husband's mother is called her *mamezala* even though in her usual address she will call her *mama.* Her husband's father is *ubabezala* even though when addressing him she will call him *baba.* Other terms of respect to refer to a sister/sister-in-law and a brother/brother-in-law are *sisi* and *bhuti,* respectively. These terms may have originated from other languages, but they are popularly used as a sign of respect for people one does not want to mention categorically by name. Cousins call each other *mzala* or *gazi,* with the latter term being used mostly among parallel cousins related through their mothers. One's father's brother is called *bab'omkhulu* or *bab'omncane,* depending on whether he is older or younger than one's father. One's father's sister is called *babekazi* although the English derived *anti* gained in popularity at the beginning of the twentieth century. On the mother's side, one's mother's sisters are called *mam'khulu* or *mam'ncane* according to whether they are older or younger. The mother's brother is called *malume.* The mother's brother calls his sister's child *mshana.* Male grandparents, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, are called *ugogo* for grandmother and *umkhulu* for grandfather. A man's in-laws are *umukhwe* for his wife's father, *umkhwekazi* for her mother, and *umlamu* or *usibali* for his wife's siblings.

Marriage and Family

Marriage. Monogamous marriage is common among the Zulu, even though historically polygamy was encouraged. Polygamy is still practiced, particularly in rural KwaZulu-Natal. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and a woman often adopts the identity of the household into which she has married even though in daily communication she is called by the surname or name of her father with the prefix Ma- added. Children belong to their father's lineage. The Zulu value marriage, and the process of getting married involves a host of expensive exchanges, with bride-wealth being the main feature, making divorce difficult.

Domestic Unit. The typical domestic unit includes a man, his wife or wives, and their children. In some households the parents of the man form part of the unit as the most senior household members and direct most of the activities of the household. Even though frowned upon, out-of-wedlock births are becoming prevalent in KwaZulu-Natal. Single mothers tend to remain with their matrilineal relatives. Their children adopt matrilineal identity since no bride-wealth was paid by the fathers' kin group.

Inheritance. Inheritance of property is along the patrilineal line. Inheritance of important positions such as a "chiefship" follows the pattern of primogeniture.

Socialization. Children are socialized to adhere to the division of labor that associates women with running the inside of the house and men with managing the economic, outside, and public relations of the household. The school (and later tertiary education institutions for those who can afford them) occupies the lives of boys and girls. Different stages of a person's life are marked by ceremonial occasions which aid in the internalization of new roles.

Sociopolitical Organization

Social Organization. Social status is traditionally encapsulated in respect for kinship positions and leadership. Just as there is respect for the household head and patrilineal kin, there is general respect for men as the principal carriers of identity and tremendous respect for the inkos ("chief) and his kin as the royal household of the chiefdom. Socioeconomic inequality is caused by differential access to monetary resources in a capitalist economy. Economic differentiation coexists with different lifestyles: a traditional Zulu lifestyle reflected in religion, dress code, and a defiant attitude toward Western standards and mannerisms and an alternative Western competitive capitalist lifestyle. However, there are no pure Zulus and no complete Western converts.

Political Organization. The Zulu have a monarch who commands respect from a large number of people who live under the immediate authority of their amakhosi ("chief's"). Amakhosi pay respect to the king by attending the House of Traditional Leaders and mobilize support for festivities organized by the king. The "chiefs" have subdivisions *(izigodi)* within the chiefdoms, which are looked after by headmen *(izinduna)*. In some chiefdoms "chief's" have additional councilors who, together with headmen, form part of what is called the Tribal Authority, which helps the "chief govern. In addition, structures of the democratically elected local government administer access to facilities and services to all

the people in KwaZulu-Natal Province. These structures work closely with the provincial government, and their relationship with the 'chief's' is a contentious issue.

Social Control. The Zulu have been influenced by individualism to some extent. Although the older generation boasts of a time when disciplining the younger generation was the responsibility of everyone in the community, most people tend to mind their own business. Institutions such as the church and the family have limited control of people's behavior, but sanctions are not imposed as communally as the older generation has led people to believe. Punishment of specific misbehavior is also a responsibility of institutions such as schools, the police, and the Tribal Authority (the chief's' structure of governance).

Conflict. Conflict occasionally arose between chiefdoms, particularly over boundaries. Colonial land policies and relocations exacerbated those conflicts. In the early twenty-first century such conflicts usually led to feuding between the concerned parties and the intervention of other state institutions, such as the police, the defense force, and the courts. Other kinds of conflict involved clashes between political parties over political issues. In the precolonial period there was some conflict between tribes over property or boundaries and as a result of attempts by some groups to subdue others and expand their boundaries, which occasionally involved non-Zulu groups such as the Xhosa in the south and some BaSotho groups.

Religion and Expressive Culture

Religious Beliefs. The Zulu people have a strong belief in the potency of their ancestors. Their cosmology is characterized by God in various forms: uMvelingqangi (a male god responsible for all life), uNomkhubulwano (a female god who provides food security, particularly through good harvests), and a god for the control of weather, particularly thunder. Their cosmology also includes ancestors who can have a significant positive impact on their families' lives if they are appeased. The Zulu cosmology also includes the potency of the natural world, particularly herbs and animals when made into *umuthi* (medicine), which can be used or abused to affect people negatively or positively. This is done mainly in the realm of traditional medicine.

Christianity has significantly influenced the Zulu. The majority of the Zulu combine traditional religious beliefs with Christianity; there are also those who profess to be entirely converted to Christianity, mostly those who adhere to the evangelical Christian traditions.

Religious Practitioners. The Zulu religion is essentially household-based. It is characterized by an obligation by household heads to fulfill the necessary ceremonial rituals. These ceremonies often require the sacrifice of domestic animals (usually goats) and addressing the ancestors by burning *impepho,* an incense herb.

There are African indigenous churches that combine aspects of Western Christianity with Zulu ways of communicating with ancestors. These churches have priests and healers who dedicate themselves to these practices for the benefit of the people who consult them. Diviners have traditionally existed among the Zulu and diagnose the causes of illnesses and misfortunes. The diagnosis often relates to dissatisfied ancestors or evil manipulation of umuthi for harmful effects (witchcraft).

Ceremonies. There are numerous ceremonies that relate to an individual's stage in the domestic cycle and also are linked to ancestors. Babies are named and then introduced to the ancestors in a ceremony called *imbeleko.* A girl's first menstruation is celebrated through a ceremony called *umhlonyane.* Both of these ceremonies involve slaughtering a goat. Young women are declared adults and ready for marriage through a ceremony called *umemulo,* which involves slaughtering a cow. Marriage is celebrated through a wedding ceremony *(umshado* or *umgcagco).* Death is a ceremonial occasion accompanied by appropriate rites of passage. Another important ceremony is conducted a year after a household member has died and is supposed to link the deceased with his or her long-departed relatives and elevate him or her to "ancestorhood. " Moderation in the practice or observance of these ceremonies characterizes life in KwaZulu-Natal. When there is an omission in performing such ceremonies, diviners often point to this as the cause of ill luck for an individual or household.

Royal ceremonies include the reed dance ceremony *(umkhosi womhlanga),* in which young women show pride in their womanhood (with an emphasis on virginity) by parading at the king's palace in view of thousands of cheerful onlookers. The king maintains the traditional privilege of choosing a wife from among those women. The Shaka Zulu celebrations are held on 24 September every year. While this day was historically called Shaka's day and is important for the Zulu people, in the new South African democratic era it is now called Heritage Day and is supposed to have meaning for all South Africans. The Zulu still commemorate Shaka Zulu on this day. The king also has other responsibilities, such as a twenty-minute address to the Zulu nation on *Ukhozi* (an isiZulu radio station) on Christmas morning.

Arts. The Zulu are known for pottery. The art of making and decorating pots remains an important skill for Zulu women. Beadwork and grass and palm weaving are also essential arts and crafts. Skill and creativity determine the extent of fame of an artist. Artistic woodcarving by men is done in some parts of KwaZulu-Natal.

Medicine. Medicine takes two forms. First, there is the kind of medicine that targets physical ailments and deals with the physiological problems of the human body. Second, there is medicine that works magically to produce a negative or positive impact on those toward whom it is directed. This type of medicine is used more like a weapon and is often implicated in the acts *of* animosity people level against each other. Zulu people use Western medical practitioners as well, but the relationship between the two systems of healing is not characterized by mutual respect. However, most Zulu people use both systems, depending on what they perceive to be the source of their problems.

Death and Afterlife. Death is regarded as a time of tremendous loss. A death by illness is treated differently from a death by "a spill of blood. " Accidents and death by murder are regarded as deaths by "a spill of blood, " and medicinal healing is expected to accompany the funerals in these cases in order to stop such misfortune *(ukuvala umkhokha).* Gener-

ally, deaths are considered polluting, and various rituals and ceremonies must be observed to slowly remove the impurity. These rituals also serve to gradually send the deceased into the next world.

For the original article on Zulu, *see* Volume 9, Africa and the Middle East.

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MPILO PEARL SITHOLE

Glossary

aborigine See autochthones

adobe Large, sun-dried bricks made from water, vegetation, and earth used by Pueblo and other Southwestern Indians to build houses and walls.

affine A relative by marriage.

agamy Absence of a marriage rule; neither endogamy nor exogamy.

age grade A social category composed of persons who fall within a culturally defined age range.

agnatic descent See patrilineal descent

agnatic kin Kin related to one another through the male line.

allotment A parcel of tribal land of from 40 to 160 acres given to individual Indians and authorized by the Dawes Act of 1887.

Alps A mountain system of south-central Europe that extends for about 1, 200 kilometers. The system has three ranges-northern in southeastern France and northwestern Italy, central in north-central Italy and southern Switzerland, and eastern in parts of Germany, Yugoslavia, and Austria.

ambilineal descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation through either the male or the female line.

ambilineal kin See cognatic kin

ancestor spirits Ghosts of deceased relatives who are believed to have supernatural powers that can influence the lives of the living.

Anglo A person of European descent. Commonly used to refer to persons of white skin color in the Southwest.

animal husbandry *See* pastoralism

animism A type of religious belief in which the world is made to move and becomes alive because of spiritual (soul) forces in beings and things.

archipelago A sea or broad expanse of water interspersed with islands or groups of islands; the term often is used for island groups themselves.

areca nut See paan, pan

arranged marriage The prevalent mode of marriage in South Asia, in which a marriage partner is chosen for a young person by his or her parents.

Asia Minor Also known as Anatolia, the peninsula of land that forms the Asian portion of Turkey.

ASSR An Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which is a subdivision of a Union republic. In the former Soviet Union there were twenty such republics, based on ethnicity.

asymmetric alliance A form of social organization in which several groups are linked by affinal ties, with each group receiving their wives from one group but giving wives to another one; such a system has also been called a circulating connubium.

atalïk/atalyk Education and rearing of children by a ritually related family (usually a peasant family raising a noble child); lifelong ritual bond formed between persons so raised.

atoll An island consisting of a coral reef surrounding a lagoon.

Austronesian languages A large group of languages (formerly called "Malayo-Polynesian") including about 450 in Oceania. They are found mostly on the coasts in Melanesia and New Guinea, but otherwise throughout Polynesia and Micronesia.

autarkic Economically self-sufficient.

autochthones The indigenous inhabitants of a region. Often used to refer to the native inhabitants encountered by European explorers or settlers.

autonomous area (AA) A subunit of a kray or oblast and the lowest ethnic-based administrative division. In the former Soviet Union there were ten autonomous areas.

autonomous region (AR) An autonomous (usually, ethnically based) region of a Union republic. In the former Soviet Union there were eight autonomous regions.

avunculocal residence The practice of a newly married couple residing in the community or household of the husband's mother's brother.

Ayurvedic medicine A Hindu system of medicine of great antiquity, based on a theory of humors, and of seasonal effects on the human body, and on the control of these by diet, herbal medicines, and even changing the body's microenvironment.

Balkans The easternmost of the three major peninsulas of southern Europe and the collective name for the nations located there—Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Croatia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and the European section of Turkey.

band **In** Canada, refers to a government-recognized group of American Indians who reside on one or more reserves, though some bands have no reserve.

banyan A tree *(Ficus bengalensis)* that is widespread in India and Sri Lanka. It yields an inferior rubber, but it is chiefly valued for its shade.

bark cloth See tapa

bay/bey A feudal leader in Muslim areas; a wealthy cattle breeder.

beg/bek A member or chief of the feudal aristocracy.

berdache A person who dresses and acts like a member of the opposite sex and is often regarded as such by members of the community.

beshmet A quilted, caftanlike man's outer garment.

betel See paan, pan

betel nut A nicotinelike stimulant used in western Melanesia and Micronesia as well as in Asia. A "betel quid" is formed of the nut of the Areca catechu palm and the leaf, bean, or stem of the Piper betle vine, then chewed with slaked lime from shells or coral and expectorated.

bhakti Devotion to a personal Hindu god, especially through communal hymn singing.

bhikkhu, lama A Buddhist monk. Always male, he can occupy varying ranks from that of lowly wanderer to the unique position of the Dalai Lama. Bhikkhu is the Sri Lankan term, lama the Tibetan one.

big man A political leader whose influence is based on personal prestige or qualities rather than formal authority. Such influence often is achieved through factional politics or the manipulation of exchange relationships.

bilateral descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation more or less equally through both the male and thefemale line.

blood feud (vendetta) A conflict between two groups (usually families or other kin groups) in a society. The feud usually involves violence or the threat of violence as a means of avenging some wrongdoing against a member of one of the groups. Feuds often are motivated by a desire to protect or restore a member's honor.

Bolsheviks The wing of the Russian Social Democratic party that advocated revolution to achieve socialism and seized power in the Revolution of 1917-1920.

Brahma The Creator, who with Shiva and Vishnu forms the Hindu Trinity of gods. There are very few temples in his honor, however.

breadfruit A fruiting tree *(Artocarpus altilis)* that is usually seasonal and cultivated mainly in Micronesia and Polynesia, but also in some parts of Melanesia. The fruit's starchy pulp is either cooked or fermented in pits as a staple or important standby food.

bride-price, bride-wealth The practice of a groom or his kin giving substantial property or wealth to the bride's kin before, at the time of, or after marriage.

bride-service The practice of a groom performing work for his wife's kin for a set period of time either before or after marriage.

bride-wealth See bride-price

brigades Name for villages in China, used since 1958.

Bronze Age The third stage in the development of Western civilization, characterized by the production and use of bronze tools and objects. The Bronze Age, which began in Europe in Greece about 3000 B. C. E. and ended about 1000 B. C. E., followed the Neolithic period and preceded the Iron Age.

Buddha The Enlightened One, a common title of Siddhartha Gautama or Sakyamuni, who was a prince of Kapilavastu in the Nepalese terai, until he renounced his family and this world and began to preach the path of enlightenment that so many hundreds of millions have followed since and that we call "Buddhism. " The forty-five years of his religious life were spent in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, traveling as a teacher. According to Chinese tradition, he lived from about 563 to 483 B. C. E.

Buddhism A world religion, founded by Siddhartha Gautama or Sakyamuni, "the enlightened one, " in the sixth century B. C. E. The two major branches of Buddhism are Mahayana Buddhism and Hinayana (Theravada) Buddhism; the former is a relatively liberal missionary religion while the latter stresses more the original traditions *of* Buddhism. Mahayana Buddhism, with its strong missionary tradition, is more widespread throughout Asia, including China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam; but Theravada Buddhism is predominant on the Southeast Asian mainland.

Byzantine Empire The eastern half of the Roman Empire that survived the fall of the western half and lasted until 1453, when it fell to the Turks. The capital at Constantinople was established in CE. 330.

cacao A tropical tree cultivated since pre-Hispanic times for its seeds. The seeds were used by the Aztecs to make a beverage called chocolatl, and today they are the key ingredient in modern chocolate.

cargo An obligation to perform and sponsor religious rituals in honor of a public saint. Also it can refer to any official duty. Religious cargos are publicly recognized obligations to the community. Cargo means "burden, " which connotes the heavy responsibility to the community felt by the person who has the obligation.

cargo system A formal social structure of religious obligations (cargos) taken on for a defined period, usually a year, with community recognition. These obligations involve the performance of public religious rituals.

cassava A plant of the genus Manihot (also known as manihot, manioc, tapioca, and yuca), cultivated by aboriginal farmers for its nutritious starch roots.

cassowary A large, flightless bird with three species endemic to New Guinea and New Britain. The bird is locally prized for its flesh, plumes, and bones.

caste, jati An endogamous hereditary group, usually with a distinct hereditary occupation, who have a virtually immutable posi-

tion in a hierarchy. Although the caste system is most elaborated throughout South Asia, castes have also been reported in Tibet, Japan, Korea, Burundi, and the American South.

Caucasus A system of mountain ranges running from northeast to southwest between the Black and Caspian seas; the general geographical-cultural area between the Black and Caspian seas and the south Russian steppe and the Iranian plateau.

Celts An Indo-European people of Iron Age and pre-Roman Europe who ranged from the British Isles to Asia Minor. Modern-day descendants of the Celts include the Irish, Highland Scots, Welsh, Cornish, and Bretons.

clan» sib A unilineal descent group in which people claim descent from a common ancestor but cannot demonstrate this descent.

classificatory kin terms Kinship terms, such as aunt, that designate several categories of distinct relatives, such as mother's sister and father's sister.

cognates Words that belong to different languages but have similar sounds and meanings.

cognatic kin Kin related to one another through the female line.

cognatic kin/ambilineal kin Kin related to one another through the male line, the female line, or both (ambilineal).

collaterals A person's relatives not related to him or her as ascendants or descendants; one's uncle, aunt, cousin, brother, sister, nephew, niece.

collectivization A process by which peasant farms were converted into large-scale, mechanized economic units. The process began in the late 1920s and during the early 1930s resulted in a great loss of life and economic displacement (through famine and deportation). The system of state farms (sovkhozy) and collective farms (kolkhozy) began to break up in the 1990s.

compadrazgo Ritual coparenthood. It involves two married couples. One couple becomes godparents of something—typically but not necessarily a child-belonging to the other couple. Compadrazgo establishes a special bond between the two couples through a ritual of godparenting and engenders a special form of trust and respect between the two couples, each of which refers to the other as "compadres." Compadrazgo goes well beyond the godparenting of children to include godparenting of religious images, objects, and life-cycle events such as graduation, death, and marriage. See *also* fictive kinship

Confucianism A moral and philosophical religious tradition based on the teaching of Confucius (Kongzo), who lived in northern China from about 551 to 479 B.C.E.

consanguine A relative by descent from a common ancestor.

constitutional democracy A form of government in which the actual affairs of government are carried out by elected officials who act in accord with a national constitution.

constitutional monarchy A form of government in which a monarch (king or queen) is the legal head of state but the actual affairs of government are carried out by elected officials who act in accord with a national constitution.

continental climate In the Köppen system, a climate characterized by large seasonal temperature variations, with hot summers, cold winters, and year-round precipitation.

copra The dried flesh of the coconut used as the basis of oils, soaps, cosmetics, and dried coconut. Beginning in the 1860s copra became the chief commercial export in most Pacific islands.

coral islands Islands, including atolls, formed of the exoskeleton created by the excretion of lime from sea water by tiny marine animals.

corvée A labor system under which members of a cultural or other group are required to work on public projects for a set period of time each year.

counting coup Among the Plains Indians, a practice in which a warrior, while recounting his war deeds at a ceremony, struck a blow (coup in French), usually with a special stick, to a post erected for that purpose. Among the war deeds counted, from most to least prestigious, were touching an enemy during battle while unarmed, stealing a horse from a guarded enemy camp, and taking a scalp.

cousin, cross Children of one's parent's siblings of the opposite sex-one's father's sisters' and mother's brothers' children.

cousin, parallel Children of one's parent's siblings of the same sex-one's father's brothers' and mother's sisters' children.

couvade A form of customary behavior (also known as "men's childbed") in which the husband of a woman pregnant with his child observes certain taboos and restrictions believed to be beneficial for the child and otherwise behaves as though he were pregnant; he may take to bed, enter into seclusion, experience labor pain, and so on.

Creole "Creole" is most often used today to refer to the Black populations of the West Indies and Central America. It is derived from the Spanish criollo and the French créole, meaning a White or Black person descended from immigrants.

creole A general, inconsistently used term usually applied to a spoken language or dialect that is based on grammatical and lexical features combined from two or more natural languages. It is a first language, distinct from a pidgin.

cross cousin See cousin, cross

cult The beliefs, ideas, and activities associated with the worship of a supernatural force or its representations, such as an ancestor cult or a bear cult.

culture hero In the mythology of a people, a mythic personage (human or animal) who is regarded as the bringer of their culture. In South America he is often the first ancestor or the creator of the world (in part or as a whole) who in primordial times wandered about a people's land performing miracles and great deeds. He created through the agency of metamorphosis and was wont to change the shapes of the objective world, of animals, and of humans. To the actions of their respective culture heroes societies often affirm to owe important resources, food plants, crafts or technological innovations, as well as social and religious practices and institutions. In the mythologies of some societies, the trans-

former and benefactor roles of the culture hero blend with the similar roles of his sons, the twin heroes. Following his sojourn on earth, the culture hero is believed to have departed toward the western world, whence he will return some time in the future to destroy his creation.

cuscus A type of marsupial found in New Guinea and highly prized for its meat and fur.

Cyrillic alphabet A writing system developed in the ninth century for Slavic languages. Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and other Slavic languages today are written with somewhat different versions of the basic Cyrillic alphabet.

czar Ruler of Russia before 1917.

datu A chief, king, or shaman.

deme A group based on the merging of locality, descent, and in-marriage.

dharma The duties proper to one's station in Hindu life.

diglossia The coexistence of two forms of the same language in a culture or community. Often one is the literary form and the other is the domestic form. The term is also sometimes used in reference to groups who regularly use two different languages.

displaced person An individual forced to leave his or her homeland as a result of war, famine, or other such factors.

Divali, Dipavali Hindu festival in October-November, when lamps are lit and presents exchanged.

double descent Kinship affiliation by both matrilineal and patrilineal descent.

dowry The practice of a bride's kin giving substantial property or wealth to the groom or to his kin before or at the time of marriage.

Dravidian The language family of the darkest-skinned people in South Asia, mainly found in southern India and Sri Lanka.

dry rice Varieties of the rice plant (*Oryza sativa)* grown in rainfed fields without irrigation.

earth lodge A large, dome-shaped, partly underground dwelling constructed on a frame of posts and beams, thatched with bundled grass, branches, mats, and so on, and covered with earth.

ego In kinship studies ego is a male or female whom the anthropologist arbitrarily designates as the reference point for a particular kinship diagram or discussion of kinship terminology.

endogamy Marriage within a specific group or social category of which the person is a member, such as one's caste or community.

European Community (EC) A political and economic association of twelve Western European nations, formally founded in 1992 and to be established in 1993 following ratification by the parliaments of the member nations.

European Economic Community (EEC) Also known as the Common Market, an economic association of Western European nations founded in 1957. It has been replaced by the European Community.

evil eye The belief that a certain person can perform harm to another simply by wishing him or her harm (casting the evil eye). In South Asia mothers are especially fearful for their young children and may use amulets or other devices as protection against the evil eye.

exogamy Marriage outside a specific group or social category of which the person is a member, such as one's clan or community.

extensive cultivation A form of horticulture in which plots of land are cleared and planted for a few years and then left to fallow for a number of years while other plots are used. Also called swidden, shifting, or slash-and-burn cultivation.

fakir A wandering Muslim holy man.

fictive kin Individuals referred to or addressed with kin terms and treated as kin, although they are neither affines nor consanguines.

fictive kinship A social relationship, such as blood brotherhood or godparenthood, between individuals who are neither affines nor consanguines but who are referred to or addressed with kin terms and treated as kin. See *also compadrazgo*

fiesta A celebration and feast held according to ritual traditions.

freehold land Ownership of land for an indefinite period of time, such as for life.

FUNAI The acronym for Fundaìão Nacional do Índio, the Brazilian government agency charged with administering Indian affairs.

Gautama Buddha See Buddha

ghee, ghi Clarified butter.

godparenthood A category of fictive kin with important obligations between the members. The social relations of godparent-godchild are especially important in many southern European cultures.

Gregorian calendar A slight revision of the Julian calendar that was adopted in Great Britain and the American colonies in 1752. Most Roman Catholic countries adopted it immediately, with Protestant countries adopting it later, and Eastern Orthodox countries in the twentieth century.

guest workers A term originally coined in Germany for immigrant workers who have been invited and/or contracted by the host country or individual agents for a specified term.

gurdwara Sikh house of worship.

guru Hindu spiritual teacher.

Gypsy A generic term for a diverse group of people who live or formerly lived a nomadic life-style.

haj Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.

Himalayas The world's highest mountain range, stretching over 2, 200 kilometers eastward from Kashmir through Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, and northeast India to form the boundary between South Asia and Tibet.

Hindu Kush A mountain range that covers the northeast portion of Afghanistan and joins with the Karakoram in the northernmost parts of Pakistan.

Holi A Hindu spring festival marked by much merriment, especially the throwing of colored water or powders at passersby.

homeopathic medicine A system of medical treatment developed in the nineteenth century based on the belief that "like cures like. " Thus, treatments such as drugs or the application of heat are used to cure ailments that would be caused by their application to people free of the ailment. For example, quinine is given to persons with malaria because quinine causes symptoms of malaria when given to healthy persons.

horticulture Plant cultivation carried out by relatively simple means, usually without permanent fields, artificial fertilizers, or plowing.

Huns A nomadic people who invaded and ruled areas of southeastern Europe from about CE. 370 until they were defeated by a coalition of other groups in CE. 455.

hypergamy A marriage system in which women marry men of higher social or caste status than themselves.

hypogamy A marriage system in which men marry women of higher social or caste status than themselves.

Id Muslim festival to commemorate Abraham's offer to sacrifice his son Ishmael. The festival breaks the fast after Ramadan.

incipient agriculture The growing of crops by the slash-and-burn method while supplementing the diet with the products of hunting, fishing, or gathering because the garden produce alone is insufficient.

Indo-Aryan The easternmost subfamily of the Indo-European language family. Its ancient languages were first introduced into South Asia by the Aryans, and today Indo-Aryan languages are spoken throughout most of Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and northern India. Seventy-four percent of the Indian population speak an Indo-Aryan language; Hindi, with over 200 million speakers, is one of the world's leading languages.

Indo-European languages A family of languages spoken in Europe, Southwest Asia, and South Asia. Modern Indo-European languages are believed to be descended from a single language thought to have been spoken about 5, 000 years ago in the region north of the Black Sea.

Industrial Revolution An economic transformation marked by the decline of small-scale, domestic production of goods and the rise of large-scale, centralized mass production and distribution based on power-driven machines.

initiation rites Ceremonies and related activities that mark the transition from childhood to adulthood or from secular status to being a cult member.

Iron Age The fourth stage in the development of Western civilization, characterized by the production and use of iron tools and objects. Beginning in southeastern Europe in about 1200 B. C. E., the Iron Age followed the Bronze Age.

Islam, Mohammedanism Mohammed the Prophet chose the name "Islam" for the new faith he began preaching in Arabia in CE. 622 (A. H. 1). The term signifies "submitting oneself to God. " The faithful are called "Muslims, " "Moslems, " or "Mohammedans. " See *also* Mohammed

jati See caste

joking relationship A form of customary kin relation in which certain categories of kin (e. g., in-laws) engage in sexual or other forms of joking.

Julian calendar A calendar introduced in Rome in 46 B. C. E. that established the 365-day year with twelve months and the 366-day year every fourth year. This calendar was retained by Eastern Orthodox countries into the twentieth century and is still used in church calendars.

jungle The English word is derived from Sanskrit and Hindi *jangala*, which means "dry or desert; waste, uncultivated ground, " and certainly not "thick forest. "

Köppen system A system of climatic classification developed in 1900 based on mathematical values assigned to temperature and rainfall. The system is named for its developer, the German climatologist Wladimir Köppen (b. 1846, d. 1940).

kadi See qadi

kalym Bride-price or bride-wealth (amount paid by the groom's parents and other relatives, often commensurate with the dowry, much of it often spent at the wedding).

karma The effect of former deeds, whether done in this life or in a previous existence. These are thought to determine a Hindu's future and his or her social condition.

kin terms The words that any particular language uses to describe specific kin relationships.

kin terms, bifurcate-collateral A system of kinship terminology in which all collaterals in the parental generation are referred to by different kin terms.

kin terms, bifurcate-merging A system of kinship terminology in which members of the two descent groups in the parental generation are referred to by different kin terms.

kin terms, classificatory Kinship terms, such as aunt, that designate several categories of distinct relatives, such as mother's sister and father's sister.

kin terms, Crow A system of kinship terminology in which matrilateral cross cousins are distinguished from each other and from parallel cousins and siblings, but patrilateral cross cousins are referred to by the same terms used for father or father's sister.

kin terms, descriptive Kinship terms that are used to distinguish different categories of relatives such as mother or father.

kin terms, Dravidian See kin terms, Iroquois

kin terms, Eskimo A system of kinship terminology in which cousins are distinguished from brothers and sisters, but no distinction is made between cross and parallel cousins. Sometimes also called European kin terms.

kin terms, generational A system of kinship terminology in which all kin of the same sex in the parental generation are referred to by the same term.

kin terms, Hawaiian A system of kinship terminology in which all male cousins are referred to by the same term used for *brother,* and all female cousins are referred to by the same term used for *sister.*

kin terms, Iroquois A system of kinship terminology in which parallel cousins are referred to by the same terms used for brothers and sisters but cross cousins are identified by different terms.

kin terms, lineal A system of kinship terminology in which direct descendants or ascendants are distinguished from collateral kin.

kin terms, Omaha A system of kinship terminology in which female matrilateral cross cousins are referred to by the same term used for one's mother, and female patrilateral cross cousins are referred to by the same term used for one's sister's daughter.

kin terms, Sudanese A system of kinship terminology in which there are distinct terms for each category of cousin and sibling, and for aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews.

kindred The bilateral kin group of near kinsmen who may be expected to be present and participant on important ceremonial occasions, usually in the absence of unilineal descent.

kinship Family relationship, whether traced through marital ties or through blood and descent.

kolkhoz (pl., kolkhozy) A collective farm in which the land is owned by the government and its use given to the kolkhoz members who work it communally, the products being shared somehow by the government and member households. Each household has a small private plot for its own use.

Koran See Quran

Korban The great feast of Abraham.

kula ring A system of ceremonial exchange in the Massim area and southeastern tip of New Guinea characterized by the circulation of shell necklaces and shell armbands in opposite directions, hence the "ring" of islands linked by the system.

kulak Wealthy peasant; wealthy peasant in any indigenous area.

lagoon A sheltered body of sea water encircled by a coral reef.

lama See bhikkhu

Lamaism A form of Buddhism with a central role played by the priests called lamas; often called Tibetan Buddhism.

lamaistic Buddhism A form of Mahayana Buddhism practiced by Tibetans. It acknowledges as its supreme earthly head the Dalai Lama, formerly also political ruler of Tibet, and it recognizes many minor demons and deities.

legal Indians See status Indians

levirate The practice of requiring a man to marry his brother's widow.

lineage A unilineal (whether patrilineal or matrilineal) kin group that traces kinship affiliation from a common, known ancestor and extends through a number of generations.

linguistic minority A national minority population that is comprised of speakers of a language that is different from the national language.

literary language A language used for literature (e. g., poetry); a written form of a language used for newspapers, documents, etc.

longhouse A large, rectangular-shaped dwelling with a wood frame covered by planks, bark, mats, or other siding and usually housing a number of related families.

magic Beliefs and ritual practices designed to harness supernatural forces to achieve the goals of the magician.

mana A term with cognates in numerous Melanesian and Polynesian languages for a type of spiritual power, energy, or energizing capability believed to be physically resident in objects, persons, or places.

mantra A verse or phrase believed to have magical or religious efficacy, especially as a protection.

Massim A region consisting of islands and island groups off the southeastern tip of New Guinea characterized by distinctive art styles and interisland exchange links, especially the kula system.

matrilineal descent, uterine descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation only through the female line.

matrilocal residence, Uxorilocal residence The practice of a newly married couple residing in the community of the wife's kin. Uxorilocal is sometimes used in a more restrictive sense to indicate residence in the household of the wife's family.

Mediterranean climate In the Köppen system, a climate characterized by hot, dry summers and cool, wet winters.

medresseh An Islamic secondary school (Arabic: madrasah).

Melanesia A general term (derived from the Greek for "black islands") for New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu (New Hebrides), and New Caledonia.

men's house A structure, common in New Guinea and Melanesia, usually housing the young adult males and adult men of a community. A men's house typically serves as both a residence and ceremonial center.

mestizo A term used to refer to persons *of* mixed Indian and European ancestry. In most contexts, mestizo is in fact more a social than a racial classification.

Micronesia A general term (from the Greek for "tiny islands") for the Mariana, Caroline, Marshall, and Gilbert island groups in the north Pacific.

minorat Inheritance by the youngest son of the hearth and home (of the typically patrilineal, patriarchal family).

mir Russian village commune.

Mohammed The Arab prophet of Islam, who received the Quran from the Angel Gabriel. Although most venerated, he is not considered a deity, for in Islam there is no god but Allah. He lived from about C. E. 570 to 632. See *also* Islam; Quran

moiety A form of social organization in which an entire cultural group is made up of two social groups. Each moiety is often composed of a number of interrelated clans, sibs, or phratries.

monogamy Marriage between one man and one woman at a time.

monsoon Regular and persistent winds that blow in the Indian Ocean, coming from the southwest between June and August and from the northeast between October and December. The southwest monsoon is the main rain-bearing one.

Moors The Muslim population of Spain.

mulla Muslim preacher, one learned in the Quran.

Munda, Mundari, Austroasiatic, Mon-Khmer A language family, formerly called "Kolarian"; its main distribution is throughout Southeast Asia. In India the family is represented by only a number of tribal languages spoken in the east-central parts of the country, notably Santali, Munda, and Oraon.

Muslim, Moslem, Mohammedan See Islam

national minorities In China, the fifty-five groups, not including the Han, classified as ethnicially distinct by the government.

national minority A minority population in one nation that is comprised of people from another nation.

Native American church An intertribal American Indian religious organization adapting Christianity to native beliefs and practices, including the sacramental use of peyote.

nativism A movement often with social, religious, or political components that centers on the rebirth of the native culture and the demise of the colonizers.

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) A military alliance of North American and European nations formed in 1949 as a response to Soviet domination of eastern and central Europe.

Neolithic period A stage in the development of human culture characterized by the use of polished or ground stone tools. It follows the Paleolithic period and precedes the Bronze Age.

neolocal residence The practice of a newly-married couple living apart from the immediate kin of either party.

nonstatus Indians See status Indians

oraza/uraza Muslim fast period.

Ottoman Empire Empire created by Turkish peoples in what is now Asian Turkey from 1300 to 1922.

paan, pan The leaf of the betel vine *(Piper betle)*, chewed after meals with slaked lime, catechu, and betel or areca nut, as a savory.

pacification The cessation of warfare by indigenous peoples enforced by colonial nations or their agents.

paddy The rice plant *(Oryza sativa)*, grown either in irrigated fields (wet rice) or in rain-fed fields (dry rice). Rice is the staple food of Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Kashmir, and Dravidian India.

panchayat Literally, a "council of *five"* but in fact a village or caste council of any size.

pandanus A general term for numerous species of the *Pandanus* palm that grow wild or are cultivated throughout the Pacific. The oily kernels or nuts of some species are eaten, and the long leaves are commonly used for thatching and for wrapping material.

Papuan languages Also called Non-Austronesian languages, these number over 700 and are found mostly in New Guinea, the Bismarck Archipelago, and Bougainville.

parallel cousin See cousin, parallel

parliamentary democracy A form of democratic government in which the elected legislature has control over the making and administration of the law.

partible inheritance An estate of inheritance that may be divided.

pastoralism A type of subsistence economy based on the herding of domesticated grazing animals such as sheep or cattle.

patrilineal descent, agnatic descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation only through the male line.

patrilocal residence, virilocal residence The practice of a newly married couple residing in the community of the husband's kin. Virilocal is sometimes used in a more restrictive sense to indicate residence in the household of the husband's family.

peón/peon In the past, a peon was a person attached to a hacienda and compelled to work for the owner. Today the word refers to any agricultural day laborer.

peasant, peasantry Small-scale agriculturalists producing only subsistence crops, perhaps in combination with some fishing, animal husbandry, or hunting. They live in villages in a larger state, but participate little in the state's commerce or cultural activities. Today, many peasants rely on mechanized farming and are involved in the national economy, so they are called *post-peasants* by anthropologists.

peepul, pipai The Indian fig tree *(Ficus religiosa)*, much venerated by Hindus and very long-lived; called "Bo-tree" in Sri Lanka, where it is associated with Buddhist sites. The tree produces a useful gum.

permafrost Land that is permanently frozen, with only the top few milimeters thawing in the warmer months.

petate A mat woven of straw or cane used for sleeping. In the most rudimentary native house, the petates are unrolled each evening on the packed dirt floor to provide sleeping space.

phratry A social group consisting of two or more clans joined by some common bond and standing in opposition to other phratries in the society.

pidgin A second language very often made up of words and grammatical features from several languages and used as the medium of communication between speakers of different languages.

pir A Muslim saint, especially a Sufi master, whose tomb is often venerated by Muslims and Hindus alike.

pir Muslim shrine.

polyandry The marriage of one woman to more than one man at a time.

polygyny The marriage of one man to more than one woman at a time.

potlatch A ceremony among Northwest Coast Indians involving the giving away or destruction of property to enhance one's status.

powwow A council or social meeting of American Indians.

Prakrit The common Indo-Aryan languages of South Asia in ancient times, as contrasted with Sanskrit.

prestation A form of reciprocal gift-giving, often associated with marriage negotiations and ceremonial exchange.

primogeniture A rule of inheritance that gives the exclusive right of inheritance to the first-born son.

puberty rites See initiation rites

puja Act of making an offering to a Hindu deity during worship.

pujari A Hindu priest.

purdah Seclusion of women; mainly a Muslim custom in South Asia and Middle East. See *also* zenana

pyre The pile of logs on which a Hindu is cremated.

qadi/kadi, qazi A judge of Islamic law.

Quran, Koran Divinely inspired holy book of Islam, written down by the Prophet Mohammed at the dictation of the Angel Gabriel in about C. E. 610-630. See *also* Islam; Mohammed

raja, rajah Hindu king or ruler; also called maharaja.

Ramadan, Ramazan Month of fasting during daylight observed by Muslims; it concludes with the festival of Id.

ramage An ancestor-focused bilateral descent group consisting of an entire community whose descent is traced from a common ancestor, with graded ranks based on closeness to the senior line *of* descent.

recognized Indians See status Indians

Reformation A revolution in the Catholic church in the sixteenth century that led to the development of Protestantism.

refugee An individual who has left his or her homeland as a result of political events in that nation or for other political reasons.

removals Actions by the federal or state governments involving the forced relocation of American Indian groups from their native lands to other lands, usually to the West and particularly to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma).

reservation Lands in the United States set aside for the exclusive use of American Indians. The land is held in trust by the federal government, or if a state reservation, by the state government.

reserve Lands in Canada set aside for the exclusive use of status Indians. Title to reserve lands rests with the Canadian government.

Roman Empire The state centered in Rome, founded as a republic in 509 B. C. E., established as an empire in 27 B. C. E., the western half of which collapsed in the fifth century C. E. The Roman Empire was the dominant force in the Mediterranean region, North Africa, and much of Europe.

Roman law The legal system of the Roman Empire, including both unwritten and written law, the latter including legislation, edicts, judicial interpretations, and codes of emperors.

Russian Orthodox church A branch *of* Christianity that began in what is now Russia in the ninth century. At times it was closely allied with the Russian government, although it fell from formal influence following the 1917 Revolution.

Russification Assimilation to Russian language, culture, political control; process of encouraging or enforcing the spread of Russian influence, sometimes including the forced relocation of ethnic populations, the settlement of Russians in republics other than Russia, the use of Russian, and Russian control of politics and economics.

Sadhu A Hindu holy man.

sago A large palm *(Metroxylon* spp.) found widely in the western Pacific in natural stands or cultivated in swampy areas. Sago is an important source of starch in lowland areas and a staple food in much of New Guinea; its fronds are typically used as thatching material.

Sanskrit The sacerdotal Indo-Aryan language of South Asia in ancient times, as contrasted with the Prakrits or common speech. Sanskrit is still used by Brahmans in their prayers, but otherwise is hardly spoken.

sari, saree Seamless length of cloth, generally worn by South Asian women draped over a bodice and petticoat. Another style of dress, *salwar* and *kamis*, is usual among Muslim women.

seck Descent line, often coincident with clan.

seer One who foresees the future; a diviner.

sennit Fibers from the husk of the coconut made into string and widely used for cordage in Micronesia, Polynesia, and parts of Melanesia.

serf In medieval Europe, a tenant farmer who subsisted by farming land owned by a lord or landowner. Serfs were generally bound to the land they farmed and their rights to move from the land were greatly restricted.

Shaivism Following Shiva as the preeminent Hindu deity.

shaman A religious intermediary, usually part-time, whose primary function is to cure people of illness.

Sharia Quaranic law.

shifting cultivation A form of horticulture in which plots of land are cleared and planted for a few years and then left to fallow for a number of years while other plots are used. Also called swidden, extensive, or slash-and-burn cultivation.

Shiva The Destroyer, who with Brahman and Vishnu forms the Hindu Trinity of gods.

sib See clan

sierra A mountainous region.

sister exchange A form of arranged marriage in which two men exchange their sisters as wives.

slash-and-burn cultivation See swidden cultivation

slash-and-burn horticulture A system of food production that involves burning trees and brush to clear and fertilize a garden plot, and then planting crops. The plot is used for a few years and then left to fallow while other plots are similarly used.

Slavs (Slavic peoples) A generic term for peoples who speak Slavic languages: in Europe, it encompasses Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Czechs, Slovaks, Sorbs, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians.

slit gong (slit drum) A large drum made of a hollowed-out tree trunk, used as a signaling device or for ceremonial purposes.

social class stratification A form of social organization in a society in which individuals or groups are ranked in a hierarchical system based both on ascribed and achieved status.

sorcery The use of supernatural forces to further the interests of the sorcerer, primarily through formulae and the ritual manipulation of material objects.

sororal polygyny The marriage of one man to two or more sisters at the same time.

sororate The practice of a woman being required to marry her deceased sister's husband.

status (legal, recognized) Indians Indians in Canada who are legally defined as Indians by the government. Non-status Indians are those of Indian ancestry who, because of intermarriage, residence in White communities, or other factors, are not legally defined as Indians.

stem family A residential group composed of a nuclear family and one or more additional members who do not comprise a second nuclear family.

subcaste A section or major part of a caste or jati. It is commonly endogamous.

sucking cure A curing technique often used by shamans which involved sucking out a foreign object from the patient's body through an implement such as a bone tube. The foreign object, a piece of bone or stone, was viewed as the cause of the malady and the sucking out the cure.

Sufism Islamic mysticism. See *also* pir

sultan A Muslim prince or ruler (in postclassic Arabic).

sultanate The rule of a dynasty of sultans.

sweat lodge A small, sealed hut in which people took sweat baths by means of steam produced by water being sprinkled on hot stones.

swidden The field or garden plot resulting from slash-and-burn field preparation.

swidden cultivation A form of horticulture in which plots of land *(swiddens, jhums)* are cleared and planted for a few years and then left to fallow for a number of years while other plots are used. The system is now mostly used in certain tribal areas of central and northeastern India. Also called shifting or slash-and-burn cultivation, or jhuming.

Taoism (Daoism) An ancient Chinese philosophy that seeks to recognize and control the essential forces (ch'i) in nature and all living things.

tapa A fabric (or bark cloth) made by soaking and beating the inner bark of trees, especially the paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera), Ficus* spp., or *Hibiscus* spp. Tapa was traditionally used in much of Oceania for protective cloaks or clothing.

tapu A Polynesian term (from which the word "taboo" is derived) for a sacred quality combining ritual power and ritual danger; the term may apply to objects, places, or people.

taro A starchy root crop cultivated throughout Oceania. When "true taro" is intended, the term applies to *Colocasia esculenta*, but recent usages extend it to other aroids such as *Alocasia macrorrhiza, Cyrtosperma chamissonis,* and *Xanthosoma* spp.

teknonymy The practice of addressing a person after the name of his wife or his or her child rather than by the individual name. For example, "Bill" is called "Father of John. "

terraced fields A technique of forming narrow but more or less level fields along steep hillsides. Where the fields are for irrigated rice they have to be absolutely level to hold the water, but for other grain crops and potatoes they simply hold the soil to prevent erosion and allow access by the farmers and their equipment.

Tibeto-Burman A subfamily of languages found mainly in Tibet, Myanmar (Burma), Nepal, and northeastern India. The larger family is called Sino-Tibetan and also includes the Chinese languages.

tipi (tepee, teepee) A conical-shaped portable dwelling of skin- or hide-covered poles, associated with the nomadic Plains Indians.

toddy Palm wine, the fermented sap of the palmyra *(Borassus flabellifer)* and other palms, such as date, coconut, or sago.

topolect The speech of a particular place.

totem A plant or animal emblematic of a clan that usually has special meaning to the group.

transhumance Seasonal movements of a society or community. It may involve seasonal shifts in food production between hunting and gathering and horticulture or the movement of herds to more favorable locations.

tribe Although there is some variation in use, the term usually applies to a distinct people who view themselves and are recognized by outsiders as being a distinct culture. The tribal society has its own name, territory, customs, subsistence activities, and often its own language.

trickster A character in folklore who plays tricks on his enemies. Among many North American Indian groups the trickster is a coyote and is usually portrayed with a combination of human and animal elements.

tundra Environment marked by long winters, permafrost, poor soil, and little vegetation.

Turks (Turkic peoples) A generic term that refers to modern-day descendants of the people who formed an empire that extended from the Black Sea east to Mongolia in the sixth century C. E.

ulu. A group of patrilineally related families; a rural commune; an administrative unit.

unilineal descent The practice of tracing kinship affiliation through only one line, either the matriline or the patriline.

unilocal residence The general term for matrilocal, patrilocal, or avunculocal postmarital residence.

United Kingdom Also known as Britain or Great Britain, the term refers to England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

Ural Mountains Mountain range running north-south that separates European and Siberian Russia.

urbanization A sociodemographic process through which an increasingly large percentage of a nation's population resides in cities or urban areas.

usufruct The right to use land or property without actually owning it.

uterine descent See matrilineal descent

Uxorilocal residence See matrilocal residence

Vaishnavism Following Vishnu as the preeminent Hindu deity.

Vedas The four oldest documents of Hinduism, written in early Sanskrit in north India. They are the *Rig* Veda (perhaps 1200-900 B. C. E.), the *Yajur Veda,* the *Sama Veda,* and the *Atharva Veda*. Collectively these books are known as "Samhitas. "

virilocal residence See patrilocal residence

Vishnu The Preserver, who with Brahma and Shiva forms the Hindu Trinity of gods.

volcanic islands Islands (often called "high islands") formed through volcanic intrusion from the Australasiatic Continental Platform or directly from the ocean floor.

waqf Mosque property.

wattle-and-daub A method of house construction whereby a framework (wattle) of poles and twigs is covered (daubed) with mud and plaster.

weir A wall of sticks or rocks placed in a body of water, river, or stream to prevent fish from passing.

wet rice Varieties of the rice plant *(Oryza sativa)* grown in irrigated fields.

wigwam A dome-shaped dwelling usually covered with bark, woven grass mats, or animal skins.

vurt A usually portable multifamily dwelling with a circular ground plan and sides of felt or skins attached to a folding wooden lattice framework.

zakat/zekat Tax for the support of the mosque or the clergy.

zenana Women's quarters or harem in a Muslim household. See *also* purdah

Zoroastrianism Monotheistic religion worshiping Ahura Mazda, which was formalized by the prophet Zoroaster (or Zarathustra) in the sixth century B. C. E. at the latest. The modern followers include about 85, 000 Parsis in western India and perhaps another 100, 000 Zoroastrians in Iran and Tadzhikistan.

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